

THE
SLAVONIC
(AND EAST EUROPEAN)
REVIEW

A Survey of the Slavonic Peoples,
Their History, Economics, Philology and Literature

VOLUME FIFTEEN

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IVAN PETROVICH PAVLOV

MEMBER OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

This portrait, for the use of which we are indebted to PROFESSOR A. V. HILL, was given to British members of the International Physiological Congress in Leningrad in August, 1935.

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VLAS

*Translated from the Russian of FEDOR DOSTOYEVSKY
by N. B. JOPSON and HELEN MAKOWER.*

(The Editors are happy to be able to offer to their readers the first translation into English of one of the most remarkable psychological studies of the great Russian novelist.)

Do you remember Vlas? I seem to remember him :¹

Through the town a grey-haired pilgrim
Slowly passes on his quest,
In his peasant's coat, bare-headed,
With an icon at his breast . . .

This Vlas in bygone days "knew not God,"—of course, for he
By brutality inhuman
Drove his wife into the grave,
And to horse-thieves, lawless brigands,
Shelter and protection gave.

Yes, even horse-thieves. To frighten us, the poet here drops
into the tone of a devout old woman. Ugh, what sins, to be sure !
And then the thunder pealed. Vlas fell sick and saw a vision, after
which he vowed to tramp the world and collect alms for God's house.
He saw hell, if you please, neither more nor less.

Saw the awful dawn of Doomsday,
Saw the sinners' pains in hell.
Nimble fiends devised their torments.
Pinched and pricked the busy witch,
And, with eyes that burnt like charcoal,
Ethiopians, black as pitch.

* * * * *

¹ The quotations are taken from the poem *Vlas* by Nekrasov.

Some on sharpened poles were writhing,
Others licked the burning ground . . .

In a word, horrors so unimaginable that even to read them is terrifying "Yet not all can be described," the poet goes on :

Wise old women, holy pilgrims
Better far can tell us this.

Oh, poet (alas, a real poet of ours, too !), had you not drawn near to the people with those raptures of yours, concerning which

Wise old women, holy pilgrims
Better far can tell us this,

you would not have outraged us by your conclusion that from what at bottom is after all only old wives' drivel

Springs the splendour of God's churches
In the Russian Motherland.

Yet even though it is only out of "stupidity" that Vlas tramps about, wallet and all, you have nevertheless appreciated the earnestness of his sufferings, you nevertheless have been struck by the old fellow's majesty. (For after all you are a poet, and so how could you have failed to be struck ?)

Strength of soul is consecrated
All to glory of the Lord

as you so splendidly say. I would fain believe, by the bye, that you involuntarily threw in a jeer—due to your qualms as a free-thinking Liberal—and because even you, typical man and Russian *gentil 'homme* that you are, were confounded by this fearful, nay frightening, power of Vlas's humility, this necessity for self-salvation, this passionate yearning after suffering, and because even from your super-Liberal soul admiration and respect were wrung by this impressive portrait from our national life.

All his wealth in gifts bestowing
Destitute did Vlas remain,
Wandered barefoot, homeless, begging
Money for God's church to gain.
Till today he has not wearied,
Thirty years have passed by now,
Still he lives by alms, a pilgrim
Strictly keeping to his vow.

* * * * *

Filled with grief and deep repentance,
Swarthy-faced, erect and tall
(how magnificent it is !)

With untiring step he paces
 Through the villages and towns

* * * * *

Bearing holy book and icon
 Low unto himself he talks,
 While the chains about his body
 Rattle faintly as he walks.

How magnificent, really magnificent ! So magnificent indeed that it might not have been you who wrote it, but that other person who later on—and magnificent verses they are, too—in *Na Volge*² indulged in heroics about Volga-boatmen poems. Though, by the by, you did not really indulge in heroics in *Na Volge* either, or only just a little perhaps. Even in *Na Volge*, what you loved about the boat-hauler was his general humanity, and you really suffered for him—not, I mean, for him as a particular boat-hauler, but as a universal pattern of boat-haulers. For consider, please, that a love of humankind in general is undoubtedly tantamount to contempt, sometimes even hatred of one's flesh-and-blood neighbour. I have purposely dwelt upon the immeasurably beautiful lines in your poem, jocular though it is as a whole—pardon my saying so !

I have mentioned the Vlas of your poem because I have recently heard a remarkably bizarre story about another, or rather two other, Vlases—quite peculiar Vlases, so far without any parallel. The incident in question is genuine, and notable for its entirely unprecedented character.

Even in these days ascetics, father confessors and spiritual advisers are stated to exist in the monasteries of Russia. I do not at this moment propose to discuss whether this is a good or a bad thing, nor whether monks are necessary or unnecessary; it is not for that purpose that I have taken up my pen. But since we live in a world of reality, not even a monk can be erased from my story if that story centres round a monk. Now these spiritual advisers would often seem to be men of good education and intellect. So, at least, runs the common talk, though it is a matter on which I am personally ignorant. Some of them are said to be possessed of a wonderful gift for probing the human soul and of ability to exercise sway over it. Some of these persons are said to be known to the whole of Russia, that is, in effect, to those interested in them. A *starets* lives in the province of Kherson, let us say, and yet he will be visited (the journey being made even on foot) by people from Petersburg or Archangel, from the Caucasus and even from Siberia.

² Another poem by Nekrasov.

Those who go to him have, of course, souls crushed by despair, for which they cannot expect any cure, or their hearts are oppressed by a load of sin so terrible that they do not even speak of it to their father confessor—not because they are afraid or lack faith, but simply because they are utterly despairful of salvation. They suddenly hear of one of these spiritual advisers and they go to visit him.

“I have been listening,” said one of these old monks in the course of a friendly private conversation with a client of his one day, “to the confessions of people for twenty years, and you can imagine what a great acquaintance I have acquired in those twenty years with the most secret and complex disorders of the human soul; but even after twenty years there are still secrets, the hearing of which fills one with horror and indignation. One loses the serenity of mind essential for giving consolation and one is compelled to force oneself to remain meek and placid.”

And then it was that he related this wonderful story from peasant life, to which I have already alluded.

One day I saw a peasant crawling to my house on his knees. I had already seen him out of my window, as he was crawling over the ground.

“There is no salvation for me. I am damned! Whatever you may say to me. . . . I am damned just the same.” Those were his first words to me.

I calmed him as best I could. I could see that the man had crawled all his long way in quest of suffering.

“I was one of a group of village lads gathered together,” he began, “and we fell to wrangling, the question being ‘Who will do the most audacious deed?’ In my conceit I openly challenged them all. Another young fellow led me aside and said to me privately :

“‘You will never do what you say you will. You are bragging.’

“I began to swear with an oath that I would.

“‘Wait,’ he said. ‘Swear by your salvation in the world to come that you will do everything I tell you.’

“I swore.

“‘Lent is almost here,’ he said. ‘Begin the fast. When you go to the altar, receive the Host but do not swallow it. Turn round, take it out of your mouth, and keep it. And then I will tell you what to do.’

“This I did. He led me straight out of the church into a garden. He took a pole, stuck it in the ground and said :

“‘Put it there.’ I put the Host on the pole.

“‘And now,’ he said, ‘bring your gun.’

" I brought it.

" ' Load it.'

" I loaded it.

" ' Take aim and fire.'

" I raised my arm and took aim. And lo, just as I was about to fire, suddenly I thought I saw before me a cross, and on it Christ crucified. At that I fell down with my gun unconscious."

This had happened several years before the man's visit to the old monk. Who this Vlas was, whence he came and what his name was, the old monk did not divulge, of course, any more than he divulged the penance which he laid upon the man. He surely imposed a terrible burden on his soul, a load beyond the strength of man, opining that no burden could be too heavy for such a sin. " It was in quest of suffering that he had crawled here."

Now, is not this incident extremely characteristic; is it not sufficiently suggestive to deserve a few minutes' detailed analysis? I have always been of opinion that the last word will be said by all these various Vlases, repentant and unrepentant; it is they who will show us a new path, a new issue from all our apparently insoluble difficulties. It is not Petersburg that will finally decide the fate of Russia. And therefore every trait, however small, provided it throws *new* light on these " new people," as they now are, perhaps merits our attention.

In the first place, what to me is remarkable—beyond all else remarkable—is the very origin of the affair, I mean the possibility of a quarrel and contest of this kind happening in a Russian village: " Who will do the most audacious deed? " The fact is heavy with terrifyingly many insinuations, and to me comes almost wholly as a surprise—and yet I have seen quite a lot of our peasantry—even those who are most typical. I would further point out that the apparently quite exceptional nature of the fact is itself in favour of its genuineness. Whenever you lie, you invent something much more ordinary and humdrum, so that everyone may believe you.

Then, again, the specifically medical aspect of the case is remarkable. Hallucination is pre-eminently a morbid phenomenon and of very rare occurrence. That sudden hallucination should be experienced by an individual admittedly excited in the extreme but in perfect physical health, is perhaps entirely unprecedented. That, however, is a medical question, and I am but little versed in medicine.

The psychological aspect of the affair is another matter. Here we have two typical examples of our peasantry, both extremely representative of the entire Russian people, of all Russians.

Characteristic, above all, is the complete loss of all restraint (and, be it noted, such loss of restraint is almost always of fleeting, momentary duration, the result, as it were, of some evil suggestion). We see the compelling necessity to transcend all limits, the necessity, while the heart is failing from dread, to go to the edge of the abyss, to lean half over it, to look down into its very depths and—in particular, though very common instances—to hurl oneself headlong into it like an imbecile. We see the compelling necessity for negation, a necessity that sometimes overwhelms the least denying, the most devout person, the necessity for him to disavow everything, even the most sacred shrine of his heart, his dearest ideal, that whole sacred treasury of popular belief which just before he has venerated, but which has now suddenly become to him an unbearable burden.

What is especially astounding, is the impetuous haste with which a Russian will make a display of himself in certain characteristic moments of import to his own life or that of his country, that eagerness to make a show of himself by a fine or a foul act. Sometimes he displays a total absence of restraint. Whether it be in love, or strong drink, or debauchery, in amour-propre or in envy, your Russian is liable to abandon himself utterly and entirely, is ready to cut adrift from everything, renounce everything—family, traditions, God. The best of Russians may suddenly become a disgusting profligate and criminal. he needs only to be caught into that fateful vortex, that whirlpool of convulsive and momentary negation and destruction of self, which is so characteristic of the temper of the Russian people at certain fateful moment of its life. But, on the other hand, with what strength, with what impetuosity, with what thirst for self-preservation and for repentance will the Russian—the individual and the nation—save himself, and usually save himself when he has reached the absolute limit, in other words, when he can go no further. But what is peculiarly characteristic is that the swing back, the thrust enabling him to be a man again and save himself is always stronger than his earlier impulse—the impulse to negation and self-destruction. In other words, the latter is always the result of a kind of mean-spiritedness; on the other hand, it is with the most tremendous and earnest effort that a Russian seeks to retrieve himself, and in his earlier impulse to disavowal of self he despises himself.

I think the chief and most ingrained spiritual necessity of the Russian people is the necessity for suffering, eternally and insatiably, suffering everywhere and in everything. Russians seem to have been infected from the beginning of time with this thirst for

suffering. A stream of suffering flows through their whole history; it arises not from external misfortunes and calamities alone, but surges like a spring from the very heart of the people. Even in its happiness, the Russian people feels it essential to have an element of suffering, otherwise its cup of happiness could not be full. Never, not even in the most triumphant moments of its history, has it borne a proud and triumphant mien, but rather a mien meekly submissive to suffering; it sighs and attributes the glory of its triumph to the grace of God. The Russian people takes a delight, as it were, in its suffering, and what is true of the whole people is also generally true of its individuals. Consider, for example, the numerous types of Russian profligates. We find in them more than mere debauchery, however extreme that may be, and however much it may astound us by its audacity and disgust us by the depths to which the human soul can sink. The point is that such a degenerate is, first and foremost, himself the sufferer. In the Russian, even the stupid Russian, there is absolutely no naively triumphant self-satisfaction. Compare a Russian drunkard and, say, a German drunkard: the Russian is nastier than the German, but the drunken German is undoubtedly more stupid and ridiculous than the Russian. The Germans are pre-eminently a self-satisfied and proud people. In the drunken German the fundamental national characteristics increase in proportion to the amount of beer drunk. The drunken German is undoubtedly a happy person, and he never weeps; he sings boastful songs and is proud of himself. He comes home blind drunk but proud of himself. The Russian drunkard loves drinking for the grief he feels, and he loves to weep. If he swaggers he does so, not triumphantly, but only as a roisterer. He will always call to mind some affront or other and will inveigh against the affronter, whether he be present or not. He will impudently assert that he is next door to being a general, will curse fiercely if he is not believed, and, in the last resort, in order to make himself believed, will always call for the "guard." But the reason that he behaves so outrageously, the reason that he calls for the "guard" is because, at the bottom of his drunken soul, he is himself probably convinced that he is not a "general" at all, but only a vile drunkard and one who has sunk lower than the beasts. As in this microscopic example, so in big things. The greatest profligate, he who outshines all others by the audacity and refinement of his vices, so much so that fools even imitate him, nevertheless realises by some intuitive sense in the secret depths of his degenerate soul that after all he is nought but a wastrel. He is dissatisfied with himself; in his heart reproach rises up, and

he takes vengeance for that reproach on those about him; he raves and hurls himself upon those who are with him. And here he goes to extremes, wrestling with the suffering which, minute by minute, is welling up in his heart, and yet at the same time revelling in it. If he is capable of raising himself up from his degradation, then his revenge for his past fall is terrible, even more terrible than the revenge he wreaked on others, in the fumes of his debauch, for the secret torments caused by the disgust he felt for himself.

Who egged the two lads on to a quarrel culminating in the question: "Who will do the most audacious deed?" and what causes led to the possibility of such a contest happening? That is a mystery; but it is certain that they both suffered—the one in accepting the challenge, the other in making it. Something, of course, preceded the quarrel: either a concealed hatred of each other, or a hatred from childhood which might have been unknown to themselves and suddenly flared up at the moment of the quarrel and the challenge. The latter is the more probable; it is likely, indeed, that they had been friends up to that moment and had lived on terms which became more and more unbearable as time went on; but at the moment of the challenge the hatred they felt for each other and the victim's jealousy of his Mephistophelian tempter were strained to breaking point.

"You will not find me afraid of anything; I will do anything you tell me; may my soul be damned, but I will put you to shame."

"You are boasting, you will scuttle off like a mouse, I shall have the laugh of you, may my soul be damned!"

They might have chosen for their quarrel something very audacious, something quite different—a robbery, a murder, the assassination of some magnate. The lad had, of course, sworn to do anything and everything, and his tempter knew that this time he was in earnest and would act unhesitatingly.

No. The most frightful "audacities" seemed too ordinary to the tempter. He thinks out an unheard-of "audacity," one that is unprecedented and unthinkable, and in the choice he made the whole mental outlook of the Russian people was mirrored.

Unthinkable? But the very fact that he made the choice he did make, shows that he had perhaps already thought about it. It may be that for years past, ever since childhood, this idea had crept into his soul like a dream, had thrilled it with terror and also with sadistic delight. That he had thought out everything long before, including the rifle and the garden, and was storing it all up as a fearful secret—of that there can hardly be any doubt. He

had thought it out, not, of course, with a view to carrying out his design—indeed he would perhaps never have had courage enough had he remained alone. The vision he saw pleased him, from time to time it pervaded his mind, beckoned to him, and sometimes he would shyly yield to it and sometimes he would retreat from it, shivering with terror. Give him but one moment of this unheard-of audacity, and then let the world be confounded! And he believed, of course, that eternal damnation awaited him for his crime: but—“I too have reached the heights!”

Many things may be felt without being consciously perceived. Very many things can be known unconsciously. But the mind of this lad is interesting, is it not, especially in one coming from such a milieu? That is the whole point. It would also be interesting to know how he regarded himself, whether more or less guilty than his victim. Judging by his apparent development, we must presume that he considered himself to be more guilty, or at least as guilty; so that in challenging his victim to be “audacious,” he was also challenging himself.

The Russian people are supposed to know little about the Gospel, to be ignorant of the basic tenets of the faith. That is of course true, but they know Christ, and have borne Him in their hearts from all time. Of that there is not the least doubt. How there can be a true conception of the Christ without any doctrine of the faith, is another question. But a heartfelt knowledge of Christ and a true conception of Him—they exist fully. They are passed down from generation to generation and have blended with the hearts of the people. Perhaps the Christ is the only love of the Russian people, and they love His image in their own manner, that is to say, to the point of suffering.

They are more proud of being called Orthodox, that is, the truest confessors of Christ, than of anything else. I repeat, very many things can be known unconsciously.

To violate, then, that which is so sacred to the people, and sever oneself from the whole world, to hurl oneself to destruction for ever and ever for the sake of one single minute of triumph by denial and pride—nothing more audacious could have been thought of by this Russian Mephistopheles. The possibility that so intense a passion, the possibility that such sombre and complex sensations should reside in the soul of a peasant lad is staggering. And, note well, his thoughts grew till they became almost a conscious idea.

The victim however does not surrender, does not patch up the quarrel, does not take fright, or at least he gives no sign of being afraid. He takes up the challenge. The days go by, and he

maintains his ground. It is the dream no longer, but the real thing; he goes to church, hears every day the words of Christ, and does not recoil.

There exist dreadful murderers who do not turn a hair even at the sight of the victim they have killed. One such murderer, caught in the very act, never confessed to the end, and continued to lie even at the trial. When the judge rose and ordered him to be removed to gaol, the criminal appeared to be moved and begged as a favour to be allowed to take his farewell of the dead woman who was lying there (she was a mistress of his whom he had killed out of jealousy). He bent down, kissed her with tender reverence, burst into tears and, without rising from his knees, once more repeated, with his hands upraised over her, that he was not guilty. I only wish to indicate by this the depths of brutishness to which in his insensibility man can descend.

But in the present case there was no question whatever of insensibility. There was, moreover, something altogether peculiar—a mystic terror, the greatest of all forces influencing the human soul. This was undoubtedly present, to judge at least from the *dénouement*. But the lad had strength of mind enough to join issue with this horror; he proved that. Is this, incidentally, strength or is it extreme mean-spiritedness? Probably the one and the other, for extremes meet. Nevertheless, this mystic terror not only did not cut short, but actually prolonged the fight, and probably it was *it* which helped him to carry through the affair, precisely because it removed from the sinner's heart every feeling of compassion. The more heavily this terror weighed upon him, the more unbearable it became. The sensation of terror is a hard sensation; it dries up the heart, makes it impervious as stone to all compassion and nobility of feeling. This is why the criminal could endure even the moment before taking communion, although he was perhaps stiff with fear and on the verge of collapse. I think also that the hatred between the victim and torturer disappeared altogether during those last days. The lad who was being tempted might well have felt thrills of hatred, painful in their morbid intensity, for himself, for those around him, for those praying in the church, but none at all for his Mephistopheles. They both felt that they needed each other, needed to act together to complete the affair. Each of them no doubt considered himself incapable of finishing it alone. And why did they go on with it, why did they accept so much mental torment? Because they were not able to break the bond. If their contract had been cancelled, their hatred for each other would at once have blazed up ten times

more fiercely than before, and no doubt murder would have been done; the victim would have slain his tormentor.

Suppose that had happened. Even that would have been nothing compared to the horror endured by the victim. The fact is that each of them must beyond doubt have felt deep down in his heart a hellish delight in his own ruin, a breath-taking necessity to lean over the abyss and look down into it, a stupendous rapture for his own audacity. It is almost impossible that the affair should have been consummated without these exciting and passionate sensations. We are not dealing with silly, dull-witted youngsters, merely larking about—in this affair which begins with a contest in “audacity” and ends in despair before the old monk.

Note furthermore that the tempter did not disclose the whole secret to his victim; the latter was still unaware when he left the church what he had to do with the Host, and was unaware right up to the moment when he was ordered to fetch his gun. The passage of so many days in this mystic uncertainty is further evidence of the terrible stubbornness of the victim, while the village Mephistopheles, on the other hand, proves himself a great psychologist.

But may it not be that when they entered the garden, neither of them any longer knew what he was doing? Yet the lad remembered that he had loaded his gun and took aim. Or did he perhaps act merely mechanically, though in full possession of his faculties, as indeed sometimes happens to those in a condition of terror? I do not think so. If he had turned into a mere machine, continuing to act simply from inertia, he would no doubt not have subsequently had the vision; he would simply have fallen down unconscious when the store of inertia had been exhausted—and that would have happened not *before*, but after, the shot. No, the most probable explanation is that he remained conscious and exceptionally clear-headed throughout, in spite of the mortal terror which progressively increased with each moment that passed. And because the victim was able to endure the oppression of this progressively increasing terror, I again repeat that he must undoubtedly have been endowed with enormous mental strength.

Let us now consider the fact that the loading of a gun is an operation necessarily demanding a certain care. The most difficult and unendurable thing at such a moment is, in my opinion, the ability to wrest oneself free from one's terror, from the idea which is crushing one down. Those who are in the last stages of terror cannot, as a rule, tear themselves away from the contemplation of that terror; they cannot wrest themselves free from the subject or idea which

holds them in thrall; they stand before it rooted to the ground, and look their terror straight in the face, as if spell-bound. But the lad loaded his gun carefully, he remembered doing so; he remembered how he then took aim, he remembered everything up to the last moment. It may moreover be that the process of loading the gun was a relief to him, an issue for his suffering soul, and that he was glad to concentrate, even if only for one instant, upon some outside, external object. This is known to happen to those who are about to be guillotined. Du Barry cried out to the executioner: "*Encore un moment, monsieur le bourreau, encore un moment!*" She would have suffered twenty times as much in that minute of grace, if it had been conceded to her, and yet she shouted and begged for it. But if we suppose that the loading of the gun was for our sinner what her "*encore un moment*" was to Du Barry, then, of course, after such a moment he could not have reverted to the terror, from which he had wrested himself free, and could not have continued the affair, taking aim and firing. His hands would have been paralysed and would have failed their office, the gun would have fallen from them of itself, even though he maintained consciousness and will power.

At the very last moment, the whole falsity, the whole baseness of the act, all the mean-spiritedness which he had taken for strength, all the shame of his fall—all this burst out suddenly, in an instant, burst out from his heart and appeared before him, terrible and accusing. The incredible vision confronted him. . . . all was over.

It was from his own heart that judgment came, like a clap of thunder. Why did it not come consciously, by a sudden illumination of the mind and conscience? Why did it appear in a vision, as though it were an entirely external happening, independent of his own mind? That involves an enormous psychological problem, and is God's doing. For him, for the sinner, it was without doubt God's doing. Vlas walked the earth and demanded suffering.

Well, and what of the other Vlas, the one who stayed behind, the tempter? The legend does not say that he crawled on his knees in quest of repentance, does not mention him at all. May be he also crawled on his knees and may be he stayed in the village, and is living there still, drinking away and grinding his teeth on holidays; after all, *he* did not see the vision. Is that so, though? It would be very interesting to find out his story too, for our information, as a subject of study.

There is another reason why it would be interesting. What if this genuine peasant nihilist, this home-grown, free-thinking negationist and unbeliever, selected the subject of the contest out

of a spirit of complete mockery, what if he did not suffer at all, did not quake together with his victim, as we have supposed in our analysis, but with cold curiosity followed the other's quakings and writhings, being impelled purely and simply by a necessity to revel in another person's suffering, in the humiliation of the human soul—acting, the devil only knows, in a spirit of scientific research?

If there really are such traits in our national character (and nowadays anything is possible), nay, even in our villages—then this is a new discovery—one, too, that is somewhat unexpected. Such traits were pretty well unheard of formerly. The tempter in Ostrovsky's admirable comedy *Live not as you like, but as God wills* will then prove to be very poor stuff. What a pity that we cannot find out anything reliable in the present case.

Of course, the interest of the story here related—if it has any interest—lies only in its being true. But it is sometimes worth while to look into the soul of a present-day Vlas. The present-day Vlas is changing rapidly. There is the same ferment down below where he is, as there is and has been up here with us ever since the nineteenth of February.³ The giant has woken up and is stretching his limbs; perhaps he will want to carouse, to run amok. He is said to have already begun his carouse. We hear and read of terrible things: drunkenness, robbery, drunken children, drunken mothers, cynicism, poverty, ignominy, godlessness. Certain serious, though rather hasty people, judge—and they judge by fact—that if this "carouse" continues even another ten years, the consequences will be inconceivable, even from the purely economic point of view. But let us remember "Vlas" and console ourselves. At the last moment the whole lie, if it is a lie, will leap out from the heart of the people, will stand forth and be unmasked for what it is with an unbelievable force. Vlas will come to, and will gird himself to do God's work. In any event, he will save himself even if disaster should befall him. Himself and us he will save, for, I repeat it, light and salvation will shine from below (perhaps, too, in a guise entirely unexpected by our Liberals—and therein will be much that is comic). There are hints about us of the surprise in store, facts even now are popping up—but we can have a word about that later on. In any case, the present insolvency of us "fledglings of Peter's nest" is beyond doubt, for the nineteenth of February has, of course, put a complete end to the Peter the Great period of Russian history, and as a result, we have long since embarked upon completely unknown seas.

³ 19 February (3 March), 1861, was the date of the emancipation of the serfs in Russia.—ED.

IN THE DEPTHS

A Play in One Act by FRANCE BEVK

Translated from the Slovene by ANTHONY J. KLANČAR *in collaboration*
with FLORENCE NOYES

CHARACTERS

JOŽEF GRIVAR, *the sergeant-major.*

TONÈ (ANTON) GRIVAR, *his brother, a private soldier.*

CORPORAL.

TELEPHONE OPERATOR.

AUSTRIAN SOLDIERS.

The interior of a dug-out with a closed entrance at the rear. Telephone against the wall. Shadowy outlines of men's forms are visible, crouching in bunks and in corners, most of them being crowded together in a corner to the right. Somebody is seen writing a letter under the dim light of a lamp. A soldier is playing very softly on a mouth-organ. Another soldier is singing in an inaudible tone.

The guns, their fury swelling from time to time, are plainly heard even here in the depths. Nobody pays any attention to them. The sergeant-major, who sits near the front, looks boredly at his watch.

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Corporal !

CORPORAL : Huh ?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Corporal !

CORPORAL : Waiting for orders, sir !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Are you a corporal, or are you a coward ?

No huhs ! Here—here are your orders ! Understand ?

CORPORAL : Yes, sir.

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Even if it has to be my brother ! Change the guard !

CORPORAL : At once, sir ! (*Reading from a list.*) Lipnik, Jozef ; Zelnik, Peter ! Snap into it ! Knapsacks, bullets—everything in order ? Get ready ! Rifle and bayonet !

FIRST SOLDIER : Holy Mother of Mercy !

SECOND SOLDIER : Damn him ! I'd just got to sleep, and it's my turn again !

SOMEBODY : Don't take your soul with you ; they might drill her for you.

SECOND SOLDIER : I won't chase after her if she runs away from me. She'll think I don't give a damn for her, then she'll come back.

CORPORAL : Hurry up ! They're waiting outside.

FIRST SOLDIER: If they haven't met their death this time, they won't now, either! And if they should happen to get hit the minute that was meant for us, we'll be thankful. Just see to it that you don't leave us out there over time; I wouldn't want to die even if it was my turn, let alone somebody else's

SECOND SOLDIER: Don't try to be smart! We can't cross the ways of God. If we come late now, we'll be killed later. . . .
(*They go out.*)

SOMEBODY: They talk about death as if it were a matter of business.

FIRST SOLDIER (*not the man who has gone on guard*): There are lots of people like that in the world. You never know what is hidden in the depths of a man's nature, just as you don't know what lies in the centre of the earth. The good, or the bad? Or perhaps both?

SECOND SOLDIER (*after a moment of silence*): Death? What sort of death? We don't know.

THIRD SOLDIER: It didn't get me yet, either. If you wait for it, it won't come.

FOURTH SOLDIER: It doesn't matter whether you think of death, or not. When it comes, it comes like a wolf out of the forest.

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*raises his head*): What are you two chattering about? Haven't you anything else to do?

ONE OF THE SOLDIERS: Even a butcher may talk about his calves, and why shouldn't we talk about death? They treat us like dogs—— It's hellish again tonight. We lost the lieutenant—we didn't even have time to bury him—and the devil took the sergeant. If you hadn't come, sir, we'd be without a commander now.

SECOND SOLDIER (*in a lower voice so that the sergeant-major may not hear*): I know what's the matter with him. He's been at his mother's. Three weeks leave, you know. A man begins to taste of life, and death becomes a nightmare to him. But we men who've been carrying on a whole year already. . . .

ONE OF THE SOLDIERS: Wasn't he a bridegroom, too?

ANOTHER OF THE SOLDIERS: Yes, for his brother.

ONE OF THE SOLDIERS: You mean . . . hm!—he was his proxy at the wedding! . . . Wasn't there some trouble between them?

SECOND SOLDIER: Yes, strange things! One night when I couldn't sleep, I listened to them. They almost choked each other in the dark. I don't know why the sergeant-major left, or even why he went as his brother's proxy. . . .

ONE OF THE SOLDIERS : Yes, yes—why?

FIRST SOLDIER : Well, well! . .

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Where's Tonè?

ONE OF THE SOLDIERS : Your brother was on guard in the left trench, sir, so that you couldn't see him. He's coming back now.

CORPORAL (*entering with another man*) : Here we are. Only two left. Another man's been laid out.

ALL : Who?

CORPORAL : Lazarič's been laid in his grave. Quiet now! Let him rest in peace!

FIRST SOLDIER : Why should there be a guard so long as they're firing? Huh? Why two men instead of one?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Ask the general!

SECOND SOLDIER . The general? You must listen to reason

FIRST SOLDIER : You just listen to reason and see how far you get.

THIRD SOLDIER . We've all got to take our turn.

TONÈ (*approaching the sergeant-major*) : You've come back from your leave, Jožef?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Yes, just in time to croak.

TONÈ : And what's—the news?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Oh—the news? Nothing. That is . . . they send you their regards. You're a married man with a wife now

FIRST SOLDIER : You can die now. You won't have any children.

SECOND SOLDIER : Your wife may have them, but they won't be yours.

TONÈ : What are you chattering about, you crazy fool? And nothing else?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : What else do you want? There was a wedding, a little feast . . . that's all.

FIRST SOLDIER : Did you want him to bring your wife along, too?

Where would you put her, you skunk?

TONÈ : She didn't send any letter? Wasn't there anything else?

FIRST SOLDIER : What else do you want? You can't send everything you want to.

SECOND SOLDIER : Don't worry. Your brother did everything himself, at least you sent him home as your proxy.

TONÈ : Shut up, you pig! Who asked you to open your dirty snout?

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*with a bantering laugh*) : Are you jealous?

TONÈ (*quickly*) : No! But I do ask if this is fair. . . .

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*irritated*): You're picking on me again. Did I break the terms of our agreement, or did you?

TONÈ: Well, I'm not complaining. But if you're my good younger brother, tell me what happened. She must have said a word, at least.

SERGEANT-MAJOR: She said, "Yes." On your account, not on mine.

TONÈ: On yours? Why should she say it on yours—after all, you've convinced yourself that . . .

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*blurtng it out*): I haven't convinced myself at all! (*Banteringly.*) Then after all you *are*—jealous?

TONÈ: Don't you think I know you've always loved each other? But don't you know you gave her up to me! You hear!

SERGEANT-MAJOR: Gave her up? Of course I gave her up! I just took her to the wedding, then to the supper, then. . . . (*Malicious laughter.*)

TONÈ: Then . . . then what?

FIRST SOLDIER: Then—you want to know more! Isn't it clear enough? He gets married to a woman by proxy and still he's jealous! Dumb ox!

TONÈ: Why are your mouths watering, you pigs!

SECOND SOLDIER: Certainly not for a farm, as yours is. What good will the land do you if you have to hold it on your nose in your grave? You'd have your wife at least for a day.

THIRD SOLDIER: But she's his anyhow.

FOURTH SOLDIER: Yes, like Saint Gall in the almanac.

SECOND SOLDIER: And supposing the sergeant-major did love her?

Huh? He's still young. And he isn't such a weakling.

FIRST SOLDIER: He did right to sleep with her the first night.

TONÈ: Bitches! Faugh! Pigs! You're all my witnesses! Speak out, Jožef!

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*sits down on a joist, stares at the floor and laughs to himself.*)

A SOLDIER FROM A CORNER: Let the man live in peace! What has he done to you?

SECOND SOLDIER: Say your rosary and shut up!

TONÈ (*trembling all over, steps up to the sergeant-major with flashing eyes*): Speak out now! What have you to say about this?

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*raising his head*): About what?

TONÈ: About all this talk. This is the sort of thing these swine have been grunting to me every day. I know it isn't true, but still it upsets me. And even if I didn't love her, it would upset me. And now she's my wife. . . .

FIRST SOLDIER : You'd better lend him your pipe, too.

TONÈ : That's why I want to hear it from your own lips. . . . Let them all hear. . . .

SERGEANT-MAJOR : What do you want to know?

TONÈ (*impatiently*) : Whether it's true, or not?

FIRST SOLDIER : He's still asking !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Much of it is perhaps true, and much isn't. Tell me, just what do you want to know?

TONÈ : You're driving nails into my flesh. I can't sleep of nights any more. But you've come back at last ! Is it true or not . . . that you were my proxy in bed, too ? . . . (*All are silent.*)

A SOLDIER FROM A CORNER : Let the man live in peace.

FIRST SOLDIER : Fine peace, with the shells howling above you like a thousand devils !

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*rises ; the smile on his face has not yet entirely disappeared*) : Brother Tonè ! I'd tell you if I knew you really loved her, or if I thought she really meant very much to you, just to relieve your poor soul.

TONÈ : Haven't I said that she means everything to me this moment ! Everything. . . .

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Is that the truth ?

TONÈ : If you wish, I'll swear by the living God. . . .

SERGEANT-MAJOR : No ! (*Slowly.*) Then I'll tell you, but otherwise I wouldn't, if I thought you didn't love her. I was your proxy in bed, too. . . .

TONÈ : That's not true !

ALL : Ha, ha, ha ! . . .

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Do you want me to lie ?

TONÈ : You cheated me, then. My misgivings didn't deceive me, then—but that kind of thing was sure to happen in such a case. They all knew but me. . . . Fool, fool !

SEVERAL VOICES : Ha, ha, ha ! You always used to say you cheated your brother ! Ha, ha !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : So, brother ?

TONÈ : Shut up, you swine ! It's a lie ! Prove it !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Your wife has a beautiful body. White skin, a soft . . . isn't she even of southern blood ?

TONÈ : Shut up ! Will you shut up ! One more word, and I'll . . . Will you shut u-u-up ! (*Starts to rush at him ; the sergeant-major retreats a few paces but keeps cool.*)

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*in a thundering voice*) : Attention !

TONÈ (*snapping into attention and remaining erect like a statue under*

the hypnotic command. He is exhausted, and his eyes look around rovingly.)

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Down !

TONÈ (*throwing himself on the ground at the command*).

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Up !—Dismissed ! Not another word !

TONÈ (*goes staggering to the wall and squats on the ground ; then he becomes absorbed in thought, his body shaking as if with sobs or a terrible fever*).

(*For a time all is quiet, except that an awful rumbling shakes the environs of the dug-out.*)

A SOLDIER FROM A CORNER : Still, it isn't right that this should happen to the man. Why don't you lie down ? Why don't you speak well of the man, instead of ill ?

FIRST SOLDIER : You're a coward.

SECOND SOLDIER : What's the difference between good and ill ? It can't be any worse.

THIRD SOLDIER : I'll bet my head the sergeant-major lied.

FIRST SOLDIER : You'd better not ! You'll lose it soon enough anyway.

SECOND SOLDIER : Whether he lied or not, who'd believe him now ? What woman would believe us if we told her we had no women in the trenches now ?

FIRST SOLDIER : It was before a certain offensive. . . . Don't you believe me ? The officers went to visit the whores. That's how they prepared themselves for death. As a matter of fact, Death mowed them all down.

A SOLDIER FROM A CORNER : Oh, my God !

THIRD SOLDIER : It's a strange thing about human nature. The nearer death you are, the bigger pig you are. You don't even care to have a lucky man beside you, not even one who's a bit luckier than you are.

A SOLDIER FROM A CORNER : That doesn't help us any. If death comes, it comes anyway.

SECOND SOLDIER : Dog's logic. What comes, comes, of course. You're the only one who prays. (*Silence.*) Damned offensive !

THIRD SOLDIER : I know that rumbling. It's coming soon—that damned thundering, when everything is torn up and riddled to pieces. Do you doubt that the enemy is already lying behind those lines of wire ? The man that's the last on guard is sure to be killed. And we, too, if we don't get out the right moment. . . . Boom ! A shell in front of the door and it'll squeeze us like a press. . . .

SOMEBODY : Keep still ! You can't even hear if it's stopped.

FIRST SOLDIER : Are you deaf ? My head is splitting (*Telephone rings*)

TELEPHONE OPERATOR : Hello ?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Keep still ! Silence !

TELEPHONE OPERATOR : Hello ? Yes. Please. (*Writing.*) Enemy crossing the river. Lies just behind the lines. Firing will cease any moment. They'll rush the entrance. Guard each of these with one more man That man will be responsible for covering it with his life. . . . What ? Yes, yes ! Understood.

SOMEBODY : What's going to happen ?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : What's going to happen ? You've just heard what's going to happen.

TELEPHONE OPERATOR : Reporting telegraphic message, sir !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Good. Make a clean copy of it —Another man has to go on guard He'll take a revolver and three hand grenades. He'll watch when the shadow behind the lines of wire rises, and then jump into the trench. He'll see to it that he stays alive till he kills that shadow ; damn it—well, then he can die. . . . (*Silence in the dug-out. Rumbling.*)

SOMEBODY : Whoever he is—he won't stay alive out there.

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Dead or alive. . . . Better one than all of us This time we're fighting for daylight And before the second line comes up, we'll have the trenches—and life.

SOMEBODY : Who'll go ?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Who has the courage to speak up ? Die an hour sooner or later, there's no difference to amount to anything.

SOMEBODY : There isn't much difference. But the hope to live still remains in us. With that hope we've managed to pull through all these years. Yes, that's so !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Who has the guts to go ? Who'll be the hero— (*Silence.*)

SERGEANT-MAJOR : I can't go, you can see that.—I'll point to some man, and he'll go. . . .

SOMEBODY : To his death !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : You've gone to your death more than once already, and you're still alive ! (*He measures them all with a glance. A strange, bantering smile hovers over his lips for a second. Tense silence prevails. All gaze at him ; Tonè alone sits gloomily staring at the floor as if he saw no one. The sergeant's glance finally rests upon him. . . . After a second he raises his finger and points at him.*) You !

TONÈ (*does not stir*).

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Anton Grivar !

TONÈ (*raising his head*) : What's happened? Is it my turn?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : No change of guard ! You're going back !

TONÈ (*confused*) : Where ?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Take a rifle and three hand grenades.

SOMEBODY : Leave your knapsack here; you won't need it any more !

TONÈ : What is it? Why don't you let me alone? Today at least, that—I may think it over. . . .

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Take a rifle and put three hand grenades under your belt. Come on !

TONÈ (*taking up the grenades and the rifle mechanically*) : Why must it be just now? Now, when I was trying to think where I'd go? Or whether it would be worth while going to Brazil, where the voice of—shame—wouldn't reach me !—

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Silence ! Now, take care ! Stay close by the door Nobody's to reach the door; if they do they'll shut us all up like rabbits in a hole at one stroke. A minute before you die every one of those men must be dead.

TONÈ : So? You ! No, no, no; I can't ! Look, Jožef, I really ! . . .
(*Throws away his rifle.*)

SERGEANT-MAJOR : I'm the sergeant-major !

TONÈ : Brother !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : I'm the sergeant-major ! The others would call me a swine. " Ha ! " they would say, " He didn't go himself, or even send his brother. . . . "

TONÈ : Sergeant ! There are others who haven't any children or wives. What's life to them ! No ! I'll leave you everything. I'll go to Brazil ! I'll live there quietly, alone ! Nobody will know about me !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Pick up your rifle !

TONÈ : Sergeant !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Do as you're ordered ! If you fall, take care that you fall in such a way that we shan't stumble over you. Come on !

TONÈ : You're a wolf ! You're a hyena feeding on corpses ! We were both born of one mother. One woman suckled us. All right ! Have her—have her—! If she's unfaithful to me, perhaps she'll be faithful to you ! There won't be a trace of me any more.

SOMEBODY : The firing's stopped. Isn't it too late already ?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Go on ! You'll fall anyhow. It doesn't matter whether it's here or out there. I can't go back home any more. *(Taking out his revolver.)*

TONÈ : Who will speak for me ? I'd like to live a year longer yet. I haven't even begun to live yet !

ALL : Go on, you rascal ! Is your life any dearer than ours ?—Get out, you rabbit. If not, we'll kick you out ! Murderer of us and our children ! Rebel ! Drive him out ! Shall we die for him ? He'd like to go to Brazil. He'd laugh at us ! Grab him by the throat. What are you looking at him for ! Go and make the sign of the cross over his sins !—He hasn't slept with his wife yet, and he wants us to buy him off that one night ! Coward !

TONÈ : What have I done to you, that you bark at me like this ?

ALL : You'll die alone ! You'll die if we die !

TONÈ *(with an ugly grimace)* : Dogs ! Wolves !

ALL : You innocent angel ! Kill him, sergeant, if he won't go ! Kill him !—Let him go ! Well, kill him ! Throw him out of the door !

TONÈ *(staggering, but throwing a terrible look at them. More to himself than to the others)* : I'll go. I'll go and carry out orders. You'll howl like a pack of wolves ! Like a pack of wolves ! *(Takes up a shovel.)*

SOMEBODY : What are you taking ?

TONÈ : A shovel . . . to dig my grave. Dogs ! *(He goes out. All follow him to the door with their eyes. The door closes.)*

FIRST SOLDIER : He's gone.

SECOND SOLDIER : He won't come back any more.

THIRD SOLDIER : He was his brother—still. . . .

FIRST SOLDIER : God knows if we'll ever cross that threshold again ourselves. It would be less dreadful to die in the sun . . . in the open. . . .

SECOND SOLDIER : No, it's better inside here. If you fall, you'll just be down ; then in a minute you'll be buried without a priest or a tear. Everything you have will go with you. You'll be dead with your dead neighbours. All in a minute !

FIFTH SOLDIER *(who has not spoken yet)* : I've a family and children. I remember many terrible battles. Such a lot of blood ! And every moment I saw the bloody heads of my own people, wherever a grenade went off. But God has protected me. . . .

THIRD SOLDIER : Whenever I see you, you're always praying. Are you really such a sinner ?

VOICE FROM A CORNER : Do you still wear your monk's gown ?

FIFTH SOLDIER (*with a sigh*) : Our Father which art in heaven. . . .

ANOTHER VOICE FROM A CORNER : We'll live yet. When I go back home, I'll drink a barrel of wine !

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*who has stood pensive with the revolver hanging from his finger*) : Silence ! Wasn't that a grenade bursting in the ground above us ? Didn't something knock against the door ?

FIRST SOLDIER : Pst ! No, there's nothing ! Perhaps ! (*Silence.*)
(*Something knocks against the door again*)

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Open the door ! Go and see !

SOMEBODY (*tries it ; the door will not open. Remains standing and does not stir.*)

ALL : What is it ? What's happened ? What does this mean ?

SOMEBODY : The door won't open. . . .

SERGEANT-MAJOR : The door won't open ? The door won't open !

ALL : Locked ? Bolted ? Buried ? Buried alive ? Like corpses beside a living body ! Hey !

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*rushing to the door ; he tries to open it ; it will not give*) : Hello ! Open ! Has it buried us ? What is it ? (*All is silent as the grave.*)

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Anton ! Are you alive ? Or are you dead ?
Anton ! (*From outside is heard a burst of laughter that seems to come out of terrible depths of wrath.*)

ALL (*astonished. They gaze and gaze, silent as night, frightened like children.*)

VOICE FROM OUTSIDE : Sergeant-major Jožef Grivar !

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*dispirited, silent. When the call is repeated he says*) : What do you want, Anton, my brother ?

VOICE FROM OUTSIDE : Brother ? I am Private Grivar, your subordinate, in whose hands has remained the last card in the game. I'll throw it soon.

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Anton !

VOICE : I'll throw it soon ! Do you hear ?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : I hear you ! I can even see your face.

VOICE : Listen ! Answer my questions. I shall be dead three minutes before you will !

ALL : Break down the door ! Kill him ! Tear out his tongue !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Anton !

VOICE : Whose is she ? Speak the truth !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Yours ! It's the truth—she's yours !

VOICE : You love her, and you think of her in the stormiest nights.

SERGEANT-MAJOR : That's true . . . I do think of her !

VOICE : Will you also think of her when Death reaches for your hand?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : I swear to God I really will !

VOICE : I won't, because I have to die. Now I see I didn't love her after all.

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Brother ! Brother ! You haven't died yet, and we can still meet each other. You're doomed to die in a moment ! Remember that !

VOICE : All right ! I knew she'd drop into your arms like ripe fruit. But I knew I needed to increase and improve my property by hers in order to live. I only knew that ! *

SERGEANT-MAJOR : What have you done !

VOICE : I was afraid you'd take her away from me. I was the first to write to her ; and I chose you for my proxy at the altar—but not in bed.

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Scoundrel ! How can I still call you brother ? You only wanted to get hold of the land, you didn't want her. And I loved her ! You put me in doubt about her love for you, so I went to read the answer in her eyes. But I couldn't look into her eyes through my own tears. It was too late, so I kept quiet ; if I had said. . . . But I didn't even touch her !

VOICE : You lie ! You cheated me. You poached on my rights ! You're a thief ! The worse because you're my brother !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : I'm not ! Fool, that you don't understand ! Deaf, that you don't hear ! What are you going to do ?

VOICE : You're going to die !

ALL : Rascal ! Open the door ! Beast ! What have we done to you ?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Yes, what have they done to you ? You'll be alive, you won't die, if you open the door.

VOICE : Why should I live ? I'll die of wounded pride—and you, of love ! I won't turn my mind away from this thought ; you know me ! Death awaits you all !

SEVERAL VOICES : Open ! Break down the door ! We'll kill you like a dog !

VOICE : The door is bolted ! It'll squeeze you to the wall like a shoe would a swarm of flies, like a press would paper.

SOMEBODY : Tear out his tongue !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Are we to wait for what's coming—Anton !

VOICE : Go on !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : I'm sorry. But I've been honest. I didn't say even a word; she had tears in her eyes. She looked so tenderly at me that I was burning with fire. . . . I realised too late. . . . This burned me, this gnawed me, and I wanted to avenge myself. . . .

VOICE : Ha, ha, ha ! Who'll believe you now ?

SERGEANT-MAJOR . I saw her when she looked out of the window on her wedding night. . . . I didn't touch her, although I was frantic with pain

VOICE : Ha, ha, ha !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : I swear to you !

VOICE : Death is a dreadful mill; it grinds and crushes. Your soul has become soft. But even if I wanted to believe you, I should only believe you for a second . . . all my life, the doubt would remain in my mind—and if I were not to do this—I'd still be in debt to you—and our debts would remain unpaid. We'll settle up today ! Even if I wanted to save you, it's too late now !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : I swear by the living God !

VOICE (*is silent*).

SOMEBODY : Is he dead already ?

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Anton !

VOICE (*is silent*).

ALL : Has he fallen asleep ? Wake him up ! Who sent him out ? Shoot him through the door ! Anton ! Tonè ! Why the devil doesn't he answer !

VOICE (*laughing loudly*).

SOMEBODY : He's laughing ! Is he mad ?

ALL : Beast ! We shall all die ! If we all get buried, we shall die ! We can't even avenge ourselves !

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Brother ! Blood of my blood ! We'll carry you in our arms !

ALL : Our friend ! We loved you. We were sorry for you. We thought of your wife. Your voice was dear to us.

FIRST SOLDIER : I always gave you tobacco. For my sake, please !

SECOND SOLDIER : I carried your rifle when you couldn't march.

THIRD SOLDIER : I bandaged your hand.

FOURTH SOLDIER : At night you'd get up and step on my foot, but I didn't quarrel with you.

FIFTH SOLDIER : I am Štefan Pik. Listen, Anton, I am Štefan Pik. I have a wife and three children. I have gone through seven offensives already. I am Štefan Pi-i-ik. . . . !

SOMEBODY (*listening*): There's nobody outside any more. Just grenades howling.

SEVERAL VOICES: Who's to blame for this? We ask, who's to blame for this!

FIRST SOLDIER: God's to blame! Why does He allow anything like this!

SECOND SOLDIER: Our mothers are to blame, who bore us. Mother, why did you bear me?

THIRD SOLDIER: The damned Emperor's to blame!

FOURTH SOLDIER: Oh, we fools—obedient, humble sons of a dog's race!

SEVENTH SOLDIER: We're all to blame, we devils and vultures who love rifles and parades, we who want to sate our greed and appetite, even if half the world cries because of us!

SIXTH SOLDIER: They're to blame, the ones who are lying at home and getting rich, and whom our women are serving with our goods and their bodies.

FIFTH SOLDIER: I am Štefan Pík. I have a wife and three children!

SOMEBODY: I know who's to blame. (*In a low voice, furtively.*) The sergeant-major's to blame.

ALL: The sergeant-major! The dog!—Where's the sergeant-major? Hm, he's huddling over there like a scared chicken. Devil! Murderer! Look at him! What a face he has! What about your medal now? Look at him! How his hands hang down! Tell us, what's this all about? Tell us, tell us!

SERGEANT-MAJOR: Let me alone! What do you want with me?

ALL: Answer us! We want an answer!

SERGEANT-MAJOR: He's killed me. Cain has killed me.

ALL: Cain? Ha, ha, ha! Abel has killed Cain? You're Cain! He's Abel! No, he's Cain, too! Isn't he dead yet? Damn him! . . .

SERGEANT-MAJOR: Stop! Let me alone! Death awaits us!

ALL: Death? Well, sergeant-major, the mighty, save us from death! Tell Death, when she comes, to report to the general! Give orders to her!—Ha! You'd like to live, you who've slept with your brother's wife!

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*quickly*): I didn't!

SOMEBODY: He even lies just before his death.

SERGEANT-MAJOR: I'm not lying!

ALL : Do we have to pay for your lie? Tear off his stars! He isn't our sergeant any more! He's just a private soldier who has to die with us! Ha, ha, ha! (*They tear off his stars.*) There! What are you now? Where's your almighty sergeant-major's rank now? Save us if you can!

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Let me alone!

SOMEBODY : Kill him!

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Listen! You fools! We're saved! We're saved!

ALL : Punish us, if we can only live! We want to live!

SERGEANT-MAJOR : Operator! Call up. . . .

TELEPHONE OPERATOR : It's impossible now. . . . The wire's—broken. . . .

ALL (*shudder*).

FIFTH SOLDIER : I am Štefan Pik. I have a wife and children.

SOMEBODY (*pointing to the sergeant-major*) : He's to blame!

SECOND SOLDIER : Look at him!

A FEW VOICES : Hypocrite! Liar!

SOMEBODY : Let him die!

SERGEANT-MAJOR (*rising, pale*) : Come on! Everyone to his place! Clean your rifles. Attention! Fall in!

ALL : Ha, ha, ha! We're all alike now!

SERGEANT-MAJOR : At—tention!

ALL : Ha, ha, ha! Save us from death, and we'll stand at attention. Prove that you'll live just a minute longer than we shall. Kill him! Let him die! Why should we pay for his lie? You devil! Villain! Monster! You're to blame. . . . You . . . You . . . You. . . . (*They attack him; his dead body falls to the ground. All is quiet; just the rumbling of the guns is heard as before.*)

SOMEBODY : What have we done?

SECOND SOLDIER : We've done nothing. We did right.

THIRD SOLDIER : We did right. We even did him a favour.

SOMEBODY : He's dead. He won't suffer any more.

FIRST SOLDIER : Throw him aside! Why is he looking at us like that? He's to blame!

SOMEBODY : You're to blame. You—aren't you his kinsman? Let the dead alone!

ALL : You spied for him! You betrayed us! You crawled on your belly to him!

FIRST SOLDIER : You're talking nonsense! You're all turning cowards!

SOMEBODY : Let him alone ! Hasn't there been enough bloodshed ?

Aren't you ashamed of yourselves ? . . .

ALL : Shut up ! Shut up ! (*All becomes silent.*)

VOICE FROM A CORNER : Let us pray ! Let us pray to God that He may help us !

SECOND SOLDIER : Let us curse ! Let us curse, to forget !

THIRD SOLDIER : We're buried alive The air is giving out already !

A SOLDIER : You're right, let us pray ! Holy Virgin Mary ! Holy Trinity ! St. Jošev ! All you great Saints, save us ! My God, I don't even know how to pray any more !

ANOTHER SOLDIER : I won't beat my wife any more ! I won't curse . . .

I'll go to church Blessed years of my youth !

ANOTHER SOLDIER : I've done you a wrong, my friend I'll take it all back publicly. I'll make up for the damage I've done you

ANOTHER SOLDIER : How good I feel in my heart now, how holy my thoughts are !

SOMEBODY : Faugh ! Faugh ! Faugh ! Curse the earth that supports this brood called humanity ! Curse the brains that invented all this for which we have to suffer today ! Curse all of you who are with me, and myself, and our mothers, and everybody, back to Adam, to the creation of the world !

SECOND SOLDIER : Who made this hell of a world !

THIRD SOLDIER : Shall I have to die and not be able to avenge myself on all who have spat on me ?

FOURTH SOLDIER : Let the earth sink !

SOMEBODY : Let us pray ! Let us try to pray !

ALL : No ! No !—Let us pray !—No ! No !—Nothing will help anyway—For it is written . . . For it has been written in terrible letters from all eternity . . .

SOMEBODY : It's happened already . . . Something's crashed . . .

ONE OF THE SOLDIERS : This isn't it. I know death . . . (*Stealthily ; all is quiet.*) It'll come, and then everything will be quiet above us. Then we'll count the minutes . . . Just long enough for a man to lift himself up, throw the hand grenades, and fall against the ground. When he lifts himself up again for one—two—three minutes . . . Crash behind the door . . . and . . . and . . .

FIRST SOLDIER : No, no, no !

SECOND SOLDIER : Yes, yes, yes !

VOICE FROM THE DEPTHS : Who'll save me ? I'll give him every-
thing : my wife, my land ! I'll be his slave.

ALL : Ha, ha, ha !—

SOMEBODY (*taking his rifle*): My darling! I'm lonely. . . . I'm lonely . . .

ALL (*rushing at him and taking the rifle away from him*): No! You'll die with us! Wait awhile! You'd like an easier death? No! no!

SOMEBODY: Oh, my dear! Let me alone! (*One of the men holds him down on the ground for some unknown reason.*)

SECOND SOLDIER: Break open the door!

ALL: Make a hole! Make a hole to air, to freedom!

FIRST SOLDIER. The axe! Where's the axe?

ALL: Find the axe! Why didn't we think of the axe before? Are you lying on the axe? Who has the axe?

SECOND SOLDIER: Here's the axe!

ALL: Here's the axe!—Give me the axe!—Give him the axe! Don't kill yourselves!—Chop!—Give me the axe!—Faster!—Quick! Don't kill me!—

SOMEBODY (*shouting*): The firing's stopped.

ONE OF THE SOLDIERS: Count the minutes! .

ALL: The firing? (*They pause and listen. An awful quiet broods over the place. The explosion of a hand grenade is heard. A burst of painful laughter can be distinguished. Almost all of them fall to the ground.*)

SOMEBODY (*shouting in a shrill voice*): Five more seconds. . . .

ALL (*fall to the ground, hide their heads in their hands and huddle together; some of them embrace and lock one another in their arms*) (*An awful explosion shatters the door; and something unknown, unseen, fills the place, which is changed into a death trap, with bodies bathing in warm blood. Silence*)

CURTAIN

JANKO THE MUSICIAN

Translated from the Polish of HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ by
N. B. JOPSON.

It came into the world frail and feeble. The gossips who had gathered round the truckle bed shook their heads over both mother and child. The wife of Simon the blacksmith, who was the wisest of them all, tried to comfort the sick woman. "Let me now," she said, "light a blessed candle over your head; it'll soon be all over with you, my dear; 'tis time for you to pack up for the world to come and send for parson to give you absolution for your sins."

"Yes!" said another, "and the brat must be christened at once—he'll not be here when parson comes, and it will be lucky if he doesn't stay behind to haunt us."

With these words she lit a consecrated candle, and taking up the child sprinkled water over him, waiting till he blinked; and then she said:

"I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; I give thee the name of John, and now go, Christian soul, to the place whence thou camest. Amen!"

But the Christian soul quite refused to go away to the place whence it had come and leave the puny body; on the contrary, with the legs of that body it began to kick lustily, and to cry, though so weakly and so pitifully that, as the gossips said, "'tis more like a cat miaowing nor anything else."

The priest was sent for. He came, did his office, went off again, and the mother grew better. In a week she had gone back to work. By then the babe was just about "gasping," as they said, and gasp he did. When he was four the cuckoo was heard coo-cooing him to health in the spring; after that he pulled up, and in some sort of health reached the tenth year of his life.

He was always thin and sun-parched, with bloated stomach and sunken cheeks. He had a forelock like hemp, almost white, falling over clear, staring eyes which looked into the world as if gazing into infinity. In winter he would sit behind the stove and whimper with the cold, and sometimes with hunger, too, if his mother had nothing to put into the stove or the stew pot. In summer he went about in a shirt with a bit of cloth for a girdle and in a straw hat, his face poking up bird-fashion from under its ragged brim. His mother, too poor to have a cottage of her own, and living from hand to mouth like a swallow nesting under strange eaves, loved him perhaps in her own way; but she thrashed him often enough and generally called him her "runt." Before he was eight he was herding cattle, or, when there was nothing to eat at home, was out in the forest looking for mushrooms, and it was only by God's mercy that he was never eaten by wolves.

He was very backward and, like village children, would suck his finger when spoken to. It was not thought likely that his mother would rear him, and still less likely that she would ever have any comfort from him, for he was a failure at work. Heaven knows where it came from, but there was only one thing that he yearned after, and that was music. He heard music everywhere, and as soon as he had grown a little, he thought of nothing else. He would

go into the forest behind his beasts or search for berries with the twins, and he would return empty-handed, and lisp out :

" Oh Mummy—thomething wath playing in the wood—oh, oh," and his mother said : " I'll play you, my lad, never fear." And at times she made music on him with the ladle. The boy yelled and promised that it would not happen again, but he went on thinking that something played out there in the forest. Did he know what it was? Didn't they all play, pines, beeches, birches, golden orioles? The whole forest was playing, and that was the end of it.

The echoes, too. . . . In the field the mugwort played for him, and the sparrows chirruped away in the cottage patch till the very cherry trees were all a-quiver. In the evening he would listen to the voices and noises of the village, and he was sure in his heart that the whole village was playing. And when he was sent to spread manure the wind in the pitchfork played for him.

The overseer once caught him at it, standing there with his hair all tousled and hearkening to the wind in the wooden fork. Yes, he caught him and he unbuckled his strap, and gave him what for as a reminder. But it did no good ! People called him Johnnie the musician. In the spring he would run away from home to make reed flutes down by the brook, and at night when the frogs began to croak and the corncrakes were calling and the bitterns booming, when the cocks were crowing outside the fence, he could not sleep. He just listened and the Lord God alone knows the music he heard even in all that. . . . His mother could not take him to church, for as soon as he heard the organ roll or maybe its sweet, soft notes, a haze spread over his eyes and the world they gazed into seemed to be not this world.

The watchman who went his rounds in the village, and counted the stars in the sky so as not to fall asleep or chatted softly with the dogs, sometimes saw Johnnie in his white shirt stealing in the dark towards the inn. But he did not go inside, he just stood in front of it, cowering close to the wall, listening. The villagers were dancing a barn dance, and now and then a yokel would cry : Oo-hah, oo-hah. They stamped with their boots, and from time to time a wench's voice said " Eh, what? " Ever so softly the fiddles were singing " We'll eat and we'll drink and merry we'll be," and the double bass gruffly burst in with "'tis God's boon, 'tis God's boon." The windows sparkled with light, and every beam in the inn seemed to tremble and sing and play in unison, and Johnnie listened and listened.

What wouldn't he give to have a fiddle like that playing so

thinly · “ We’ll eat and we’ll drink and merry we’ll be ” ? Such tiny singing chips of wood ! But where was he to get them from ; where were they made ? If only he could have leave to hold anything like them in his hand, even just for once ! But what a fancy ! All he was free to do was to listen, so he would listen and listen till he could hear the watchman shouting out behind him in the dark : “ Off home with you, you young imp,” and then he would sneak off home in his bare feet, and in the darkness the voice of the violin ran after him with its “ We’ll eat and we’ll drink and merry we’ll be,” and the solemn double bass with its “ ’tis God’s boon, ’tis God’s boon.”

He listened to a fiddle whenever he had the chance, at a harvest feast or at a wedding, and a great holiday it was for him. Afterwards he would crawl behind the stove and say not a word for days on end, but like a cat look shining-eyed into the darkness. Later on he made himself a fiddle out of roof shingle and horsehair, but it would not play as beautifully as the one at the inn ; it hummed and buzzed softly, ever so softly, almost like mice or midges. He played on it from morning till evening, even though it earned him so many cuffs that at last he looked like a bruised, unripe apple. But, after all, he was like that. Poor child, he grew thinner and thinner, all but his stomach, which had always been large ; his forelock grew ever thicker and his eyes opened ever wider, though generally with a glaze of tears over them, and his cheeks and his chest became more and more sunken.

He was not at all like other children, but took rather after his shingle violin, buzzing so faintly. And he was not far from starving, too, before the harvest was gathered in, for he lived mostly on raw carrots, but also on the longing to own a fiddle. Yet his longing did not profit him.

The valet of the manor house had a violin, and when it was dusk he sometimes played on it to win the maid’s favour. At such times Johnnie used to creep through the burdocks, right up to the open door of the butler’s pantry, to listen to it. It hung on the wall opposite the door, and to it all Johnnie’s soul was projected through his eyes. He felt the fondest love he had go out to it, but it was a holy thing and inaccessible, which he was unworthy to touch. And yet he yearned for it. He longed to hold it in his hands, just for once, just to have a close view of it. The poor little lad’s heart trembled with bliss at the very thought.

One night there was no one in the pantry. The master’s family had long been away in foreign parts and the house stood empty,

so the valet was taking his ease in the other wing with the chambermaid. Johnnie was lurking in the burdocks and was intently staring through the broad open door at the object of his heart's desire. The moon in the sky was full and entered slantwise through the window, reflecting it on the opposite wall in the form of a great square of light. Gradually the square moved up to the violin and at last lit it up completely, and at that very moment a silvery brightness seemed to shine from the violin in the gloom; above all, its swelling curves were so powerfully illumined that Johnny could hardly look at them. Everything could be seen perfectly in the moonlight, the finely-shaped sides, the strings and the curved fret-board. The tuning pegs gleamed like glow-worms, and the bow hung along the length of the violin like a silver wand.

Oh, it was all so lovely, almost like magic, and Johnnie's greed grew as he gazed. Cowering low in the burdocks, with his elbows pressed against his thin knees and his mouth wide open, he gazed and gazed. At one moment fear held him rooted, and in the next an unconquerable yearning was thrusting him forward. Was it witchcraft or what? And at times the violin in its bright refulgence seemed to come close, seemed to be floating towards him. Then the light would grow dim, only to shine again with greater brilliance. It was magic, clearly it was magic. Then the wind blew and there came a sigh among the trees, and the burdocks rustled, and Johnnie distinctly heard a voice say:

"Reach for it, Johnnie. There's nobody in the pantry. . . ."

It was a clear, bright night. A nightingale had begun to sing in the manor garden above the pond and its trilling came, now soft, now loud. "Reach, touch, fetch." The honest night heron circled softly round the child's head and called out: "Bad boy, stay, stay." But the heron flew away, the nightingale remained and the burdocks muttered louder and louder: "There's nobody there." And the violin was again illumined.

Slowly and cautiously the little huddled figure crept forward, and all the time the nightingale was trilling ever so softly: "Reach, touch, fetch."

The white shirt is fluttering nearer and nearer to the pantry door, and the black burdocks no longer conceal it. The quick breathing from a child's sick lungs can be heard now on the doorstep. A moment later and the white shirt has vanished, and only one bare little foot is left outside. It is in vain, heron, that you fly past once again and cry out: "Stay, stay." Johnnie is in the pantry.

All at once the frogs in the garden pond croaked loudly, then fell silent. The nightingale ceased to trill and the burdocks to mutter. Meanwhile Johnnie crept on quickly and carefully, but suddenly fear overwhelmed him. He had felt at home in the burdocks, as a wild animal might in the thicket, but now he was like a wild animal in a snare. His movements became hurried, his breath short and whistling, and the darkness had clutched him. A flash of summer lightning softly passing from east to west, once again lit up the interior of the pantry, with Johnnie on all fours in front of the violin and with head upraised. But the lightning died down, the moon was overshadowed by a cloud, and now there was nothing to be seen or heard.

After a little while a sharp, wailing tinkle sounded in the darkness as if someone had unguardedly touched the strings, and suddenly . . . a coarse, drowsy voice, coming from the corner of the pantry, asked angrily: "Who is there?"

Johnnie held his breath, but the coarse voice again asked: "Who is there?"

A match began to flicker along the wall, things were growing visible and then . . . God in Heaven! Curses and blows were heard; a child weeping and calling upon God, dogs barking, lights running up and down the window panes, an uproar throughout the big house. . . .

The very next day poor Johnnie stood his trial before the village magistrate.

Were they to charge him as a criminal? Of course. The magistrate and the beadles looked at him as he stood there with his finger in his mouth and his wide-open, scared eyes, thin little chap! Dirty and beaten, and ignorant where he was and what they wanted with him. How were they to sentence a poor little wretch like him who was only ten and had barely strength to stand upright? Were they to send him to prison? But stay, some compassion must be used with children. The watchman had better take charge of him and give him a birching to stop him from stealing a second time. and the matter would be ended.

Yes, of course.

Stach, the watchman was called up.

"Take him away and give him something to think about."

Stach nodded his dull, brutish head, packed Johnnie under his arm as he would a cat and took him away to the barn. Either the child did not realise what was afoot or he was terrified; anyhow he did not utter a sound but just stared, stared as a bird stares,

Or did he know what they were doing with him? Only when Stach grasped hold of him in the barn, laid him flat on the ground and, after tucking up his ragged shirt, gave him one straight from the shoulder, did he utter a scream, "Mummy," and with every lash of the birch, he cried "Mummy," ever lower and feebler until a lash came when he was quiet and no longer called upon his Mummy.

Poor smashed fiddle!

Fie on you, stupid, cruel Stach! Who thrashes children so? Such a feeble, little creature, too, with never any hold on life.

His mother came and picked the little lad up, but she had to carry him home. . . . Johnnie did not get up next day, and on the evening of the third day he was peacefully dying on the truckle bed under the oakum matting.

The swallows twittered in the cherry tree which grew by the cottage bench, and a ray of sunlight came in through the window and poured its golden brightness over the trowsled little head and the face that was drained of every drop of blood. The ray was the high road along which the little boy's soul was destined to pass. It was well that it travelled along a wide and sunny road even if it was in the hour of death, for a thorny road it had trodden in life. Meanwhile the straitened chest heaved another breath, and the child's face seemed to drink in the village sounds which entered through the open window. It was evening and the wenches were coming home from the hay-making and they were singing "Oh, on the green mead," and the noise of the pipes was wafted in from the brook. Johnnie listened for the last time to the playing from the village. . . . His shingle violin lay by his side on the matting. Suddenly the face of the dying child brightened and a whisper came from his whitening lips:

"Mummy?"

"What, sonny?" his mother answered, her voice choked with sobs.

"Mummy, will God give me a real fiddle in heaven?"

"Yes, sonny dear, He will," she answered, and could say no more for the flood which burst from her pent-up breast. With a moan of "Jesus, Jesus," she fell face downward on the settle and began to sob as if her reason were gone, even as one that sees that she cannot wrest her beloved from death.

Nor did she wrest her child from death, for when she rose and again looked upon him, the eyes of the little musician were wide open, but they were still, and the grave face was gloomy and rigid in death. The ray of sunlight, too, had gone. . . .

Peace be on thee, Johnnie.

Next day the master and his family returned home from Italy, and with them came the young lady and her suitor. And the suitor said :

“ *Quel beau pays que l'Italie !* ”

“ And what a country of artists. *On est heureux de chercher là-bas des talents et de les protéger,*” the young lady added.

The birches were rustling above Johnnie.

FLOATING LOGS

WHEN, with the coming of spring warmth, the ice moves and the snow in the forests melts, turning the quiet, unimportant wood-streams into burly, turbulent, self-assertive rivers, full for a few days of rushing, foaming waters, the expert “ log-floater ” is wanted to do his skilled, often dangerous, and always exhausting work. In the winter the logs are felled and stacked on the shores of the nearest streams. As soon as ever it is practicable these log dumps are rolled into the water, and the logs, bobbing, tumbling, tossing, are rapidly swept downstream to emerge, with a number of their fellows, perhaps into some bigger stream or river, and thus onward into the next biggest, and finally into the broad, main river itself, where they are collected, sorted according to owners' marks, rafted and sent on to the various saw-mills.

The high water lasts only for a few days ; if it is not utilised at once, the logs may possibly, and in fact, would probably get stranded for a whole year, until the freshet of the following spring would sweep them away in its course. By that time, however, a log that has lain through the damp, heat, rain, snow and frost of alternating seasons, in turns on damp soil, on insect-covered moss, in pools of water or in snow, is no longer of the same quality ; thus, not of the same value. Or a log may be caught on a snag or by undergrowth or by some unevenness in the bank and left there, until a few days find it high and dry on mud that during the abundance of water formed the bed. Many such, scattered up and down the banks of countless streams and rivers, would represent a large sum of money. Sometimes these tumbling, swiftly rushing logs form a jam—a jam that from a small beginning, like the catching of a log on a submerged rock, may grow into an enormous and ever-growing mountain, damming the stream and involving many thousands of logs, fresh ones continually coming up from behind to pile up the

mountain ever higher and to pack it ever more tightly. It may be that this requires the loosening of many logs, long systematic labour demanding much physical strength and great experience. But it may also be that the whole of such a jam depends entirely on some one pivotal log, and the loosening of it is instantly followed by the sudden pell-mell rush of a mountain of crashing, murderous tree-trunks, carrying all before it, sweeping through all obstacles like an avalanche. As a rule the loosening has to be done by standing on the logs themselves in mid-stream; and much dexterity, swiftness and sureness of foot is required to reach the safety of the bank in time. This is what makes the floater's work so skilled and dangerous.

Most labourers on timber dedicate themselves to the work from childhood: summers in the saw-mills or on the barges carrying the ready product to the port of shipment, winters in the forests felling logs, spring in floating them. All corners of Russia are engaged in work upon timber, north and south, east and west. All districts boast of their skilled floaters, but it is to the men of the north that the palm is given; they are engaged by contract, required to travel in the spring to distant places, to the mountain torrents of the Urals, to the more placid rivers of the black earth belt. And Vologda men claim to be the most skilful of all the north.

And of these men was Matvey a handsome giant, fair-bearded, and with an attractive smile and perfect teeth. I saw him first lightly stepping from floating log to floating log in thigh-high boots, a two-and-a-half fathom boathook in his hand and a hatchet stuck through his girdle at his back. The water was swirling around him, the logs were moving rapidly forward, and turning and sinking a little when stepped upon, but he crossed the river as easily and as confidently as if he were on firm ground. I watched him in admiration.

"Good man, that," I nodded in his direction.

"Oh yes . . . Matvey is a good worker. And not a drinker," the foreman answered but, I thought, somewhat grudgingly.

I continued to watch Matvey crossing the river. He stepped off the last log on the shore, but so lightly as to make its dip almost imperceptible, and disappeared in the bushes. I did not see him again until the evening.

It is a long stretch of time between sunrise and sunset in the spring, but it is a stretch that must be utilised to the last second if the logs are to be all got out. The air at this time of the year

is like strong wine. By the evening it drugs the senses. After a hard day's physical work near the water, where it seems even more potent than elsewhere, men sleep the dreamless, deep sleep of the dead. Talk round the bonfire is not of long duration. A meal, a smoke, and then one man after another lies down on his side on the ground, to sleep. It would seem as if the bonfire of the floaters were unable to exercise the fascination that an open fire possesses for all human beings, to loosen tongues, to promote forgetfulness of the flight of time. The men are too tired. Its functions are to boil the tea in the kettle, the *kasha* in the pot and to provide glowing embers for the "smokes." Another, though a later function, is to produce acrid smoke with the help of juniper branches in order to keep away the mosquitoes that seemed to be released in myriads from somewhere by the breaking of the ice.

One by one, black figures would loom out of the surrounding darkness into the firelight and drop on the ground. When the *kasha* is ready all eat from the same pot, each man with his own wooden spoon, and there is never any scramble or quarrel, for in general the Russian muzhik is well-mannered. Slices of black bread, of any size and any thickness, are cut off when wanted from the big, round loaf which is passed round, each one using his own jack-knife or, if by some chance he does not happen to have one, that of his neighbour.

Matvey was the last to join the group. His tall form stalked into the light.

"Bread, salt!"—short for "May God bless the bread and salt you are eating."

Armed with a wooden spoon which he took out of his trouser pocket, he dropped to the ground and joined the eaters.

For some time the task of eating was too seriously attended to for any talking. The silence was broken by the foreman.

"There's a jam on the Motovilikha. About three versts down. Somebody will have to go."

"A bad one?"

"No. Less than half-way across the river and it's only a small stream, as you know. A one-man job . . . Matvey, you had better go."

"All right."

The mosquitoes were very tiresome. I went to smoke my cigarette on the river bank. Not being injured to their sting like the floaters, I found it very irritating and hoped that the tobacco smoke would keep them away.

In these latitudes at this time of the year the nights are short but dark. Seen from the knoll I had chosen, the figures round the fire stood out sharply-etched, black, almost unearthly. The faces illuminated by the light showed up brightly but unsteadily, constantly changing, the lights and shadows strongly emphasised; a sudden gleam of teeth, of eyes, of steel as the bread was cut or the blade raised to strike into the ground to clean it, flashed up. Like a witches' sabbath. Or was it the midnight gathering of conspirators, of bandits? The background of forest was black, mysterious, seemed full of the promise of evil. How different it all was when seen in the daylight!

A glowing red spark moved towards the river. It separated from the background of trees, and against the sky I recognised it as a man smoking a cigarette. He came nearer and within a few yards of me. I knew it to be Matvey. In the darkness I was invisible. He sat down facing the water, his knees drawn up almost to his chin. A cloud of rank Russian tobacco smoke drifted in my direction.

"You are going to loosen the jam on the Motovilikha?" I asked, to start a conversation and to make my presence known.

He turned quickly round at the unexpected voice.

"Yes"—but I thought the word came out rather unwillingly.

"Quite a small jam, I understand?"

"Yes . . . So he says"

In the dark I could not see the man's face, but the tone sounded suspicious. I remembered the grudging voice of the foreman when speaking of Matvey in the morning. Evidently something was not quite right between these two men.

"But that is so, isn't it? He's seen it."

"Oh yes, he's seen it . . . So have I," he added as an afterthought.

"Well, don't you agree with him?"

He threw a swift look at the men by the fire and shifted nearer to me.

"You're a witness. You heard him telling me to go alone. He doesn't know I've also seen it." He spoke in low, excited tones. "He wants me to go alone, so that nobody will see what happens. It's dangerous for one man. It's a big jam—work for three people. I'm a strong man, I can loosen it, but I shall never be able to save myself. No man could. He knows it. That's what he wants."

"Oh, come now," I said with a smile. "That would be murder."

"He wouldn't mind that Not if I got killed. Not the first accident in floating"

"But why should he want your death? You're a good workman."

Matvey looked round again and approached his head quite close to me. When he next spoke, it was in a sort of stage whisper, though there was nobody to hear us.

"He wants to marry Martha—that's Bazanov's daughter; and Bazanov is very rich. And he knows she wants to marry me."

I confess, I thought it a very unlikely story and must have, I think, smiled to myself under cover of the darkness. Matvey, however, was evidently fully convinced of the truth of it himself, for he added in a threatening voice in the direction of the fire:

"But you've struck the wrong man!"

There was a sudden loud cracking, and a great column of thick smoke soared up into the night from the fire. For a short distance in its ascent it was accompanied brilliantly by thousands of sparks, but most of them died out in the first few feet. One or two, stronger than the rest, were carried up by the impetus to half the height of the surrounding fir-trees before being blotted out. Someone had thrown a handful of juniper branches on the fire.

This seemed to be the signal for sleep. One by one, the figures round the fire assumed a recumbent position. I joined them.

I was away early the next morning, and never saw any of these men to speak to again. Any, that is, except the foreman.

From all the tributaries came the logs in endless succession, glad, it would seem, after the buffeting in the smaller, turbulent streams to reach the calm, dignified flow of the broad main river. In ones and twos and groups of several, they floated down the placid stream, no longer riotously tumbling over each other and battling like children, but sedately, like dowagers who have reached the years of discretion.

A boom of two logs' breadth was drawn across the river some versts down, below the mouths of the tributary streams. This boom has an opening in the middle. Two men, one on each side, working with their long boathooks, direct each log as it comes through the opening into one of the various enclosures on the water. These enclosures are divided from each other by floating partitions of logs tied end to end, each enclosure containing the logs of one of the many owners. It is a long and weary task, sorting these logs, for many thousands of them pass through the opening in the boom. The men work at them from as soon as it is light until it gets too dark to see the chisel marks that are the sign of ownership. When a sufficient quantity of the logs of one and the same owner

are collected they are rafted; and the raft, in charge of two men to steer, is sent down the river to complete the journey to the saw-mill.

It was on a raft of this kind that I found myself again in the company of the foreman of the floating gang.

There was at one end a semblance of a rudder in the shape of a huge and roughly-hewn oar. One of the two men was always at the rudder, steering the raft as far as such a thing is possible, while the other kept it away from the banks and clear of any floating snags with a long boathook. A shelter is erected in the middle—a low, straw-covered wigwam some three feet square and not more than three feet high. The shelter was presumably meant for passengers like myself, as I do not imagine that either of the two men in charge had much time to make use of it. A raft floats generally for some eighteen or twenty hours, and the look-out that has to be kept all that time does not permit much leisure to those engaged on getting it safely to its destination. And the hours of darkness are passed asleep on the bank. All navigable craft make way for these rafts, for their steering cannot be relied on.

Seated on a small wooden stump outside the shelter, I talked to the foreman. The floating down from the small rivers, I learnt, had been successful. There had been plenty of water, and it had kept up long enough for most of the eighty thousand logs to be got out. Only one or two here and there had been stranded, as happened invariably, and many of these it was hoped to recover when the rain came in sufficient abundance.

"And no accidents?" I asked, suddenly remembering Matvey.

"No, thank God, none."

"Any difficulty in clearing the Motovilkha jam?"

He pursed up his forehead.

"Motovilkha? . . . Ah yes. No, no difficulty at all. It was quite a small jam near the bank. Freed one or two logs, and the rest flowed away quite clear."

So of course Matvey had been romancing, I said to myself. The story about having seen the jam himself, about its size and the danger he had been picked upon to run, this man's desire to be rid of him as a rival, the almost certain death—all untrue. And yet the low, earnest voice, the evident conviction and desire to impress—why?

"That's where we lost Matvey," the foreman said meditatively.

My heart gave a tremendous leap.

"Matvey?"

"You remember Matvey? A tall muzhik with a fair beard?"

"Oh yes, I remember him. How did you lose him?"

"Ran away when he was supposed to go to Motovilikha. That's the worst of Matvey, you can never depend upon him. At the very height of the fever of work, he will suddenly leave. Good workman, doesn't drink, quite fearless. One of our best floaters. And then, suddenly, one day or one night—gone! . . . Don Juan."

"What do you mean?"

"Women. Runs away because of some woman. And leaves his wages behind. Good wages, too, because he is worth money when he works. But always thinks every woman is in love with him and can't leave them alone. Pity, a good workman."

A wonderful panorama is rolled out before one on both banks of a river, when floating down it from its upper reaches. Forests, clearings, villages, fields of corn, and forests again! There is no such other way of seeing a country. We started from a primitive wilderness of dense forests coming down to the water's edge; passed villages on the banks, with their landing-stages, their fishing boats, their women washing clothes, perhaps with their church of several green domes standing on a hill, with the cattle knee-deep in water, swishing the newly-awakened and hungry insects from their flanks with their tails, and the children playing in the sun, the sun that had been so niggardly with its rays for all these months, playing on the green turf that had so long been buried under its cold white blanket; to plunge once more into the density of forest land.

And then the brilliant great Star of the East gives its signal that the long spring day is drawing to a close, and one by one other lights spring up in answer all round, from cottages, from smaller and less brilliant stars, from the rafts on the water.

For, when darkness settles down on the river, each raft shows a little red light, a warning to others using the water. At this time of the great floating a river is dotted with tiny red lights along all its length after dark. And as it gets later, these little lights are joined by the flicker, a short distance off, of a small camp-fire, showing where the two men on the raft had landed and were cooking their meal of *kasha* and tea. When overtaken by the night, a raft has to draw up to the bank and make fast, navigating such clumsy craft in the dark hours being out of the question.

We had started before dawn and reached the mill when it was already too late to attempt to enter the mill water. It meant lying up for some hours within sight and easy walking distance of the manager's comfortable house. I decided to walk the last few hundred yards.

EDWARD GELLIBRAND.

POETRY

SILENTIUM

Translated from the Russian of FEDOR TYUTCHEV by R. M. HEWITT

Be no word spoken Hide away
Thought and feeling day by day.
Let them rise and pour their light
And set like planets in the night,
Unheralded, unpraised, unheard.
Watch them, love them, say no word.

Heart knows not to speak with heart.
Song and speech can ne'er impart
Faith by which we live and die;
A thought once spoken is a lie.
Unbroken, undefiled, unstirred
Thy fountain : drink, and say no word.

Live within thyself, and be
In a world of faerie,
Of magic thoughts that hide away
From the noise and glare of day,
Delicate airs on earth unheard.
Mark them, love them, say no word.

Translated from the Russian of A. A. FET by R. M. HEWITT

Whispering. A timid sigh.
A nightingale that trills.
Silver, and a lullaby
From the unseen rills.

Twilight with a deepening blue.
Darkness falls apace.
Beauty yields to beauties new
On her enchanted face.

Roses when the greyness clears,
That amber drives away.
And love, and love again, and tears,
And the break of day.

A SUNSET

Translated from the Polish of ANTONI MALCZEWSKI (*Marja*) *by*
OLIVER ELTON

Just then, the sun his arching circuit wide had ended;
With the gray clouds his crimson radiance he blended;
O'er land and stream the vibrant yellow light was flowing,
And westward, he upon his sumptuous throne sat glowing.
But now his gaze miraculous can no longer scathe us;
Far seen, his milder beams are shed abroad to bathe us;
Short his farewell; but, ere his grave profound enfold him,
He suffers still the eyes of mortals to behold him;
Yet, in no haste to vanish, to the last has waited,
So to refresh, with smiles of life, all things created.
And still through all men's windows are his glances darting,
Like wistful looks of Friendship, for a journey parting.
Next, in a robe of purple flung, the clouds he dresses,
Plunging his bosom pure in Nature's hid recesses,
While jealous-fingered Night, Day's footmarks blurring over,
Trails her dark mantle, Crime and Treachery to cover.

Translated from the Russian of F. TYUTCHEV *by* RICHARD CHRISTIE

No sickness of the flesh is ours today
Whose time is spent in grieving and despairing;
Who pray all night that night will pass away—
Who greet the dawn rebelliously, uncaring.

Withered and parched by unbelief, the soul
Impossible, unbearable things is bearing.
We are lost men and ruin is our goal,
Athirst for faith, to beg for faith not daring.

THE DEAD DIE NOT

Translated from the Russian of S. Y. NADSON *by* RICHARD CHRISTIE

He is not dead. A flame will rise
Where now the wrecked and tumbled altar lies.
The rose is plucked, yet we
Shall find some day new blossom on the tree.
Broken the harp, but music's failing breath
Sobs out a last sweet requiem—for Death.

SONG OF THE DOGS

*Translated from the Hungarian of ALEXANDER PETÖFI by CHARLES
PFEIFFER and G. H. BOLSOVER*

Shrill howl the stormy winds
Howl 'neath a low'ring sky,
Those hateful winter twins,
Rain and snow whirling by.

What care we dogs for storms?
Ours is the fireside place,
Where the good master kind,
Thoughtfully leaves us space.

Life never worries us,
Master supplies our food.
Meat from his table falls,
When he's in fav'ring mood.

If the whip sometimes cracks,
Let its lash hurt our hide,
Why should we grieve at that?
'Tis but a wound to pride.

Master forgets his rage,
Beckons us to his seat,
There we lie happily,
Licking his gracious feet.

SONG OF THE WOLVES

*Translated from the Hungarian of ALEXANDER PETÖFI by CHARLES
PFEIFFER and G. H. BOLSOVER*

Shrill howl the stormy winds,
Howl 'neath a low'ring sky,
Those hateful winter twins,
Rain and snow whirling by.

Ours is the desert waste,
There do wolves ever roam,
Where neither bush nor tree
Offers a shelt'ring home.

Hunger gnaws fierce within,
 Sharp without bites the cold;
 This double torturing
 Strengthens its cruel hold.

But there is still a third—
 Guns of the hunter skill'd;
 Then the white snow is red
 With blood that we have spill'd.

Shivering, hungering,
 Hot bullets tear our side,
 But though we live in want,
 Freedom's our joy and pride.

IN THE ALBUM OF SALOME BECU

*Translated from the Polish of ADAM MICKIEWICZ by DOROTHEA
 PRALL RADIN*

Alas, those happier moments have departed
 When blossoms made the woods a joyous bower,
 When I could pick bouquets in heaps and armfuls
 Where^{now} 'tis hard to find one flower.

For tempests have roared by and rain in torrents,
 And where the flowers glistened, gold and fleeting,
 Upon the meadows I can scarce discover
 A leaf to bring in friendly greeting.

But what I found, to you is dedicated:
 Receive it with a graciousness as pleasant
 As formerly, because a friend has touched it
 And here you have his final present.

COLLECTIVE FARMING IN THE USSR

REVOLUTIONS begin, naturally enough, with destruction, and they do not always survive to their constructive stage. We have seen the Russian Revolution pass out of the destructive into the constructive stage, as the class which was interested in stopping it was removed or reduced to acquiescence. So far as agriculture is concerned, it took a long time to get to the constructive stage. As late as 1920 some of the old landlords were still holding on to their estates, though most of them had disappeared in 1917 and 1918; and the struggle between the more prosperous and the poorer peasantry, with a large measure of success to the former, continued at least till 1929 and perhaps longer. Between 1921 and 1926 there was even a revival of Peter Stolypin's creation of the individualist farmer on his consolidated holding, but it was effective only where prosperity gave influence, and the so-called "secessionists" under the Stolypin laws were for the most part forced back by the Revolution into the commune which they had left or broken up. The agrarian system of the early Revolution period was the Tsarist system, without the landlord, and, on the whole, without the individual agriculture which Peter Stolypin's reform had introduced into a tenth part of the cultivated area; but with a fierce struggle in progress between the more prosperous and the poorer elements of the peasantry, a struggle in which the former on the whole held its own.

In losing the landlord, Russian agriculture had lost an element which gave a substantially larger yield per acre than the peasant could produce. In many cases this was due to more knowledge and better farming. But even where the landlord was not personally active, he supplied capital which the peasant lacked, provided better implements, fed his cattle better, and kept them under conditions which made the manure available for fertilising purposes all the year round, and his estate was a source of employment often sorely needed. The landlord gone, there remained an agriculture without capital and with none but traditional knowledge: ploughs, mostly of wood, hand-reaping, hand-threshing, one-third of the households without horses; the holdings divided into numerous narrow strips, so that the cultivator was calculated to walk on the average 1,260 miles in the agricultural season to get round his own holding; the plough could not reach the headlands, and much of the area was made useless by ridges and boundaries; open fields which must be cleared of crop by a certain date, so that

the cattle of all might graze over the stubbles; a virtually compulsory system of three-field rotation in 90 per cent. of the land; average holdings of twelve acres, reduced to half or less for use in any one season; and all the interferences and restrictions of a backward and progmatocal commune, nervous of change. There was a "plan" of cultivation, and that very rigidly enforced; but it was a traditional plan, incompatible with agricultural progress, and taking no account of new knowledge or of farming enterprise. There remained also, strengthened by the removal of the landlord and of rival forces, the man who, by usury and exploitation, and sometimes, though not necessarily, by better agricultural practice, improves his own position at the cost of his fellows: and, with him, there was, for the poorer cultivators, the inevitable hiring of animals and implements and the borrowing of grain or money. If the Revolution in the village had stopped at this stage, it would have been a bad exchange both for the peasant and for the State. It would merely have substituted the peasant moneylender and the "kulak"—not necessarily the best agriculturists—for the landlord and the so-called "secessionist" of Peter Stolypin's reform, and have ended in the division both of capital and of knowledge from the land, and in the wider prevalence than in Tsarist times of an uneconomic *petite culture*. But it passed on, albeit with many blunders and setbacks, to its constructive stage in 1929.

Lenin was thinking of *grande culture* and of State Farms, worked by agricultural machinery, before the date of the first Russian Revolution. Collective farming, or the idea of it, went back to an even earlier date. In the Russian commune, as we first see it, the land is held jointly and the hayfield is cut by joint labour, but otherwise both work and living are separate. But the Slavophiles dreamed of a commune in which the arable also should be cultivated in common, as perhaps it once had been. Friedrich Engels, writing of the peasant problem in France and Germany, proposed to "transform individual production and individual ownership into co-operative production and co-operative ownership, but not forcibly but by way of example and by offering social aid for this purpose": and this plan, translated into collective cultivation, was incorporated in the Bolsheviks' Decree on Land Socialisation, of February, 1918. The first attempts in this direction, unaccompanied by systematic provision of agricultural machinery, were unsuccessful, but voluntary co-operative associations of independent peasants abounded in 1927. We shall clear away the confusion which is apt to arise between co-operative and collective farming, if we realise that the

co-operators choose their own associates and presumably exclude the less promising of the applicants for admission, whereas every local peasant, who is ready to pool his rights, has a legal claim to membership of the collective farm, unless he is an impenitent enemy of the Soviet Government.

The great drive for collectivisation began in 1929 as part of the first Five Year Plan, and with the primary object of supplying more food for the contemplated extension of industry. Both urban and rural production were in a vicious circle. Food was either not produced or was not brought into the market, partly because the number of peasant households had been immensely increased by family partitions under the impact of new social ideas, but mainly because the supply of manufactured commodities was not sufficient to tempt the peasant. A large extension of industry was not possible without a larger supply of food for the towns. Though the harvest of 1927 was good, and production in the following year nearly reached the pre-war figure, the collections of food in 1928 were catastrophically low. There was evidently no prospect of dealing effectively with a multitude of petty peasant holdings, increased by the social ferment of the last ten years from seventeen to twenty-seven millions. Neither agricultural machinery, nor disinterested capital nor scientific knowledge, could be brought to bear upon this great mob of petty cultivators or upon the communes built out of their unity or disunity. A change to a system of *grande culture* was economically necessary. For the attainment of this object, there was a choice between two courses, one of which would have meant a surrender to the more prosperous peasant, who alone had a substantial surplus of food. Either the Communist Government must follow the opinion of its Right wing, offer higher prices for grain, encourage the alienation of land to the prosperous, and thereby perhaps abandon the socialist ideal; or it must reorganise the villages on the basis of the working cultivators, thus making possible the introduction of the only kind of capital which is disinterested, that is to say, public capital, with its gifts of the mechanisation of the most laborious processes, and of the popularisation and effective application of agricultural science.

The choice was made the more difficult, because, rightly or wrongly, the Bolshevik Government, full of the bitter memories of Intervention, was convinced that an attack of the imperialist powers was impending. The village could not be conciliated by a generous increase in the supply of manufactured commodities, ordinarily assumed to be the key to the good will of the producer

of food. It was necessary to concentrate on heavy industry, so that the country might not again be subject to the experiences of the World War, where a non-industrialised Russia found herself at the mercy of an industrialised enemy. For this purpose the organisation of the village must be such as to facilitate not only the production, but also the collection, of a larger net surplus of food : without the prospect, at least for the present, of implements and pots and pans and nails and screws galore. We have grown so accustomed to the existence of a food market with apparently unlimited supplies, that we have almost forgotten to ask ourselves why the cultivator grows more food than he needs for himself and his family. The Revolution in Russia stripped the simple processes of supply and demand of their complexities and disguises, and revealed the normal peasant as the grower of the family food and of the raw materials for the family clothing : and willing to labour for a surplus, only in so far as he was compelled to deliver it up in taxation, or induced to exchange it for vodka or for manufactured commodities.

As soon as the harvest of 1929 was in the barns, Stalin's article, "The year of great change," announced an increase of collectivisation and of the use of agricultural machinery, along with a more rapid development of industry, and this was followed by the announcement of the "liquidation" of the "kulak" as a class. The word "kulak" was afterwards defined by a writer in the *Economic Review* as a "peasant who systematically employs hired labour, who possesses power-driven machinery such as a flour-mill or a wool-combing machine, who hires out such machinery or contracts to work on other farms, who rents out living quarters, who leases land for commercial purposes, or who receives unearned income of any kind." But it was made clear that the regional Executive Committee was at liberty to change the interpretation according to real conditions, and, in practice, we may take it that the description covered all unpopular persons who had grown rich by village standards. It was estimated that the liquidation order would cover five million persons including the families.

What this order meant, in the execution, may be gathered from Sholohov's novel *Virgin Soil Upturned*, where we see some of the villagers touched to the heart by the cries of the "kulaks'" children, until they are reminded of the treatment which the "kulaks" had meted out to others. Mr. Monkhouse has described to us the "kulak" families which he saw in January, 1932, when he visited the Magnetostroy project. The older people were too

terrified to talk. The children came to beg. The writer heard tales of broken homes and vain search for employment. It is easy to believe that many who owed their prosperity to their own skill and industry were included in the expulsion. These pictures are distressing, but we shall get our perspective right only if we remember that the Bolsheviks conceived themselves to be fighting a war, a war against an enemy class instead of a war against an enemy nation, and to be applying the methods of war. Mr Maurice Hindus's description (in *Red Bread*) of the execution of the policy in White Russia shows that by no means all of the "kulak" class suffered exile as well as expropriation, and that some of the exiles returned to their home villages on the modification of the policy in March, 1930. But the expulsion, when it occurred, must have been attended by horrors similar to those suffered at the expulsion by the Russian military authorities of the population of the evacuated territories before the advancing Germans. Mr. Monkhouse then saw sights which he could not commit to print: but those who have seen mass hunger can imagine them.

There is no doubt at all about the compulsion which was used against the class which had been condemned to "liquidation." It is not so easy to say to what extent compulsion was employed at this stage against the rest of the peasantry to accept collectivisation. What is clear, is that performance very greatly surpassed intention, and that serious difficulties were caused by the too rapid advance of collectivisation. It was necessary to cut down the imports of raw cotton and to cancel orders for Brazilian coffee, in order to increase the importation of farm machinery and tractors, and to build at Harkov a giant tractor plant for which the Plan did not provide. Stalin took alarm—somewhat late in the day—at the reckless zeal of his followers and issued the famous call for moderation and caution, which is known by its opening words, "Dizziness from success." Not content with forcing the pace of collectivisation, they were closing churches wholesale. The leader called them to order, and much of the work which had been hastily done was equally hastily undone. Already there had begun a process which has inflicted a heavy blow upon Russian agriculture. This was the destruction of live stock, which has occurred in successive waves, as the process of collectivisation has extended from one part of the country to another. It is likely that it was first instigated by those who had most to lose by the pooling of resources; but it has been so general that an ignorant idea that the Government would find

something to replace the slaughtered animals must be in part responsible for it. There must also have been a fear that the possession of too large a number of animals would lay the owner open to inclusion in the class of "kulaks," and subject him to the consequent penalty. More experienced administrators might have foreseen this danger. We have the living picture of the crisis in Sholohov's *Virgin Soil Uprooted*, where we see the Cossacks making themselves miserably ill on the sudden abundance of meat. The general result has been that the number of animals in 1934 has been reduced to little more than half in the case of horses, to four-fifths in the case of large horned cattle, and to less than half in the case of goats and sheep, of the corresponding figures of 1929: while the production of meat has sunk to one-third, of wool to one-third, and of leather to less than one-third, of the earlier totals. Pavlovsky, the historian of pre-Revolution agriculture, noted the beginning of a diminution in live stock, in consequence of the increased use of mechanical transport, and of the extension of arable land in European Russia, and it will not be necessary to attempt the restoration of horses to their former number. As in India, a good many of the horned cattle were of poor quality, and the loss is not all that the figures suggest. But, after every allowance has been made for considerations such as these, the loss of draught animals and of animal fertilisers has given a serious setback to farming, and, for a time at all events, has neutralised the influences making for increased production.

The system of collectivisation, as it exists at present, did not spring complete and fully armed from the brain of the Communist Party. There was at first a tendency, afterwards corrected, to press for the formation of complete communes, from which private property, except in articles of personal use, is eliminated, and no distribution of the product of the joint labour takes place. The division of the produce which is effected in the collective farm of the normal type, after the Government's share has been delivered and the various insurance funds provided for, was at first made on the basis of "mouths" as well as on that of "hands," and the less strictly communistic principle of division according to the number of days worked by each member was adopted later. On the other hand, interest at the rate of five per cent. on the value of property surrendered to the collective farms was for a time the first charge on the product—a concession to the property instinct which was subsequently withdrawn. As in Sholohov's story, the zealots at first demanded the pooling of all animals, even of fowls,

and the women, who had always enjoyed a species of "privy purse" rights in certain products, consented only with sighs and protests, and the men were equally unhappy about the cattle. It seems that it had never been intended that the family should be deprived of its "usadba," the allotment or garden attached to the house, which had always in the pre-Revolutionary period been exempted from inclusion in the general redistribution of land, or of the fowls and other animals which were kept upon it; but it was only in 1934 that the right of the family to these things was made plain by a specific pronouncement. At first the collectivised peasant might sell his surplus only to one of the authorised Government agencies. The cultivators agreed with the purchasing authority to plant a specified acreage and to sell the product at a specified price—a low price—while the agency advanced money and equipment. Before the sowing season of 1933, this system was replaced, so far as food crops were concerned, by the fixing of a specific weight of produce, per unit of area, to be delivered at a stated price. The object of the change was to encourage the cultivator by giving him the full benefit of any increased outturn due to more careful tilling or to the extension of the sown area beyond the figure of the Plan.

In these modifications we see, in operation, the Bolshevik method of trial and error applied to an extraordinarily daring experiment on an enormous scale. It is necessary, perhaps, to have had some experience of the administration of peasant agriculture and taxation, to appreciate to the full the titanic audacity of the new revolution which began with "the first Bolshevik spring" of 1930. Thousands of Communist workers and Red Army men were poured into the countryside to supply the driving force, and a well-known description by Anna Louise Strong of the invasion by these zealots of a village not inconveniently distant from the capital, vividly suggests the apocalyptic impression which the visitors must have made upon the "deaf" village. Something will be said below of the difficulties which were encountered, and have apparently been overcome, in a country having something like eleven times the cultivated area of Great Britain, spread over nearly a sixth part of the land surface of the globe. One point we may note at once. Failure, as in the preliminary experiments with collectivisation, would have been inevitable without the organisation, on a scale for which it is not easy to find an appropriate epithet, of the supply of power-driven agricultural machinery. In 1928 all the factories were equipped for horse-driven implements only. From

1932, the importation of power-driven tractors from abroad has ceased and all the tractors despatched to rural centres are now of Russian make. They would not be able to compete in the European or American market; but, for the rough usage which they get in Russia, they are effective. These tractors, together with a growing proportion of other power-driven implements of modern type, are distributed in centres known as Machine Tractor Stations (and familiarly as M.T.S.), each of which deals, in the regions visited by the writer of this article, with about 60,000 acres of cultivated land, and is remunerated for its operations by a share of the crop. The present writer attributes the wide spread of collectivisation, which is now approaching 90 per cent. of the total number of farms from Minsk to Vladivostok and from Leningrad to Tiflis and Samarkand, partly to the liberal grant of State credits and partly to the organised supply of power-driven implements. The literature of peasant Russia abounds with pictures of the crushing toil of the brief agricultural season. The people's name for the time of harvest was "strada," suffering. If the crop was good, much of it remained under the snow. The Machine Tractor Station has brought relief to this strain.

The organisation of power for agriculture has been supplemented by a network of agricultural and veterinary experts. Admirable as is the research work of Russian scientists, the quality of the agency which is to popularise and apply its results, what we might call the non-commissioned element in the scientific army, stands in need of improvement, as does the non-commissioned element in the army of industry. This is partly due to a fault in Russian scientific education, which aimed, until recently, at a narrow *expertise*, without a grounding in general principles.

Half-way through the difficult process of adjustment, the daring experimenters were baffled by a partial failure of crops, due to the drought which is always a menace to the principal wheat-growing areas. In 1931 the June and July rains failed on the middle and lower Volga, in the Southern Urals, Western Siberia and Kazakstan, and the cereal harvest was only five-sixths of what it had been in the preceding year. The shortage coincided with the scare of war with Japan and with the world slump of prices which necessitated a diminution of imports or an expansion of exports. Collections of grain were pressed hard, and it seems evident that in Ukraine a good deal of what was needed for seed in 1932 was eaten by the peasants. The winter opened with frost instead of snow, which was bad for the winter-sown grain. The months which followed

were a difficult period for food, and in February it was necessary to supplement supplies in the wheat-growing areas with an additional million tons of grain. The unrest among the peasantry was emphasised by the remedial measures adopted to relieve the strain.

The cereal crop of 1932 was no better than that of 1931. The summer's growth was slow, and thin crops mean heavy weeds—a fact which explains the frequent comment of observers in 1932 on the dirty condition of the land over a large part of Russia. The stalks proved too short in many areas for the harvesting combines to do their work properly, and, half-way through the gathering of the crop in the important cereal areas of the south, the weather broke. In August came the draconic decrees against the stealing of the collective grain, eloquent evidence of the severity of the pressure upon the people, and in September the declaration, evidently intended to check the growth of discontent, that the process of collectivisation in the most important agricultural regions would go no further, and the call to local authorities to make an end of the practice of merging collectives with State farms.

The winter and spring of 1932-3 was a time of food shortage and of struggle, which has been described as a period of severe famine affecting a population of fifty millions and causing five million deaths. Any suggestion of a calamity comparable with the famine of 1921-2 is, in the opinion of the present writer, unfounded. Officials were placed on their trial for the failure of grain plans, there were numerous conflicts between grain collectors and peasants, and resistance, generally passive, was active in the large area, having a population of nine millions, known as the North Caucasus, which had been a centre of resistance to Bolshevik authority during the Civil War. This territory was placed in January, 1933, under a special commission empowered to exact compulsory labour, and to evict, deport and punish, even with death, the resisters. The removal of resisters, especially from the Kuban valley, a once prosperous tract, largely inhabited by Cossacks recalcitrant to Soviet methods, included Communists and higher local officials and members of village soviets who had made common cause with collective peasants. The mortality in particular villages subjected to these penal measures was very high, and is responsible for the high estimate which some have made of the general mortality over a much larger area. Ukraine villages which failed to deliver their quota to the collectors were punished by the confiscation of all grain and the stoppage of relief supplies: a measure of ruthless reprisal which was doubtless

responsible for some of the local mortality Postyshev, the Secretary of the Central Communist Party, was sent to Ukraine to reorganise in that Federated Republic the local Party, which was held to have failed in its tasks; and there was a virtual suspension of the local authority in this unit of the Federation. The harsh lesson inflicted at this time seems to have put an end to all overt opposition both in Ukraine and in the North Caucasus, and to have convinced resisters that they would reduce agricultural production at their own peril.

More than four-fifths of peasant Russia is now enrolled in collective farms of the type known to Russians by the name of *artel*. There are minor variations of method, but the tendency is for all of these to conform to the model statute promulgated in 1935. A long period of discussion, followed by several years of experience, has resulted in a compromise, full of significance as an illustration of Bolshevik methods. Government is the sole proprietor of land: corporations and families have permanent rights of enjoyment, but no rights of leasing and no rights of alienation. Of the other instruments of production, agricultural machinery, with rare exceptions, is the property of the Government, and worked by its paid servants. The less important implements are owned by the collective farms or by particular families for use on the allotment or garden land which is in the permanent enjoyment of those families. The working animals are owned by the collective farms. Other animals, dairy cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, fowls, are either held by what we might call sub-farms¹ within the collectives—a device which looks like a precaution for the better establishment of individual responsibility—or by particular families on the allotment of garden land. Out of forty-two millions of horned cattle in 1934, twenty-six were owned by particular families: which gives very nearly one large horned animal for each peasant household. The fact that most of the cows in the USSR are owned by particular families and kept on land of which they have exclusive rights of enjoyment, subject to a certain amount of common pasture elsewhere, is of great importance: it appears to invalidate the argument that Russian cattle will never flourish because there is no personal owner to take an interest in them.

Some degree of egalitarianism was forced upon the Bolsheviks by proletarian demands in the early period of the Revolution. But Marx was not egalitarian,² and the Bolsheviks are not: and their non-egalitarianism is not something which has been forced

¹ The Russian expression is *Tovarnye fermy*, trading farms.

² See his *Critique of the Gotha programme*.

upon them by way of compromise or surrender. True, it is contemplated that on the attainment of the final stage of the classless society, when the growth of wealth, unhampered by the restrictions of a system based upon private profit, is expected to make feasible a virtually unlimited distribution of desirable things, the rule will be, from each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs. In the meanwhile the rule is, to each according to his work, and this principle is fully applied on the collective farms. The work of particular groups is determined by the division of the collective farmers into gangs or brigades, to each of which are allotted particular land, particular buildings, particular animals, particular implements: and further subdivision determines with further precision the responsibilities of smaller groups. Within the group, the gang-leader appraises the work of individuals, and there is a system of rewards and penalties according to the quality of the results. The general scheme is one of payment according to work days, but the value of the work day is determined by the social value of the type of work. It is an ordinary thing for a book-keeper and a skilled tractor-driver to have their work valued on the scale of one and a half work-day for each day's work. The valuation is determined by the general meeting of the collective farm. In the sub-farms which look after the animals, there is a system of premia, the milkmaid getting such and such a proportion of the milk and so on.

The fund from which the payments are made might accurately be described as a dividend. It consists of the residual produce and cash, which remain after the demands of the Government and of the Machine Tractor Station have been met, and after setting aside a fund for next season's seed and another fund for social and cultural purposes. The amounts of these deductions will be considered later on.

We have made it plain that neither in theory nor in practice is there anything egalitarian in this system of dividing the product. But we must make it equally plain that the system entirely excludes what the Bolsheviks regard as exploitation. A collective farm may employ an expert—for instance a dairy expert—at an agreed salary: and it may employ paid builders for building. Otherwise, except for the rush of harvest work in exceptional circumstances, it is prohibited from employing hired labour. The work must be done by its members, and remunerated out of "dividend."

This prohibition of "exploitation" is fundamental to the

Bolshevik system. If it were not enforced, it is easy to see that a collective farm might develop into a sort of corporate landlord, bringing back those evils which it has been the object of the Revolution to eliminate. We shall deal with the possibilities of the uneven development of agricultural wealth, in consequence of the unevenness of the advantages of soil and situation, when we deal with the subject of taxation

Between certain dates, so fixed as to prevent the misapplication of the government share and of the seed and social insurance funds, and covering a period of about half of each year, the collective farms and the particular families which constitute them are at liberty to sell their produce, for what it will fetch to co-operative associations, and in the collective markets which have been established at all centres, at railway stations and at river ports. This is virtually a right of free retail dealing. Sale to "speculators," who buy to sell again, is not allowed, and large-scale dealings would bring the seller as well as the buyer under suspicion. Large-scale dealings are for the Government and its departments, and sale to these is encouraged by arrangements for priority in the supply of manufactured goods.

Community kitchens and common catering are in operation for field work at busy seasons. There are day-nurseries for the children while the mothers are at work, and schools for the older ones. But these, like all other social arrangements in the village, are limited by the amount of the social insurance fund, and the extent of the building accommodation available, in each case. In industry, Government is the employer, and the factory management sets aside as social insurance a stated percentage on the wages. In agriculture, the collective farmers are self-employers. It is they who find the money out of the produce available after harvest, and there are considerable variations in the prosperity, and therefore in the provision of social privileges and amenities, in different farms. On the other hand, we must not be misled by a crude comparison of percentages in the two cases. The percentage of 14 per cent. or more in the case of industry, is a percentage on wages. The percentage of 2 per cent. or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the farm is a percentage of the whole gross product of the concern. The present writer feels no doubt, however, that the industrial worker does better out of his social insurance than the collective farmer does. For instance, maternity benefit for the industrially employed woman is full pay for six weeks or two months before and after birth of child. The model statute

for the collective farms contemplates half-pay for a month before and after. Buildings in the villages for schools, crèches, and the like vary very greatly. Sometimes they are very fine, the homes of former landlords and "kulaks". sometimes very poor: and one does not find in the great sanatoria and holiday homes of the proletariat so many agricultural as urban workers.

The existence of common catering, if only for a part of the year, and of arrangements for the care of children during the day, the equal treatment of men and women as equal partners in the collective farm in respect to the remuneration of work, the fact that different members of the family may be busy at different hours, must tend towards the disintegration of the family. Formerly Adam delved and Eve span. Adam also made the birch-bark sandals and Eve did the cooking and made the clothes. That mutual exchange of economic support is in some measure gone. But the existence of the garden allotment, the *usadba*, and the care of the animals on it, is a counteracting influence, and an important common interest of the family. The tyranny of the house-father, and the popular sentiment in favour of the beating of wives, were shocking features of old Russia, which the release of the woman from her old path "from stove to threshold" tends to eliminate. The model statute of the collective farm emphasises the duty of setting women free from drudgery and finding for them work for which their capacities fit them. The system aims at doing away with the old traditional "darkness" and "deafness" of village life, and prescribes the introduction of books and newspapers, and even of such contributions to hygiene—important if one remembers what the muzhik's head and beard must have been like—as barbers' shops, as well as bath-houses.

The collective farmers, women as well as men, form the general meeting, which has caught much of the primitive democratic spirit of the old Mir, while learning to submit to the rulings of a modern Communist Chairman. This body is the final authority on all questions of importance, and it elects both the administrative committee for day by day business and the Chairman. The latter is always a Communist or a candidate for the Communist Party: for the Party has its own methods of securing the choice of suitable men for suitable jobs; but his power of getting his own way varies, as power everywhere and always does vary, with his capacity for the work. Another committee, known as the revision or audit committee, is also elected by the General Meeting, and has the function of watching the accounts and scrutinising decisions.

To what extent are the life and work of the collective farms dominated from above, and to what extent are they free in their work and their lives? A more appropriate question would be to what extent are they freer, and to what extent are they less free than they were before collectivisation? For some of them, certainly for the women and the younger people, the change is one from less to more freedom. Perhaps we can convey a notion of its character if we contrast the position of the home worker who shares in the benefits of the home but does not handle the proceeds of his own industry, with that of the independent wage-earner, who takes his part in the life of the factory and the trade union, and may, if he pleases, elect to "live out" from the home. For the women, whose path was "from stove to threshold," the life of the village home was tolerable only because they knew no other. Their squabbles were proverbial, for the obvious reason that they could never get away from one another.

"I was a wife, and made the soup,
Now I am in the Women's Group."

The present writer has been told, and he can readily believe, that the first actual reception of a solid dividend for the work done by the women, in solid rye and eggs and potatoes, was like the entry upon a new world, when each gazed on each with a wild surmise.

For the men, the heads of families, there was no such novelty as this. They lost something of the old sovereignty of the household. But it is easy to overestimate the value of the liberty which they enjoyed as farmers, with their numerous scattered strips, the necessity of adjusting cultivation to the open field system and to the needs of neighbours, and, unless they were well to do, the servitude to creditors who owned animals and implements and cash. As we have already noticed in this article, there was a "plan" of cultivation, before the Bolsheviks made one, and a very hampering and inelastic plan. There is a plan now to which conformity is necessary; but this plan at least aims at being a scientific one and at securing a maximum of production.

There have been bad mistakes over planning. Perhaps the worst was the obliteration of the rice fields, and their irrigation channels, in Uzbekistan, with the object of universalising the growing of cotton in the area best suited to it. This was done before the local food supply was secured. When the order was countermanded, on the discovery that the food was not arriving

by the new Turkestan Siberian railroad as fast as it should, the people were told to replant a third of the old area with rice. But the time had gone by, and for that year at least there was severe local scarcity. Gigantic projects hastily executed will bring these catastrophes to inexperienced administrators. But normally the plan is a reasonable thing in which the cultivators have had their say; and if the area under a particular crop falls short of that which should, according to the plan, have been sown for it, the worst that will happen to the collective farmers will be that they will have to pay, or deliver, on the planned, and not on the actual, area.

If anyone still supposes that Bolshevik Russia has any ascetic preference for poverty over fairly-shared riches, the declared aims of the Collective Farm Statute should disabuse him of his error. The economic aims of the farms are to increase production, to increase net production, that is to say, the quantity delivered to the State for the uses of the defence forces and of the towns, to do both these things without the intervention of the "liquidated" class which is assumed to enrich itself by exploitation rather than by work, and, finally and specifically, *to make the collective farmers prosperous*. It is an invitation to grow rich: without employing hired labour, and without those operations of hired labour, and without those operations of buying cheap and selling dear, which have become second nature with us. Of course, it can only be done by changing the moral standard, and by making *that* appear disgraceful upon which *we* heap honours and rewards; and it can only be done, effectively, in the hearts of a younger generation.

It is natural to ask, what are the prospects of the survival of the collective farms? The answer depends in part upon the answer to a further question: to what extent was coercion the means by which the peasants—that is to say, the middling and the poor peasants, for no one would suggest that coercion was not employed against the "kulaks"—were brought into the farms? We must approach this question by an attempt to sketch the position of those peasants, probably now less than 15 per cent. of the whole, who still hold out against collectivisation.

Cultivable Russia is traditionally divided into two parts, the northern, which imports foodstuffs, while the southern has a surplus for export. The larger proportion of the uncollectivised is in the former. It is probable that there are whole villages of them. But most of them are merely the uncollectivised residue of villages which have generally gone over to the new system. We must in the first place be quite clear that the uncollectivised are not free to deal

as they please with their land. Like the collectivised, they must abide by the Plan. In the second place, the process of collectivisation is a continuing one, involving changes as each additional batch of peasants decides to join. This means a continuing process of redistribution, in which those who remain uncollectivised normally receive the worst and most distant land, allotted to them normally only for one agricultural year, at the end of which another redistribution may be made necessary in consequence of new adherents to collectivisation. The area and shape of their lots make it impossible for them to benefit by agricultural machinery, even if the Machine Tractor Stations were willing to supply it; their taxes and dues are much higher than those of the collectivised; and they do not enjoy equal privileges in respect to loans from the State. There has been some tendency for the collective farms to penalise late applications for admission; but this is discouraged by the authorities, who point out that the individualist farmer of today is the collectivised farmer of tomorrow. If by compulsion we mean a policy of favour to the collectivised, and of disfavour to the uncollectivised, then it is evident that the peasants have been subjected to compulsion to enter the farms. But, of compulsion in the more literal sense, such as the forcible destruction of boundary marks to form large common fields, the present writer has found no traces since the "liquidation" of the "kulaks." There has indeed been no need of it. The marvel is that any uncollectivised peasant has found it economically possible to survive. Though it is frequently stated that he pays only 10 per cent. more in dues and taxes than the collectivised, there are published orders which show that, in some regions, at least, the excess is four or five times as much as this. The explanation of the survival lies in the fact that for many individualist farmers (as has indeed always been the case with many peasants in the food-importing section of agricultural Russia) farming is only of subordinate importance. They farm to carry out their obligations to the State: but they live by the carrying trade, by costermongering, by occasional speculation in food products, and by work in industry, on the State farms, and sometimes on the collectives in the busy agricultural season. In the Novgorod neighbourhood some have been reported to live by taking employment as herdsman with the collective farms, where their superior skill with animals enabled them to demand their own terms.

It seems evident that the dissidents must soon be reduced to

a still smaller residuum, for whom agriculture proper is not the most important consideration. When, in addition to this, we take note of the difficulty which the peasant would experience in returning to more primitive implements and methods, after becoming accustomed to the speed and ease of power-driven machinery, we see how great would be the revolution, or counter-revolution, which would take Russian agriculture back to the past.

The system of rural taxation has undergone many changes since the Revolution, but we are here concerned only with its latest stages, and it is convenient, and indeed necessary, to deal together with the system of requisitioning—which virtually constitutes a tax in kind—and with the taxation in cash. When collectivisation began in earnest in 1929, the peasant was paying an agricultural tax in cash, which still continues, but so diminished by numerous exceptions, in favour of collective farms, that its actual incidence at the present time on these farms is trifling. It comes to almost a rouble and a half (something like threepence if we base our calculation on present Black Exchange values) for each acre cultivated by those farms. A far more important item is the virtual tax in kind, which is officially described as a “compulsory sale, of the nature of a tax.” A price is paid for the produce delivered, because, historically speaking, the tax is the descendant of a system of requisitioning. But the price is extremely low, something like one-seventh or one-eighth part of the sum with which the Government is credited by the department of state to which the produce is transferred for disposal. If we might speak of wholesale prices in a country where there is no wholesale market, we should probably say that the amount credited to the peasants, on delivery of this tax in kind, was one-seventh or one-eighth of the wholesale price.

It has been worth while to give some space to the explanation of this system, because the matter has been misunderstood in the British Press. For a parallel we have to look to the revenue in kind, theoretically one-sixth of the produce, which was exacted in India by pre-British rulers. The present writer has seen, in a primitively organised Indian State, the arrangements for the storage of the grain revenue. But there was, of course, no provision for a variety of products, or for articles rapidly perishable, and the Indian rulers gave no rebate, or purchase price, to the revenue payers, of the kind which is given in the USSR. It was at one time a grievance with Indian critics that the British Government had

commuted the charge for cash; and, where there is no regular market for grain, with a stable machinery for wholesale grain dealing, the collection of a land revenue in cash presents evident difficulties. On the other hand, collection in kind, such as the Bolshevik Government practises, assumes the existence of elevators or other storage accommodation very widely distributed, and of arrangements which only an organised Socialist Government could possess for the preservation of certain products and for putting them through the processes which fit them for the consumer. Wherever there is a milk revenue, for instance, there must be creameries or butter or cheese factories; where there is sugar beet, there must be sugar-boiling plant; and the kind-collecting Government must create all this machinery for processing and distribution or organise its creation by co-operative societies. If we realise all the complexities of such a system, we shall not be surprised that collectivised agriculture did not work smoothly from the outset, or that muddle and waste occurred in the earlier stages. The comparative plenty and prosperity of the last three years is partly the result of good harvests and of effective measures for getting the crops in before the end of the short agricultural season: but also, in large part, of an immensely improved organisation for storage, processing and distribution of the product.

We have already noted that the tax in kind is not a specified fraction of the actual produce: but a specified weight of produce for each unit which—according to the plan—should be in operation. Thus there is so much milk to be delivered for each cow, so much grain for each unit of area. In the case of cash crops, of which the peasants only wish to keep a small portion for their personal consumption, for instance, cotton, flax, hemp, sugar beet, there is a system of contract, for delivery of the produce in bulk at a pre-arranged price: which is kept at a fair level by the wish of the Government to encourage the cultivation of these crops.

Though the weight to be delivered for each unit is fixed, it is not a uniform weight everywhere. In the case of cereals, for instance, it varies from about 80 lbs. per acre to nearly four times that quantity, according to the advantages of soil and other considerations: and provision is made for review of the demand in case of total or partial failure of crop. The present writer has made a calculation of the incidence of the charge upon cereals, with the help of the recorded figures of average yield in successive years; and finds that, for an average crop on average land, the amount

for delivery comes to about 21 per cent. of the gross product. After allowing for the fact that a low price is paid for the grain delivered, we may put the incidence of this impost at 18 per cent.

Fortunately, we have two standards by which it is possible to judge the severity of this impost. The land revenue in British India with cesses comes, on an average, to something like the value of 15 per cent. of the product. The cash tax in Russia, which I have estimated at 3d. per acre cultivated, and the charges for local purposes, are additional to the 18 per cent. calculated above to be the all-round rate for the Russian tax in kind. It follows that land taxation is noticeably heavier in Russia than in British India. A statement recently made in a publication of the School of Slavonic Studies of the London University, that the Russian tax is .3 metric ton per hectare (equal to 267 lbs. per acre) is true of the most productive land taxed at the highest rate, but it is not an average.

We have another standard of comparison, in a calculation of pre-war and post-revolution burdens on the peasant, made by Mr. Albert Vainstein and published at Moscow, under the auspices of the Council of Labour and Defence (S.T.O.) in 1924. We there see the peasant of 1912 paying, in indirect as well as in direct taxation, 11.2 per cent. of all his income: a somewhat surprising result in view of the frequently repeated story of excessive taxation of the peasants under the Tsarist régime. It must be remembered that, before 1912, not only the poll tax, but also the redemption payments on account of emancipation from serfdom had long been abolished, and that in this, as in many other respects, the Tsarist régime was by no means at its worst when the Revolution occurred.

According to Mr. Vainstein's calculations, the burden on the peasant was somewhat lightened in 1918-19, and made somewhat heavier in 1920-22, but the taxation of 1922-23 was about equal to that of 1912. We see, then, that the present taxation of the collective farmer is more than the Tsarist taxation of 1912, and more than the taxation of the first five or six years of the Revolutionary Period.

We must not forget, however, that the peasant in 1912 was meeting charges on account of debt and of rent for additional land leased by him, which were out of all proportion to the loan charges upon the collective farmer to-day. There is another *caveat* to be lodged against hasty inferences from Mr. Vainstein's figures. A general average for a country of the magnitude of Russia gives

us no hint of the local variations, which we inevitably guess to be of enormous range. Such variations are very wide in India, in spite of a careful and experienced revenue administration. It is probable that they are wider in Russia

It is impossible that the existing provision in the USSR for varying the scale of taxation, approximately in the ratios of one to four, should suffice to equalise the advantages of areas differing widely in natural fertility, in the availability of natural or artificial irrigation, and in accessibility to markets. Unless the range of differentiation of taxation be very greatly increased, some collective farms will grow rich and some will grow poor, for reasons which have nothing to do with the industry and enterprise of their members, and old evils will reproduce themselves in a new form. It is not, therefore, excessive taxation of the land with which we should reproach the Bolshevik Government; but rather the abstention, up to the present time, from arrangements for securing the unearned increment for public purposes, by the higher taxation of the more favoured corporations. It may be that this should be accompanied by the lowering of the taxation upon the less favoured.

The payments made to the Machine Tractor Stations are payments for service rendered, and should not be included in a calculation of taxation. They vary according to the extent and nature of the service done and take the form of a specified fraction of the crop. Refusal or neglect to utilise the machinery provided is, however, penalised by an addition to taxation in kind, so that the Machine Tractor Station is not merely on the footing of a private contractor hiring out his machines, but is a department of a monopolist and coercive State. Without this degree of compulsion, ensuring full employment of the machines, overhead charges would, of course, be higher, and the services of the department more expensive. The present writer calculates 18 per cent. of the crop to be a normal payment to the Machine Tractor Station, but it is expected that the proportion will tend to be as high as 20 per cent.

Other deductions, to be made from the gross product, before the residuum is available as a dividend, include, beside the item of social insurance, a "fund" for seed. The allowances made by Russian statisticians for seed and fodder appear at first sight extraordinarily high. Mr. Vainstein, whom we have already quoted, allows $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the crop for seed and $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of it for the food of animals. The seed "fund" in a Collective is 15 per cent.

The explanation of the high proportion allowed for these purposes is the lowness of the yield, of which we shall have something to say below. A 15 per cent. allowance for seed indicates that a normal yield is not more than six or seven fold. The quantity of seed per unit of area sown is shown by the figures of the International Institute of Agriculture to be less in Russia than in any other country in Europe except France.

We must not leave our subject without an attempt to estimate to what extent the policy of collectivisation has brought about the results for which the Soviet Government made its audacious throw. The first aim was economic—to increase the product of agriculture. Enough has been said already to show the catastrophic temporary results upon the numbers of stock and the amount of animal products. Figures hitherto published show that there had been no recovery in 1934, in fact that horses had further diminished in that year: but the corner seems to have been turned in 1935. The extent to which personal interest is being enlisted in the animals, by measures which have been described above, gives a reasonable hope of recovery. In old Russia any fool was proverbially fit to be a herdsman; and in the new Russia there was some difficulty over getting men to attend to pigs, because the pigs, like the fowls, had always been the woman's job.

Language is constantly employed which implies that collective farming has increased the product of agriculture. The harvests of 1933 and 1935 were very good, and that of 1934 was well up to the average and was punctually and completely brought to the barns. There has been an increase of 25 per cent. in the cultivated area since 1913, with a consequent rise in the gross product, and mechanisation has reduced waste due to the failure to get the crop home. The signs of increased prosperity both in town and in country are abundant and convincing.

But when we ask ourselves what is the evidence of increased yield *per unit of area*, as distinct from increased yield due to extension of cultivation, it is difficult to find a convincing reply. A statement has been published that the yield per unit on a collective farm is five per cent. better than on an individualist's land; but the present writer cannot find the authority for it, and he does not think that the results obtained on the miserable remnant of individualist farms form a reasonable basis of comparison. Increased yield due to collectivisation, and to the mechanisation which accompanies it, could only be demonstrated by a comparison

of average yields per unit both before and after collectivisation. Now that so large a proportion of the peasant farms over the whole of the USSR has been collectivised, we may be forgiven for making use of the available figures, which give us average yields, for cereals over a series of years, for the whole country, collectivised and uncollectivised.

Those figures show us yields of $14\frac{1}{2}$ bushels per acre in an exceptional year such as 1933, and it seems probable that 1935, when we have complete figures for it, will have repeated that performance. In 1934 the figure was just below 14 bushels, and was identical with that of 1930, when collectivisation was much less advanced. Unless we are prepared to take the figures of the three good years 1933, 1934, 1935 as representing the results of collectivisation and to contrast these with the preceding years good and bad, we must hold that the case is not yet proven.

The yields are so very low—and that of cotton, owing to the extension of cultivation to less suitable areas, is substantially less than before the war—that an improvement in them may reasonably be anticipated, as the result of improved work discipline, increased winter ploughing and improved rotations, and more carefully selected seed. But mechanisation, to which such value is attached by the Russian agricultural authorities, does not in itself increase yield per unit of area. It helps to complete the agricultural processes in good time, and it sets labour free for industrial purposes, for the extension of cultivation, for market gardening and cattle breeding. It may, but it need not, tend to the exhaustion of the soil by rendering cereal cultivation too easy. In the meanwhile there is one small but unmistakable sign of the improvement of agricultural prospects, due to conditions outside of agriculture itself. This is the extension in certain areas—and notably in parts of the region which was formerly classified as one of food deficit—of special crops, notably of vegetables and of technical crops, which indicate a special demand in the growing urban and industrial centres. Cereals are still the standard crop of four-fifths of Russia, but this figure is far below the pre-war total. This is the way in which agriculture makes its surest, though least spectacular advances.

The agricultural critics of collectivisation direct their attack rather upon its moral, than upon its economic, aspects. The Bolsheviks have been convinced from the start that the towns possess a civilisation superior to that of the country, that the latter is "dark" and "deaf" and needs to be enlightened and

made to hear. They have unmistakeably made a beginning of the process of bringing the town to the country. Those who yearn for the immemorial charm of rural uniqueness, will regret the process of sophistication. The present writer does not share their regret, for he believes that the life of the villages in the past, at least in Russia, has been one of ignorance, superstition, oppression and suffering : in the words of the poet of peasant life,

Прочна суровая среда
Гдѣ поколѣнія людей
Живутъ и гибнутъ безъ слѣда,
И безъ урока для дѣтей.

Eternal is the cruel way of life,
In which generations of mankind
Live and perish without trace,
Leaving no lesson for their sons.

JOHN MAYNARD.

THE RUSSIAN WAR PLAN OF 1914

II.—THE EXECUTION OF THE PLAN

ON 28 July Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia and began her mobilisation. She mobilised not only the army corps stationed along the Serbian frontier, but at the same time a number of others, for instance, those quartered in Bohemia. The action of the Monarchy of the Habsburgs was such as to arouse in Russia the most serious apprehensions. It was to be feared that after having mobilised the greater part of her forces, Austria-Hungary would become still more exacting toward Serbia. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, when Austria-Hungary, believing in the weakness of Russia, did not shrink before an open violation of the Treaty of Berlin, was still in everybody's memory. The situation of Russia was the more complicated because in her endeavour to preserve peace in Europe, she had earnestly advised Serbia to be compliant. But in giving this advice, Russia at the same time took upon herself the responsibility before the kindred Serbian nation which had trusted its fate to her, that all the concessions made for the preservation of peace would not lead to loss of independence or diminution of Serbian territory. Besides this, mobilisation of a considerable part of the Austro-Hungarian army presented a direct threat to Russia.

As we have seen, Russia was much behind Austria-Hungary in the development of her armed forces. It was therefore very natural that the Tsar should have considered it advisable to take measures of protection against Austria-Hungary; but at the same time he wished these measures to be taken in a manner which would show Germany that they were not directed against her. This could be attained by a partial mobilisation of the forces indispensable for the defence of Russia against Austria-Hungary, but here we meet with insuperable technical difficulties. In case Russia was threatened on her western frontier, our war plan foresaw only one measure: a general mobilisation. This was, of course, a great defect, the more so as the system of our mobilisation was itself clumsy. As a result, the hastily worked-out plan of a partial mobilisation in four Military Districts, those of Kiev, Odessa, Moscow and Kazan, held a fundamental defect; in carrying out this partial mobilisation, *the plan of a general mobilisation was destroyed*. Consequently, in carrying through this hastily conceived partial mobilisation, Russia made herself for a long time defenceless against Germany.

The great danger of the strategical situation which ensued was enhanced by still another circumstance. The Military District of Warsaw bordered not only on Austria, but also on Germany. In order not to antagonise the latter, this Military District had not been included in the plan of partial mobilisation. We shall see at once to what this led. The Austro-Hungarian armies, after having accomplished on the 15th day of mobilisation their strategical concentration in Galicia, could leave a cover against our mobilised troops in the Military District of Kiev and then, by a rapid movement to the North, overthrow our unmobilised forces of the Military District of Warsaw and thus easily make themselves masters of the whole advance theatre. Such a result would have been in the full sense of the word a catastrophe, after which Germany would have been able to dictate her conditions not only to Russia, but also to France. It required all the peaceful intentions of the Emperor Nicholas II to have taken such a risky resolution, notwithstanding the warnings of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of War and the Chief of the General Staff.

This is the reason why the latter used all their influence to induce the Tsar to declare a general mobilisation on the very next day. The real point of the matter is that, according to the Russian regulations, the first day of mobilisation is left at the disposal of the drafted reserve man for arranging his private affairs. The mobilisation transports begin only the next day. Therefore, after the telegram sent on the evening of 29 July, ordering the partial mobilisation, there remained still one day (30 July) during which the general mobilisation remained intact. The nervousness on this day of 30 July of all those responsible for the military power of Russia is fully comprehensible. The defiant attitude of Germany, exacting from Russia the suspension of the partial mobilisation and urging Austria-Hungary to declare a general mobilisation, could only increase this feeling of uneasiness. It may be imagined to what a pitch this nervousness rose, when telegrams from our secret agents in Berlin arrived with the news of general mobilisation in Germany. They had been misled by an extra edition of the semi-official paper the *Lokal Anzeiger*, sold on the streets of Berlin which contained this false news. This day, when they insisted before the Emperor on our general mobilisation, neither Sazonov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, nor Sukhomlinov, the Minister of War, nor Yanushkevich, the Chief of the General Staff, can be censured as chauvinists; for them it was a question of saving Russia from the catastrophic situation into which she had fallen

after the order for the partial mobilisation. The Emperor yielded, and between 6 and 7 p.m., the telegram ordering the general mobilisation was sent, appointing 31 July as its first day. By this measure the general mobilisation engulfed the partial mobilisation of the four Military Districts, where it had already been promulgated, without leading to any gain of time. It only meant that there were now two first days in these Military Districts, as *all* transports had to begin only on 1 August, i.e. on the second day of the general mobilisation.

We have dwelt so long on the question of the partial and general mobilisation, because on the one hand the Germans, in their endeavour to exculpate themselves from the accusation of being the instigators of this disastrous war, have spread false rumours, supported by a well-organised literature, to the effect that we had begun our mobilisation before 31 July. But, on the other hand, this example clearly shows that the complicated character of modern political conditions requires great elasticity in a war plan. The elasticity of mobilisation should find its expression in a system by which the general mobilisation would consist of a series of partial mobilisations, and these, according to the circumstances, might be effected successively or simultaneously. The absence of such elasticity in a plan of mobilisation must unavoidably lead to a state of alarm and nervousness, at moments in the life of nations when complete self-possession is absolutely necessary.

With the declaration of a general mobilisation, according to the war plan, the Emperor himself became Generalissimo. The Staff of the Generalissimo, or in Russian nomenclature—"the Stavka"—was formed from members of the central organ of the General Staff. But the Council of Ministers begged the Emperor unanimously not to undertake the command, and the Tsar Nicholas II appointed as Generalissimo, on 2 August, the Grand Duke Nicholas. This was already on the third day of mobilisation which was now in full swing. The Grand Duke Nicholas was not acquainted with the latest war plan, not having taken any part since 1908 in its elaboration. And so he entered upon the duties of Generalissimo at a moment when the complicated mechanism of carrying through the war plan was running full speed. This awkward situation was still more aggravated by the fact that all the high commands and even the highest posts in the Stavka were already occupied, and the Grand Duke had therefore to work with collaborators he had not himself chosen. These conditions rendered it almost impossible for him to make any amendments in the war plan; for, at this

moment, it was in a stage of execution. The student of the World War must bear this in mind, so as to understand how it came about that the characteristic determination of the Grand Duke did not reflect itself in the first operative dispositions.

The clearing up of the political situation concerning the neutrality of Sweden, Roumania and Japan allowed us to send to our west front the three army corps which, in pursuance of the war plan, entered into the armies of observation (in the Military Districts of Petrograd and Odessa). From Siberia, Turkestan and the Caucasus it was considered possible to bring up to the west front six army corps out of their ten. But these dispositions were principally beneficial to the strategical reserve, i.e. they increased the number of the army corps arriving in the second and third months, whereas, during the first month of mobilisation, they only increased the forces of the armies themselves by five infantry divisions.

As I have mentioned earlier, in the course of the first eight days the Generalissimo had to decide which of the two variants, "A" or "G," should be executed; but considering that from the very first days it had become evident that the main German forces were turned against France, the Grand Duke ordered variant "A" to be followed. Variant "A" also became necessary in order to save Serbia from being swallowed up by Austria-Hungary. The latter Power, relying on the peacefulness of the Emperor Nicholas II, decided to concentrate against her weak adversary—Serbia—not only the armies originally intended by its war plan, but even Army No. 2 was to have been deployed in Galicia against Russia. In order to save Serbia, a rapid and energetic invasion of Galicia had to be started without delay. The question of saving Serbia without loss of time became a vital necessity: the French Government in the person of its War Minister, M. Messini, transmitted through our Military Attaché in Paris, Count Ignatyev, a request to our Generalissimo to influence Serbia to take the offensive immediately; we were unwise enough to transmit this unsound request. Serbia did as she was bid also, and this only hastened the crisis on her front.

Thus, the political situation in August, 1914, required our rapid invasion of Galicia, but at the same time our obligations towards France exacted just the contrary, namely, the invasion of East Prussia on the 20th day of mobilisation. It was impossible not to keep our word, the more so as our promise played an important rôle in the French war plan, according to which the French armies were to take the offensive towards the Rhine immediately after

their concentration had been accomplished. Any curtailing for other strategical purposes of the forces which were to invade East Prussia was also impossible, owing to the psychological atmosphere in which the Stavka lived. In the very first days of the war our Military Attaché in Paris had transmitted another request of the French War Minister to strike our blow at Germany in the operative direction Warsaw-Posen. In other words, even our invasion of East Prussia on the 20th day of mobilisation was now considered as too mild a remedy, the French requiring something stronger: a Russian offensive on the shortest road to Berlin. All Russia felt the warmest gratitude towards France for having from the very outset and without hesitation come to our rescue. The Stavka could not remain a stranger to the general feeling, and for this reason any requests from the French exercised a great moral pressure on our strategical dispositions. The French Ambassador in Petrograd took advantage of this public feeling. As early as 5 August he had addressed himself to the Tsar, "beseeching him" (we use his own words) for help. And when the news received from France became more and more alarming and the French Ambassador repeated his appeals, the Emperor answered: "I have given the Grand Duke Nicholas an order to open at any price and as quickly as possible the road to Berlin. I attach only a secondary importance to our operations against Austria." And so, the political situation, as it appeared in the first fortnight of August, was not only unfavourable for any amendment of the fundamental defect of variant "A"—consisting in the scattering of our forces in two diverging operative directions (one leading into Galicia, the other into East Prussia)—but it even promoted an intensifying of this dispersion by concentrating our troops in a third direction, leading from Warsaw to Posen.

Under the influence of this French pressure, the Stavka began from 6 August to form another army (No. 9) in the region of Warsaw. This army was to be composed of 5 infantry divisions, representing the surplus obtained, as we have seen, by drawing to the theatre of war all the army corps of European Russia. Thus, as the strategical reserve came up, the 9th Army was to be reinforced at its expense. A French military historian, actually Commandant of the "Ecole Supérieure de Guerre" in Paris, General Dufour, characterises the strategical situation as it had become, as follows: ". . . The Russian Command, being already engaged in two diverging offensive directions in accordance with its war plan, decides on a third offensive to comply with the *insufficiently matured* suggestions of its French partner."

The form our strategical deployment had taken is shown in appendix No. 1.

The beginning of the offensive of the North-western group of armies was fixed, as before, for the 15th day, whereas the general offensive of the South-western group was to begin on the 24th day.

At the given dates the armies could take the field only with the following number of infantry divisions :—

Army No. 1	...	...	...	6½	infantry divisions.
Army No. 2	...	...	...	10½	„ „
Total force of North-western group...				17	„ „
Army No. 4	...	...	...	6½	„ „
Army No. 5	...	...	...	10	„ „
Army No. 3	...	...	...	12	„ „
Army No. 8	...	...	...	9	„ „
Total force of South-western group...				37½	„ „

On this same sketch are shown the forces of the enemy which were encountered on the fields of battle. In East Prussia these forces were equal to 14 German infantry divisions. As I have repeated several times, the effective force of 14 German infantry divisions must be considered as being equal to 21 Russian infantry divisions. Let us remember that before the war the estimation of our General Staff of the German forces in East Prussia was very close to this. Therefore the deductions which I have made earlier on the extreme hazard of our precocious invasion of East Prussia remain in force. That our High Command began at last to be aware of this in August, 1914, is clearly seen from the answer given on 13 August (the 14th day of mobilisation) by our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sazonov, to the French Ambassador's cries for help. In this answer he said that although our High Command "is well aware that our hasty offensive into East Prussia is doomed to unavoidable failure . . . yet as we have no right to suffer the destruction of our ally, so, in spite of the unquestionable risk of the impending operation, it is our duty to take the offensive immediately, and this the Grand Duke has given an order to fulfil."

On the south-western front the situation had taken a much more favourable turn for us. Here we received a valuable strategical present. The expectations of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff of speedily crushing little Serbia, while Russia, fearing Germany, hesitated with her mobilisation, were not realised. It

became therefore necessary for Austria-Hungary to hastily transport Army No. 2 from the Serbian back to the Russian front. This brought about such a delay in their concentration in Galicia that the Austro-Hungarian armies were able to begin their offensive, not on the 16th, but only on the 24th day and even then without their full number of infantry divisions. Together with the two German infantry divisions then on their way to join them from Posen, the Austro-Hungarian forces amounted to $39\frac{1}{2}$ infantry divisions.

Notice an interesting coincidence : The day of the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian offensive coincides exactly with the day of the general offensive of our south-western group of armies.

The 28th and 30th days of mobilisation mark a turning point in the Russian Supreme Command; the Grand Duke freed himself from the influence of the Stavka. Before this he had been fully aware of the impossibility of immediately understanding the details of such an extremely complicated mechanism as railway transport and had been conscious at the same time that any interference in this complicated mechanism might lead to a dangerous muddle; so the Grand Duke had stoically accepted the fact that his own strategical ideas contradicted those which were being carried out.

Appendix No. 2 shows how the strategical situation on the 29th and 30th days of mobilisation presented itself to the Grand Duke.

At Gumbinnen—on the 21st day (20 August) our Army No. 1 had won a battle in one day over the Germans and was continuing its advance to the West. Army No. 2 had been engaged since the 27th day (26 August) on the front : Soldau-Bischofsburg. It had suffered reverses on the flanks, but these reverses, owing to the negligence of the General Staff of the North-western group of armies, presented themselves to the mind of the Grand Duke in a very nebulous light. For this reason, although by the evening of the 29th day (28 August) the battle fought by Army No. 2 (General Samsonov's), to which the Germans gave the name of Tannenberg, was definitely lost, it was regarded by the Stavka as a battle of yet undecided issue.

On the other wing the battle of Lublin, which began on the 24th day (23 August), appeared as a defeat of our Army No. 4. It must be admitted that the right flank of this army had been defeated by superior forces of the Austro-Hungarians. As to our Army No. 5, it was known that it had been directed against the flank of the Austro-Hungarians, who were pressing hard on our

Army No. 4. The battle of Tomashev, which began on the 27th day, appeared, according to the latest news, as yet quite undecided. On the other hand, there was no doubt of our brilliant victory of Zolochov, won by our Army No. 3 on the 27th and 28th days (26 and 27 August). It was also known that the Commander-in-Chief of the South-western group of armies, General Ivanov, had ordered his Armies No. 3 and No. 8 to change the direction of their further advance towards the north-west, with the object of falling upon the rear of the Austro-Hungarian forces, which were fighting northwards of the river San.

And so we had won victories on the outer flanks of our groups of armies, on the flanks which were of the least strategical importance, and had lost battles on the inner flanks, those having the greatest strategical importance. The correctness of the strategical ideas of Milyutin and Obruchev, that our decisive blow should be struck from the advanced theatre and as near to the Vistula as possible, were fully confirmed by events. The Grand Duke Nicholas, sharing these ideas, now tried to correct the strategical situation which had been created:—

1. He revoked the disposition of the Stavka, preparing an offensive in the direction of Posen by Army No. 9 which was concentrating at Warsaw.

2. He incorporated this army into the South-western group, giving it a direction on Ivangorod, from where, after having closed upon the right flank of Army No. 4, it was to advance on both banks of the Vistula, with the object of enveloping the left flank of the main Austro-Hungarian forces, which were fighting northwards of the River San and to try at the same time to cut them off from Cracow.

In one of the military-historical works published by the Bolsheviks, notwithstanding their desire to undermine the prestige of the Grand Duke, which stood very high with the rank and file, they did nothing to erase the following appreciation of the above-mentioned operative dispositions made on the 30th day by the Generalissimo: “. . . From this day the Stavka concentrates all its forces on the South-western front to procure a victory. *But this concentration of the forces in one mass is effected entirely on the initiative of the Generalissimo.*”

If we now look again at Appendix No. 2, we see that the Grand Duke Nicholas corrected our war plan not only by concentrating his efforts in one operative direction, but also by preparing a main blow by the right flank of the South-western group of armies along

the Vistula, just where a victory over the enemy promised the most important strategical results.

The modifications our strategical deployment underwent on the 29th and 30th days owing to the initiative of the Grand Duke Nicholas, signified nothing less than a return to the ideas of Milyutin and Obruchev, so heedlessly abandoned by Sukhomlinov.

Just two days after the decision of the Grand Duke to concentrate all his disposable forces against Austria-Hungary, directing them along both banks of the Vistula, the Stavka received the startling news of the catastrophe of the centre of Army No. 2 (Samsonov's). Five infantry divisions had been completely annihilated and the remainder were retiring in a sad state of dissolution to the river Narew. At the same time our Intelligence Department reported that two German army corps, taken from France, were being railed to East Prussia. Their arrival there was expected on 5 September (the 37th day of mobilisation). The Stavka feared an offensive of the Germans (after their reinforcement) in a southern direction—on Sedlets. This offensive, in the event of an advance of the Austro-Hungarian armies on Brest Litovsk, might have enclosed the Russian forces, concentrated near the Vistula, in the jaws of a vice. Notwithstanding that Army No. 2 had been reinforced on the Narew by four second line infantry divisions, the Stavka did not think (because of the moral shock this army had just experienced) that it would be able to oppose any serious resistance to the Germans advancing on Sedlets. For this reason it was decided to form a new Army, No. 10, in the region of Osovets, by sending there the army corps of the strategical reserve, intended originally for Army No. 9. Army No. 1 had advanced far westwards in East Prussia. The Stavka kept it in this advanced position with the intention of preventing the Germans from dealing a blow in the direction of Sedlets.

I am inclined to believe that under the profound impression produced by the catastrophe of General Samsonov's army (No. 2), the Stavka somewhat overrated the possibility of a German offensive on Sedlets. This appears not only from the orders by which the army corps of the strategical reserve (originally intended for Army No. 9) were now hurried to Army No. 10, but it reflected itself also in the fact that the Stavka now limited the time given the right flank of the South-western group to win the battle of Lublin, fixing its limit for the 37th day (5 September), that is, the day of the expected arrival in East Prussia of the two German army corps from France. If up to that date the battle had not yet

been won, the Stavka intended to draw our armies from the advance theatre back to the line Grodno-Brest Litovsk-Kovel.

On the South-western front, although the right flank and the centre of Army No. 4 firmly held their ground in the region of Lublin, covering thereby the concentration of Army No. 9, the Austro-Hungarians had succeeded in breaking through between Armies Nos. 4 and 5. The latter army, in order to cover the roads on Brest, retreated from the battlefield of Tomashev towards Holm.

The breach made by the Austro-Hungarians between Armies No. 4 and No. 5 caused the more alarm to our Stavka because our Armies No. 3 and No. 8 had not yet advanced to the North-west as they had been ordered to do; they had come to blows with the enemy to the east and south of Lvov (Lemberg), where, on the 30th and 31st days of mobilisation (29 and 30 August), they won a brilliant victory on the river Gnilaya Lipa.

Not counting any longer on the possibility of an immediate offensive of these armies against the rear of the Austro-Hungarian forces in battle against our armies to the north of the River San, and under the impression of the above-mentioned opinion fixing the term of operations on the right flank of the South-western front and limiting them to the 37th day, 5 September, the Stavka decided to shorten the task, which it had given this front. The South-western group of armies, which had been assigned the task of winning a crushing victory over all the Austro-Hungarian forces concentrated in Galicia, was now ordered to win the battle of Lublin. This narrowing of the general task brought about the following changes in the grouping of forces :—

- (a) Army No 9 was formed entirely on the eastern bank of the Vistula, which meant giving up the attempt of surrounding the western flank of the Austro-Hungarians, that is, of carrying out to their full extent the ideas of Milyutin;
- (b) The army corps which were to be included in Army No. 9 for an offensive on the west bank of the Vistula, were now sent to the left flank of Army No. 4, to counter-attack the Austro-Hungarian forces, which had broken through between Armies No. 4 and No. 5;
- (c) This counter-attack was to be supported by Army No. 5, which for this purpose was to take the offensive in a south-westerly direction.

Armies No. 3 and No. 8 were again ordered to change the direction of their further offensive from the west to the north-west,

with the object of exercising as quickly as possible a pressure on the rear of the Austro-Hungarian troops fighting to the north of the river San. After having abridged the task originally given the South-western group of armies, the Grand Duke exacted of them that "the troops should attack with the most reckless determination," and, should a defensive action become unavoidable, "hold out to the last man."

Providence had a valuable strategical present in store for the Grand Duke: The Austro-Hungarian Generalissimo had overestimated the success of his Army No. 4 in the battle of Tomashev, taking the retreat of our Army No. 5 as a sign that the latter had been completely routed and was not to be feared. Starting from this erroneous point of view, the Austro-Hungarian Generalissimo ordered his Army No. 4, which had fought in the battle of Tomashev, to wheel and advance towards the south, with the object of attacking the right flank of our Army No. 3. The consequence was that at the time when the Grand Duke had concentrated for the battle of Lublin *27 infantry divisions*, there remained *only 19* on the side of the Austro-Hungarians.

While the armies of the South-western group were beginning the offensive ordered by the Grand Duke, the Germans, immediately after the arrival of the two army corps from France, fiercely attacked our Army No. 1. They struck their main blow across the Mazurian Lakes, the passes between which were in their hands. Their attack began on the 39th day (7 September). For our Army No. 10 only two infantry divisions had come up, and these were too weak to prevent the powerful manœuvre of the Germans in the rear of the left flank of our Army No. 1. The Germans had the advantage of a considerable numerical superiority: $15\frac{1}{2}$ Russian infantry divisions of Army No. 1 and 2 Russian infantry divisions of Army No. 10, or $17\frac{1}{2}$ Russian infantry divisions in all, with 116 batteries, were attacked by $18\frac{1}{2}$ German infantry divisions with 190 batteries; according to our estimate, these German forces must be regarded as equal in efficiency to 27 Russian infantry divisions. On the 41st day (9 September) our Army No. 1 began its painful retreat.

Our new defeat in East Prussia did not abate the determination with which the Grand Duke pursued his object of winning at any price the battle of Lublin. On the 41st day, i.e. on the very day on which our Army No. 1 had begun its retreat from East Prussia, the battle of Lublin ended with our complete victory. This victory of ours had an immediate repercussion on the field of another

battle, which was fought at the same time in Galicia. At Rava Ruska and on the river Vereshitsa, three Austro-Hungarian armies, mustering 27 infantry divisions, had begun on the 38th day (6 September) to attack our Armies Nos. 3 and 8 (of 22 infantry divisions). The battle was going on without any marked advantage on one side or the other. But the victory of Lublin freed for operations our Army No. 5, which was directed with its 10 infantry divisions to the rear of the left flank of the Austro-Hungarians, engaged in the battle of Rava Ruska. Two other Russian armies, namely, No. 9 and No. 4, followed up their victory energetically, pressing the Austro-Hungarians against the river San. The Austro-Hungarian Generalissimo was aware that his armies were threatened with a catastrophe. His situation appeared still more desperate, when it turned out that the river San, although fortified in peace time, could not be held. He therefore ordered his armies to retreat to Cracow.

After the 41st day events took the following turn. On the North-western front, the Germans, following up their victory on the Mazurian Lakes, advanced on our heels to the river Niemen, and we on the South-western front, following up our victory, pushed on energetically in Galicia towards Cracow. Here something happened in the nature of a strategical competition as to which of the two sides could best bear the blow inflicted on it. This would determine which of the two adversaries would be first to give up the fruits of his victory—the German or the Russian.

The strategical situation on the Austro-Hungarian front at that time is appreciated in the memoirs of General Ludendorff in the following words :

“ The Austro-Hungarian army had been completely defeated and was retiring beyond the San after having suffered losses of extreme importance. The Russians pursued them and could break through into Moravia and Upper Silesia. Immediate help had to be brought to the Austro-Hungarian army to avoid its annihilation . . . it required direct assistance, and this help could not be made too powerful.”

On the 44th day the Germans decided to withdraw from East Prussia about one-half of their forces and throw them into Upper Silesia, to unite directly with the northern flank of the Austro-Hungarian armies, which were gathering in the region of Cracow.

And thus, our victory in Galicia liquidated strategically our reverses in East Prussia. We had obtained the possibility of carrying

on energetically our further operations on the left bank of the Vistula.

For these, westwards of the river Vistula, i.e. on the nearest roads to Berlin and Vienna, we could now concentrate five armies, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 9, leaving as a cover from the side of East Prussia only one army (No. 10) and for the occupation of Galicia, two armies (Nos. 8 and 3); this obliged the Germans to reinforce their Eastern front with four additional German army corps.

The influence of the war plan ends with the termination of the operations eastwards of the Vistula; for this reason we will not enter into a study of the events which took place west of this river, but pass over to our general deductions.

All the problems a war plan has to solve can be roughly divided into two categories :—

1. Problems referring to organisation; these comprise the elaboration of a judicious organisation of the armed forces, their armament, equipment, mobilisation.

2. Problems of a strategical character; these require a laying down of the fundamental and nearest objects of the war, and in accordance with these objects, the deployment of forces.

The solution of those problems referring to the organisation of the war plan which we are examining was hampered by economic difficulties. Owing to a deficiency of means, we took the field with infantry divisions, that is, with fundamental operative units, one-and-a-half times inferior in efficiency to the corresponding units of our principal adversary—Germany. The negative consequences of this circumstance were enormous. In order to equal the Germans in efficiency on the battlefields, we should have concentrated upon them one-and-a-half times more men. This made our armies less pliant and less capable of manœuvring than the German.

With respect to mobilisation, the principal defect of our war plan lay in the fact that it had been based on an obsolete comprehension of mobilisation, as an effort, though strenuous, yet of short duration. It had entirely overlooked the fact that a war of great modern nations, owing to the manifold means which are brought into play, represents an ever-increasing deployment of forces. After a first mobilisation, a series of others must follow, which affect not only the army, but the whole country, and first of all its industry. To reproach our war plan for not having foreseen this circumstance, would be unfair. As I have already said, no one had foreseen it. But, nevertheless, we cannot absolve our war plan from a too narrow-minded understanding of the correct idea of

mobilisation; for it had worked out only one general mobilisation, whereas it should have prepared for a series of partial mobilisations. These partial mobilisations could have been effected successively or simultaneously, and in the latter case would have become a general mobilisation.

This is all I would say on the problems of the organisation of our war plan, and I will now proceed to the strategical side of the question.

Let us begin with the fundamental idea on which the war plan was based. "War," says Clausewitz, "is a continuation of politics with arms in hand." For this reason the fundamental strategical ideas of a war plan ought logically to spring from the political problems. The Franco-Russian military convention was an agreement of a strictly defensive character against the increasing aggressiveness of Germany. This political premiss did not exact from the Franco-Russian war plan such a hasty offensive as was decided upon for the initial Franco-Russian operations.

Our preceding investigations have shown that the strategical conditions are likewise against such rash haste. A premature offensive (before the concentration of the Russian armies had been accomplished) was a most dangerous adventure, which carried the risk of heavy consequences for Russia. Therefore, the Franco-Russian war plan was vicious in its very substance.

This viciousness reflected itself in our first military dispositions which, instead of being moulded into *one* harmonious operation, were transformed into *two* simultaneous but independent and detached offensives in two different and diverging directions.

Let us see how far our war plan fulfilled its fundamental strategical duty towards the troops, namely, to provide for a superiority of forces on the battlefield. Out of 9 battles (in that of Lublin we consider its two periods each as a separate battle), only in three cases was the numerical superiority on our side; in the remaining six cases the valour of the troops paid for a lack of foresight in the war plan.

But there is more to be said. It is evident that the strategical importance of battles is very different. As early as fifty years prior to the World War, Count Milyutin and later General Obruchev had foreseen that the strategical importance of our initial military operations would increase in measure as they deepened towards the West. And for this reason they attached such great importance to our advance theatre.

Let us now from this point of view estimate the battles won and lost. Out of 9 battles we won 5, but of the latter, 4 (Gumbinnen, Zolochov, Gnilaya Lipa, Rava Ruska-Vereshitsa) were fought on fields lying in secondary strategical directions. Only one of these successful battles, the second period of the battle of Lublin, has the importance of a strategical victory. But this success can in no wise be put to the credit of our war plan. On the contrary, it was won owing to the alterations the Grand Duke had made in the war plan. It is of interest to remember here that the Grand Duke Nicholas did not succeed in carrying through these alterations completely, that is, in an energetic offensive on *both* banks of the Vistula, with the object of fighting the decisive part of the battle as far to the west as possible. This would have made the possibility of an Austro-Hungarian retreat on Cracow very problematical. The catastrophe of Samsonov, which happened also in a sensitive strategical direction, prevented these changes from being fully carried through.

One cannot fail to note that in seven out of nine cases the battlefields had been given up by numerically inferior forces. The first battles were fought on both sides with troops which were nearer in quality to professional soldiers than to the militia. There could therefore be no great difference between them in respect of their fighting qualities, and the saying of Napoleon: "*Les gros bataillons ont toujours raison*" (the big battalions have always the last word) remained true.

In both the cases which formed an exception to this rule, the battles were won by the Russians: Gumbinnen against the Germans and Rava Ruska-Vereshitsa against the Austro-Hungarians. This can undoubtedly be attributed in a great measure to the gallantry of the troops. But apart from the fighting capacity of the troops, in both cases there were other reasons which influenced the issue of these battles, so that they cannot be looked upon as exceptions to the general rule. At Gumbinnen the decision of the Commander of the German army, General von Prittwitz, to retreat, was made after receiving the news of the advance of the Russian Army No. 2 into East Prussia, westwards of the Mazurian Lakes. The retreat from the battlefield of Rava Ruska-Vereshitsa was decided upon by the Austro-Hungarian Generalissimo when he was informed of the advance against his immediate rear of the Russian Army No. 5, while two more Russian Armies (No. 9 and No. 4) threatened to debouch on his far rear and cut his communications with Cracow. It will be seen that in both cases there

was a threat that the enemy might be greatly reinforced, and this in strategically dangerous directions.

A study of the first operations on the Russian front confirms the fundamental maxim of strategy. final victory is the result of a victory in the decisive direction. Such was the case during the first operations on the Russian front in the Galician direction. The victory of the South-western group of armies strategically liquidated the defeat of the North-western group of armies. But our offensive in the Galician direction did not represent a direct strategical pressure on our principal enemy—Germany. Our victory in this direction could have compelled Germany to withdraw part of her forces from France only in case the Austro-Hungarian armies were threatened with destruction. In such a case there could be no doubt that German forces would be hurried up to the rescue, because Germany could not suffer her ally to be thrown out of the lists. The military-geographical conditions in which the Austro-Hungarian armies, concentrated in Galicia, found themselves, were such, that a Russian attack, dealing a main blow along the River Vistula, threatened, in case of victory, to place them in a catastrophic situation.

Our concentration during the months of August and September, 1914, was divided into two échelons: the first comprised all the army corps of European Russia (with the exception of that from Finland, No. XXII), the second échelon included the army corps of Asiatic Russia, the Caucasus and Finland. Before the arrival of the army corps of the first échelon, Russia could not start a decisive offensive. This brings us to the 30th day. In the last necessity this term could be hurried on to the 24th day, but this was the earliest limit. As we know, it was on the 24th day that the offensive of the South-western group of armies began.

Of the 26 army corps of the 1st échelon, 20 might have been concentrated on the South-western front, forming in our advance theatre a mass amounting to 14 army corps, instead of the 7 army corps which our war plan had concentrated there. Now that we know the course events have taken, there can be no doubt that such a grouping of our forces would have had the result of cutting the Austro-Hungarian army off from Cracow and pressing it up against the Carpathians, presuming that the Germans failed to arrive in time with considerable forces for its rescue.

I will now mark the limits of time within which our offensive into Galicia, under the conditions we have supposed above, could show its strategical effect. We must therefore look at the diagram

No. 3. The vertical lines, drawn on the diagram as meridians, mark the days of the Russian mobilisation. The broken line, cutting across the diagram and beginning on the left edge with the figure 42, represents the curve of the increasing number of infantry divisions in the Russian active armies. Another line, beginning with the figure 47, shows the number of the enemy's infantry divisions, opposing the Russians. Above this line is drawn a third line, representing the real fighting efficiency of the enemy, expressed in operative units, equivalent to Russian infantry divisions. We see that the intersection of this last line with the curve of the "Russian infantry divisions" falls on the 26th day. And so, owing to the retarding of the Austro-Hungarian concentration, the beginning of our decisive offensive on our South-western front almost coincided with the period when our gradually growing general superiority of forces began to appear.

In the lower part of the diagram are marked, corresponding to the days of the Russian mobilisation, the battles fought in Galicia. In the upper part of this diagram are marked, in the same manner, the battles in East Prussia. Lastly, near the extreme upper edge, is indicated the battle of the Marne. If the battle of Galicia had been fought in the shape we have indicated above, the powerful right wing of our South-western front would not have known the first three unsuccessful days of the battle of Lublin. The Russian victory would have been evident at least three days earlier; therefore, the catastrophic nature of our victory in Galicia would have been visible to the Austro-Germans on the 38th day. It is most probable that the overwhelming character of the Russian victory would have become obvious much sooner; but, to make it more convincing, I establish my deductions on the lowest operative estimates.

The battle of the Marne began on the 37th day, so that the repercussion of our victory in Galicia might not have had time to influence the French front. Herein lies the moral justification of the Grand Duke Nicholas, who had not considered it possible to break the promise given by General Zhilinsky, to invade East Prussia on the 20th day. But if we do not look at this question from the point of view of the Russian Generalissimo, who, in the first stages of the war, could do little more than execute an already established war plan, but look at it from the viewpoint of the structure of the war plan itself, our deductions will be quite different. If the French, immediately after the concentration of their forces, had not begun the war with a reckless offensive, having for object the conquest of

Alsace-Lorraine, but instead had opposed the German invasion with a strategy of temporisation, a "crisis," like that of the Marne, would have taken place at a later date and at all events so late that our victory in Galicia would have become very effective for the French front. And therefore the catastrophe suffered by the army of General Samsonov appears in the full sense of the word as an expiatory sacrifice for the errors of the Franco-Russian war plan.

As this diagram shows, the decision of the Germans to withdraw two army corps from France was taken on the 22nd day, the very next day after the battle of Gumbinnen. These two army corps arrived in East Prussia only on the 34th day, that is, at a date when the battle of Tannenberg had already been won by the Germans. These two army corps were therefore not necessary in East Prussia, whereas their withdrawal from France at a critical moment contributed to the defeat of the Marne. It may be said without exaggeration that this throwing of two army corps from France to the Russian front was *the gravest strategical fault* committed in the course of the whole war by any of the belligerents.

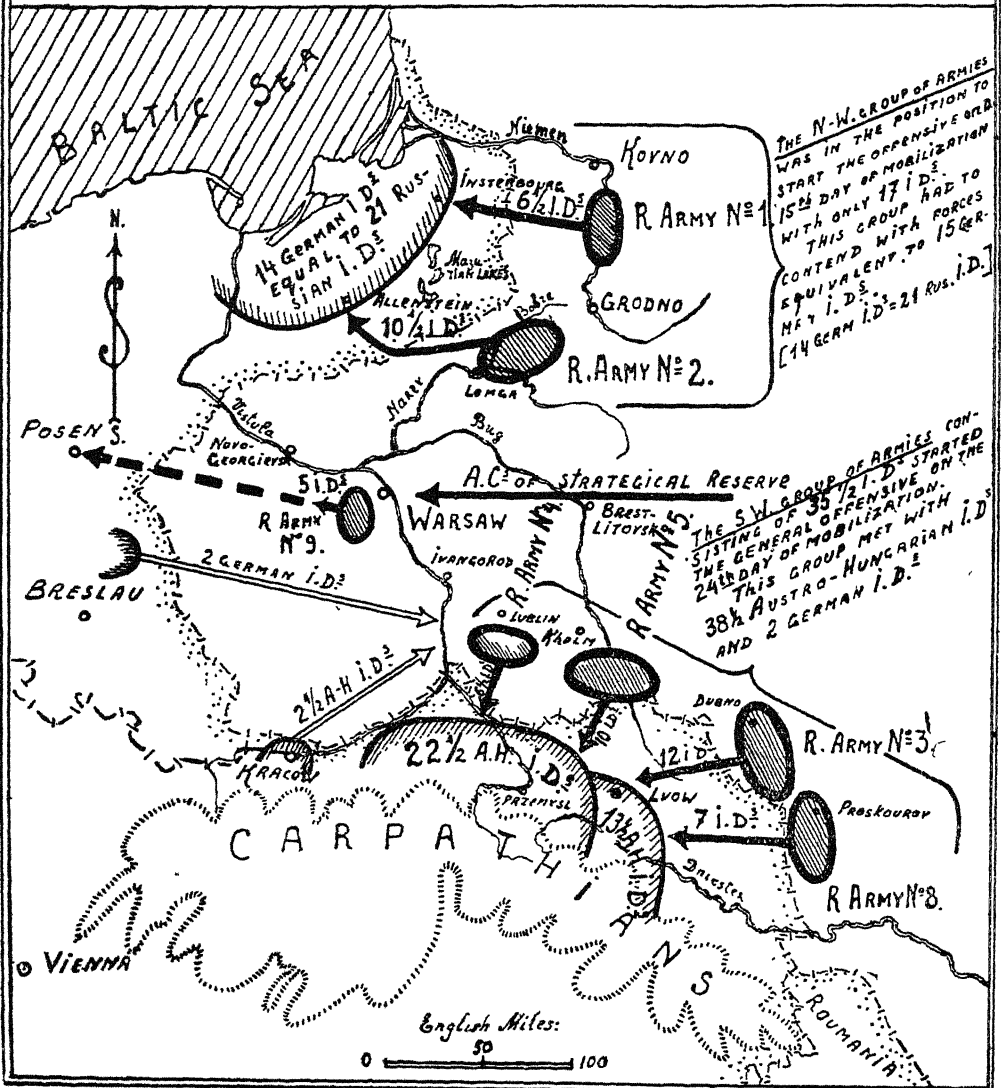
Here we have arrived at a question of principle, and with its answer I will end this study: Is it admissible to plan operations on a surmise of the mistakes of the enemy? The initial period of the operations on the Russian front seems to give an affirmative answer. The fatal mistake of Germany covered the defects of our war plan and led to the result that we won this initial period for ourselves, and also for our allies.

And, nevertheless, it must be stated that, just as a chess player should not found his combinations on the possible blunders of his adversary, so also strategical calculations must be based on absolutely positive data. Mistakes, of course, are unavoidable. But for a scientifically conceived war plan the mistakes of the adversary must be regarded only as valuable presents, facilitating the carrying out of the projected operations. It is evident that, to avail himself of these mistakes, the Generalissimo must be gifted with intuition. But this only proves once more that strategy is a science, and at the same time, an art.

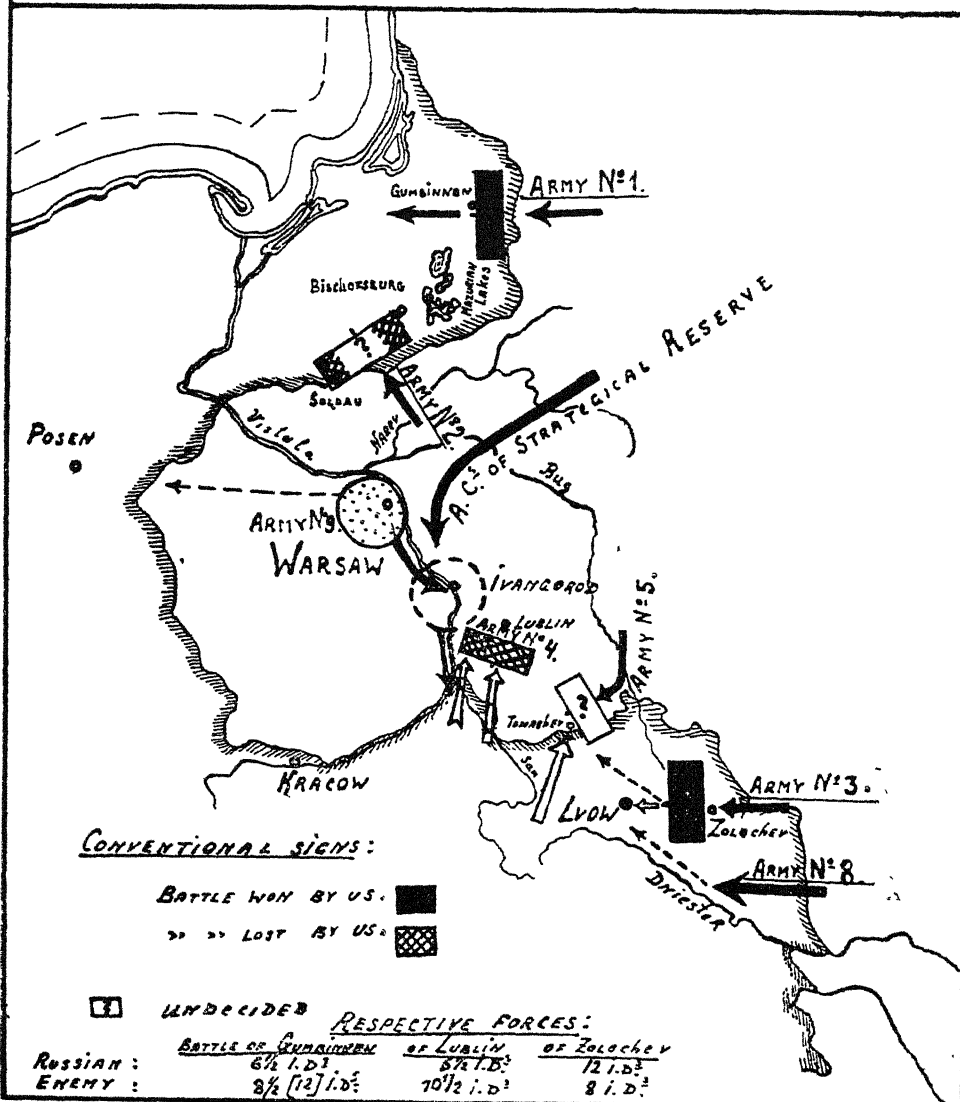
NICHOLAS GOLOVIN.

APPENDIX N° 1

STRATEGICAL DEPLOYMENT EFFECTED IN AUGUST 1914.



APPENDIX N° 2
*How the STRATEGICAL SITUATION
 APPEARED TO THE RUSSIAN GENERALISSIMO
 TO THE 29th AND 30th DAYS OF MOBILIZATION
 [28th AND 29th AUGUST]:*



RUSSO-GERMAN RELATIONS

ONE of the most serious, but at the same time most interesting of contemporary problems is the relationship between Germany and Soviet Russia, for this relationship, if it does not actually prevent the establishment of conditions in Central and Eastern Europe which will fundamentally promote the pacification of Europe as a whole, at least forms a serious obstacle in the way of achieving this purpose. The worsening of these relations in recent years need surprise nobody. A brief outline of the mutual relations of the two countries shows clearly that they were determined largely by German initiative. No doubt the underlying reasons for the present tension are of long standing, and they are the directives which determined in the past, and which will determine in the future, the policy of Germany towards Russia. We are able to trace them from the moment when the enthusiasm arising from the unification of Germany, and particularly from the growth of German power, gave rise to the development of the theories associated with Pan-Germanism. These theories aimed at the construction of a German Empire which would be the greatest continental power and which would dictate its will to the countries of South-Eastern Europe. Moreover, later on, it would possess sufficient strength to subdue Russia and to separate from it the territory inhabited by non-Russian nationalities. These theories were shared not only by the German theoreticians of Pan-Germanism. If we follow the development of German foreign policy from Bismarck onwards, we see that they dominated more or less also German policy, which regarded them as a distant aim that was to be reached cautiously and sometimes by paths apparently unconnected with it.

For that reason Germany aimed at a rapprochement with Russia while France was still not weakened, while the western points of vantage, won through the successful wars with Austria and France, had not yet been secured, and finally while the policy towards Austria, and then jointly with Austria, facilitated for Germany the extension of influence in South-Eastern Europe without any costly aggression. Bismarck's policy of friendly gestures and utterances towards Russia was prompted by the needs of diplomatic strategy, which aimed at keeping Russia quiet and thus leaving Germany a free hand in the Balkans. This policy further involved frustrating any rapprochement between Russia and France and promoting the continuance of Russia's disagreements with Great Britain. It was these tactics of "friendship" with

Russia which gave rise to the legend that Bismarck, so far as his great Russian neighbour was concerned, was in favour of a policy of sincere and permanent friendship. This legend appeared to be confirmed by Bismarck's own utterances during the period when the reckless policy of William II threatened to destroy the successes achieved by Bismarck's cunning and complex manœuvres with Russia. Actually, however, Bismarck's view expressed only a conception which held good in the situation existing at a time when Germany was still not strong enough to carry out openly an anti-Russian policy. Hence, Baron Korff in his book *Russia's Foreign Relations* rightly disposes of the idea that Bismarck was a devoted adherent of German-Russian co-operation, and he rightly emphasises the fact that the real aim of Bismarck's policy was to weaken Russia, to detach from Russia the non-Russian nationalities, and out of them to form states under German hegemony.

It may be added that Bismarck, as well as the other Chancellors under William II, had also further reason for an apparently friendly policy with Russia. What they had in view was to secure firm foundations for an economic and colonial penetration of Russia, which was important also in a political respect, because the Germans occupied an unusually prominent position in the economic life of the country. During the serious customs disputes with Russia in Bismarck's period of office, this process of penetration was not at all easy, especially when Russia, realising the danger which menaced her, began to adopt severe counter-measures, such as caused Germany to try and undermine the financial basis of Russia which, in any case, was in an unsatisfactory condition.

Bismarck's skilful policy inflicted several defeats upon Russia, but they were always made less humiliating by means of a friendly word or gesture, and when Bismarck left office he could rightly claim that as a result of his adroit handling of Russia he had secured for Germany firm points of vantage in Austria-Hungary and in the Balkans.

Bismarck's policy towards Russia was not favoured by some of his colleagues, who would have preferred a more marked anti-Russian attitude. It was appreciated at its full value only after the war, when Germany, as we shall see, inspired by Bismarck's tactics of "friendship" towards Russia, embarked for a number of years on an analogous policy towards Soviet Russia. Incidentally, Bismarck's Russian strategy was not abandoned even by subsequent Chancellors under William II, nor indeed by the Kaiser himself. Russia, concerned mainly with Asiatic problems, under-estimated

this danger, although she observed that the conflict of German and Russian interests in the sphere of the Straits at Constantinople, was assuming larger proportions. In spite of the rapprochement with France and later with Great Britain, Russia would have drawn closer to Germany on more than one occasion, irrespective of the effects which such a policy might involve. In this, she was largely urged by her economic needs, for Russian exports found their best market in Germany. Moreover, Russian policy was undoubtedly influenced also, as before, by the endeavour to establish firmly the principle of monarchism, and she was further prompted by anti-British tendencies, which remained very strong in circles of the Right, even after the rapprochement with England in 1907.

In contrast to this vacillation of Russian policy, that of Germany was firm and purposeful. Its aim was :—

(1) To divert Russia from the alliance with France and the rapprochement with Britain, and to discredit her in the eyes of both these Great Powers.

(2) To develop in Russia, with the help of her extensive commercial relations and of the exponents of German industry there, points of vantage which would tend to make Russia as far as possible economically dependent upon Germany.

3. To undermine Russia's position in the Balkans, especially in Bulgaria.

4. By moral and financial support to promote the movement of the small non-Russian nationalities, especially in the Baltic provinces and Ukraine, with a view to detaching them subsequently from Russia.

If this purposeful policy had any weak points, this was solely due to the fact that Germany ceased to observe Bismarck's tactics, and began to apply this policy prematurely by carrying it out simultaneously with the colonial programme and the naval armaments which were so obviously directed against Britain. In this way she brought the two Great Powers together before she succeeded in weakening one of them to any extent. Insufficient attention was devoted to Germany's impatient bid for the hegemony in Europe and throughout the world. Both France and Britain, and particularly the latter country, for a very long time did not sufficiently realise the importance of German influence in Austria-Hungary and the Balkans. That is why Germany was able to play so daring a game during the Great War, when she was convinced that at one blow she would attain what had already

been prepared by Bismarck in so adroit, complex and progressive a manner.

It has rarely happened in history that any country during the actual progress of a war which it has not yet won, acknowledged so openly its aims as Germany did during the Great War, when she was convinced that she could not fail. She did so when she dictated the terms of peace at Bucarest and Brest Litovsk. Particularly when making peace with Soviet Russia and Ukraine, she quite ruthlessly revealed her real plans in Eastern Europe. She openly admitted that she was concerned not only with political hegemony in the new small states set up under her protectorate in the Baltic region and around the Black Sea, not only with the development of economic points of vantage in a mutilated Russia which to all intents and purposes would, as a result, become a German colony, but also with the establishment of a secure route to Asia Minor and India with the help of the advantages thus obtained.

Although this scheme came to nothing, it will always be important for estimating the remoter aims of German policy, which will be resumed as soon as the situation permits of it and as soon as Germany feels that she has at her disposal sufficient power to achieve them. The present-day situation shows that Germany has not forgotten these ambitions, and that she is resuming preparations which may lead to their attainment. The Peace of Brest Litovsk, it is true, did not bring about a firm basis for a German-Russian relationship. Soviet Russia accepted it out of compulsion, and with feelings which are perhaps best expressed in the words of Lenin at that time. The nationalistic ideas to which he gave utterance on that occasion will seem surprising in the mouth of the herald of a world revolution who was combating nationalism of any kind whatsoever. Writing on 12 March in the *Izvestia*, Lenin said: "We were compelled to sign a 'Tilsit peace.' It is necessary to gauge to the uttermost the depths of our defeat, our disintegration, our enslavement, our humiliation. The more clearly we recognise this, the more firmly determined shall we become . . . to make sure that Russia shall cease to be a wretched and powerless country, and that she may attain power and wealth in the fullest sense."

It was thus clear that Soviet Russia would never be reconciled with such a basis for a mutual relationship with Germany, and in actual fact as soon as the German power was broken by the victories of the Allies in the west, Soviet Russia annulled the peace of Brest Litovsk and by creating independent Soviet states in the

Baltic regions and also a Soviet Ukraine—all united with Soviet Russia—endeavoured at least partially to restore the old Russian Empire. In the Baltic regions this policy failed, but in course of time it was entirely successful in Ukraine and the Caucasus after the defeat of the anti-revolutionary armies. The allied intervention in Russia in 1918-19, the blockade and the allied support granted to Poland in 1920 during the hostilities with the Soviets, the opposition to the Bolshevik régime in the allied countries, the efforts to set up a united anti-Soviet front for an indefinite period of time, removed the possibility of any co-operation between the former allies and the Soviet State. The Soviets themselves, in spite of the peace offers of 1919, the value of which was underestimated, by their harsh insistence upon revolutionary principles, likewise did nothing to increase the confidence necessary for such a rapprochement. On the other hand, the abundant support which Soviet Russia accorded at the end of 1918, and also in 1919 and 1920, to the German communists, prevented any rapprochement with Germany.

The distress of Germany after the war, coupled with her extreme isolation, caused many German political thinkers to consider whether under the given circumstances co-operation with Russia such as would ensure her economic penetration, might be the most effective remedy. Accordingly, from 1920 onwards there emerged a regular flood of literature emphasising the need for friendly relations with Russia, and the numerous bodies which had been established, for the most part during the war, for the purpose of economic expansion in a defeated and weakened Russia of the future, began to try and recover at least those points of vantage which Germany had held in Russia before the war. The need for Russia to establish commercial contact with the rest of Europe facilitated this endeavour on the part of Germany. Thus, soon after the British-Soviet economic agreement had been reached, an analogous agreement, which for political reasons was of a more extensive character, was provisionally concluded between Germany and Soviet Russia on 6 May, 1921. Side by side with this, the idea of a political rapprochement between the two countries also formed a subject for consideration, and it was particularly welcomed in Soviet Russia, which feared the possibility of an united anti-Soviet front comprising most of the European countries. In this way preparation was made for a German-Soviet partnership, to which formal expression was given by the Treaty ostentatiously concluded in 1922 during the Conference of Rapallo. By this Treaty, which became the

basis for German-Soviet political relations, both parties renounced any claims to compensation for damage caused by the war and the revolution, and they undertook to renew the diplomatic relations which up till then had been broken off. There can be no doubt that it was not merely for political reasons that Germany welcomed this partnership; for it enabled her not only to threaten Western Europe and particularly Poland with the possibility of serious complications, but in an economic respect it gave her the opportunity of recovering her extensive Russian market for industrial products.

The uneasy conditions prevailing in 1923 and the assistance granted by the Russian Communists to their German colleagues, in the hope that a Soviet revolution would prove successful in Germany, hampered the progress of this mutual rapprochement. When, however, at the end of 1923 Germany began to show signs of a desire to overcome her differences with Western Europe, and when in 1924 the Dawes Plan seemed to hasten this process, Soviet Russia revealed her readiness to make still greater concessions to Germany. Thus, for reasons of expediency as much as anything else, she established the autonomous Soviet Republic of the Volga Germans in March of that year, and a little later on she granted cultural autonomy also to two areas in Ukraine inhabited by Germans. The German-Soviet conflicts in May, arising from the infringement of Soviet extra-territoriality in Berlin, led to strained relations: but these proved to be only of a passing character, since German foreign policy, eager to maintain Soviet-Russia on the line of Rapallo, gave her the satisfaction which she demanded. Soviet Russia welcomed this settlement of the dispute all the more, because there seemed to be an imminent danger that sooner or later Germany would accept the offer to enter the League of Nations. This can be inferred from the very plain words with which Chicherin in October warned Germany against taking such a step. "From the Soviet point of view," he said, "Russia's entry would mean the abandonment of independence and subjection to the policy of the Entente Powers. The Soviet Government holds a similar view as to Germany's entry into the League, for she might thereby be involved in various combinations and become an enemy of the Soviet Union." In spite of all efforts on the part of Germany to take advantage of the Soviet craving to obtain German support in case of a renewal of that intervention which Russia still believed possible, she did not succeed in securing, in the new commercial negotiations which were started in November, 1924, and broken off in the following November, the concessions which she had hoped.

Politically speaking, Soviet Russia was making every effort to maintain the Treaty of Rapallo as a basis for mutual relations, and these efforts were redoubled when Germany began to approach more closely to Western Europe in a series of agreements, culminating in October, 1925, in the Treaty of Locarno. Soviet Russia was convinced that Locarno was only another attempt to build up a united anti-Soviet front, and that its underlying idea was to achieve peace in Western Europe at the expense of Russia. Hence Soviet foreign policy made every endeavour that Locarno should be set off by a confirmation and strengthening of the Rapallo basis of its relations with Germany. This was the main purpose of Chicherin's visit to Berlin at the end of September and the beginning of October, when, in conversation with those in charge of German policy, notably Marshal von Hindenburg, he succeeded in securing a settlement of relations between the two countries which augured well for the future. During his stay in Germany Chicherin made no secret of his aims, and he again emphatically inveighed against the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. He said :

" In Germany considerable play is made with the idea that the USSR intends eventually to enter the League of Nations, and that Germany by her entrance might prepare the way for the Union. But, there is no question of the Soviet Union's entry. The idea of entering this League created by the Treaty of Versailles, is entirely alien to us. In no case have we the very slightest intention of submitting to foreign decisions and orders, or taking part in the collective action of other nations, which were not thought out and approved by us ourselves. Never will we demean ourselves to play the part of a Cinderella. We must for ever refuse to lose our independence and freedom : we decline to act as tame domestic animals in the yard of the great ones of the earth. However much the traps and fetters of the League of Nations may be covered up and hedged in for certain peoples, it will not be possible to get away from the fact that every nation which enters the League, gives up its own freedom—assuming that it does not belong to those victorious Powers which have grown powerful through the War. If I may be allowed to refer to the question of Germany's entry into the League, I can only repeat, that the advantages which she promises herself from it will remain illusions. The question of her entry culminates in the notorious Article XVI of the Peace Treaty of Versailles. On the basis of this Article disarmed Germany must be prepared to permit the march of another armed nation through her territory, in order to wage war against a third Power.

And on the basis of this same Article Germany can be forced to take part in economic sanctions against other Powers.

"If Germany should on the ground of Article XVI, as member of the League of Nations, be forced one day to take part in an economic boycott of this kind against the Soviet Union, I could not imagine anything more disastrous for both peoples."

His negotiations resulted in the signature of a commercial agreement four days before that of the final Locarno protocol, and it was expressly stated that this agreement was not merely of a commercial character, but that it also had political bearings. In actual fact, it was an agreement which provided Germany in the matter of economics and colonisation with the bulk of what she aimed at. The circumstance that the Treaty of Locarno provided a guarantee for security only in the west led to a violent Soviet campaign against it, and today it is interesting to read what Stalin said on this subject in December, 1925:

"The Dawes Plan conceals within itself revolutionary crises in Germany, and the Locarno Treaty, war in Europe. Locarno only means the strengthening of the condition created by the Treaty of Versailles, with which a Germany whose strength is reviving will never accommodate itself."

The fear of consequences arising from the Treaty of Locarno and the events in China, which threatened to lead to international complications, induced the Soviet Government to cultivate friendship with Germany to as great an extent as possible, and also to try and secure, by the greatest possible number of guarantees, peace on the western and southern Soviet frontiers. Thus came into existence the system of neutrality treaties which from 1925 onwards the Soviet Government concluded on the one hand with Turkey, Afghanistan and Persia, and on the other hand with all the Baltic States. At the same time Soviet-German friendship was ostentatiously widened in scope by the neutrality treaty of 24 April, 1926, which involved also the granting of credits to the Government of Moscow, such as facilitated mutual economic relationships. This agreement, which was extended in 1931 and subsequently confirmed after Hitler came into power, then became the basis for German-Soviet relations. Germany utilised to the utmost the opportunities with which this Treaty provided her. In the course of a few years the Soviet Union was swamped with German literature of every kind, while thousands of German engineers and workmen secured important posts in Soviet industry. She equipped Soviet industry with machinery, while German military circles aimed at establishing

in Russia headquarters for the manufacture of all military requirements, particularly aeroplanes and chemical products. The Soviet Government did all it could to help these German efforts, partly because they considerably facilitated its own efforts at the industrialisation of the Soviet Union, and also because the tension between the Soviet Government and Great Britain, which came to a head in 1927, seemed to confirm its fears that sooner or later there would be an open conflict, in which case the friendly neutrality and assistance of Germany would stand the Soviet Government in good stead.

At the same time, however, the Soviet Government persistently continued the policy of securing peace on its frontiers in Europe and Asia Minor, a policy which enabled it to further the economic reconstruction of Russia. As a result of these efforts, it adhered to the Kellogg Pact in 1928, and a little later it set forth its principles in the Litvinov Eastern protocol of 1928, which was signed by all neighbours of the Soviet Union, including Roumania, which till then had avoided all relations with the Soviet Government. This also caused the Soviet Union to draw nearer to the League of Nations, at first in a hesitant manner, but later on with more assurance: and this tendency was manifested very clearly when the Soviet Union participated in the preparatory work for the Disarmament Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations.

This peace policy of the Soviet Union was, however, connected with very radical changes in Soviet policy, starting in particular from 1927 onwards. Under the influence of Stalin's theories the Soviet Union accepted as a principle of its policy the thesis that Socialism could be developed in Russia, irrespective of whether it might receive support from revolutionary governments in any other country. With this was connected the decision to intensify the self-sufficiency of the Soviet Union, an idea which was promoted also by the above-mentioned fears of new international complications. Thus was carried through the famous Five-Years' Plan for the industrialisation of Russia, a plan which demanded firstly a peace policy, and secondly a policy which would make it possible to obtain the supplies necessary for developing Soviet industry. At that period Germany was the country which contributed most of all to this development of Soviet industry, for by the large credits which she granted to the Soviet Union she facilitated its task of obtaining the means of output which were so essential during the initial stages. Hence, in this period, German-Soviet commercial relations assumed ample proportions.

In 1929 an arbitration convention was also concluded between Germany and the Soviet Union, and in 1931 negotiations proceeded on fairly smooth lines for the extension of the Berlin agreement, although while economic relations between the two countries were making rapid progress, differences of the most varied character were also arising between them, and they were accompanied by increasingly frequent and violent campaigns in Germany against the Soviet Union. The incentive to these was mainly the process of collectivisation which was being applied to farms in the Soviet Union, and which had a very bad effect upon a large number of the German colonists there, the result being that in 1929 they were compelled to emigrate from Russia under the most unfavourable conditions. Many of the German authorities then began to doubt whether Germany had been right in hoping to develop her economic points of vantage in the Soviet Union, and also whether the Soviet Union as an agrarian state would provide a permanent market for German industrial products, in view of the fact that Soviet industrial policy was clearly aiming at the largest possible measure of self-sufficiency in this respect also.

The serious tension which had arisen in the Far East as the result of Japanese activities in Manchuria, induced the Soviet Union to indicate more and more plainly that it did not intend to restrict itself to co-operation with Germany, and it now began to make overtures to other countries in Europe. Thus came about the negotiations for a non-aggression pact in 1931, particularly with France and Poland, which reached the signature stage in 1932. Two agreements as to the definition of an aggressor, which were concluded at the beginning of July, 1933, with the neighbours of the Soviet Union, among them Czechoslovakia and Roumania, showed how anxious the Soviet Government was to secure the maximum of guarantees for the peace which was essential if its schemes of industrialisation and economic reconstruction were to be successfully carried out. This policy of the Soviet Union could scarcely count on gaining sympathies in Germany, for it became more and more evident that the Soviet Government was once and for all abandoning a policy which would support any attempts at revision, in as far as they were associated with military adventures. The increasing strength of the German National Socialist Movement, fundamentally hostile to Marxism and still more so to Bolshevism, accentuated this dislike of the Soviet Union. In spite of this, German government circles and particularly German military circles, who were unwilling to abandon their hopes of co-operation

with the Soviet Union, aimed at preserving intact the hitherto existing basis of German-Soviet relations, and endeavoured to preserve for Germany the advantages accruing from her economic relations with the Soviet Union, which during the period 1930 to 1933 showed a considerable balance in Germany's favour. Hence, even under the Hitler régime, the Berlin Treaty was ratified on 5 May, 1933, and the Soviet Union received a further credit from the German banks amounting to 200 millions, for the support of economic relations. Herr Hitler himself, in his declaration on 23 March, 1933, said :

" Towards the Soviet Government the Government of the Reich desires to cultivate friendly relations, profitable to both countries. The Government of the National Revolution feels itself specially in a position to carry out a positive policy of this kind towards Soviet Russia. The struggle against Communism in Germany is our internal affair, in which we shall never tolerate interferences from outside. The relations of the State to other Powers which are bound to us by common interests, will not be affected by this."

The Soviet Union, of course, could not neglect the theories which Hitler put forward on the subject of German foreign policy, and in which he made it quite plain that he was seeking for territory in South Eastern and Eastern Europe as an outlet for German expansion. The increased support given to the Ukrainians and other separatist movements by Germany did not escape the notice of the Soviet Government, especially as the responsible German authorities in their dealings with other Powers¹ did not conceal the fact that Germany would willingly grant Western Europe all the necessary guarantees for security, if she could find a remedy for her grievances at the expense of the Eastern states. In spite of this, at the end of 1933 Litvinov addressed the following words to Germany :

" We obviously have our own idea about the régime now prevailing in Germany, but nobody can reproach us with allowing our policy to be prompted by our feelings. The whole world is aware that we are capable of keeping on good terms with capitalist countries, under whatever political régime they may be. We wish to be on the best of terms with Germany, just as we are with other States. We have not the slightest intention of interfering with the sovereignty or the rights of Germany. We should like Germany to be able to say the same to us, and we should like the actions of Germany to be in accordance with German declarations. We should

¹ Compare Hugenberg's Memorandum and his declarations in London.

also like to feel certain that German assurances hold good, not only now, but also in the future, when Germany will be in a more favourable position than today to put into effect the aggressive plans which its present leaders advocated before they came into power and which some of them still advocate."

On the other hand, the alarming outlook of aggressive designs on the part of Germany towards the Soviet Union caused the latter to redouble its efforts towards establishing guarantees of peace, and therefore after the settlement with Czechoslovakia and Roumania in 1934, the Soviet Government co-operated with France in the interests of the Eastern Pact. By entering the League of Nations the Soviet Union again gave striking evidence of its peaceful endeavours. When Germany and, under its influence, Poland also showed no willingness to take part in this scheme, and when the fears of Germany's attempts at expansion in the Baltic States seemed to be confirmed by Germany's refusal of the Soviet offer in the spring of 1934 to guarantee their territorial inviolability, the Soviet Union did not hesitate in the spring of 1935 to sign an agreement for mutual assistance with France and Czechoslovakia.

This policy aroused great indignation in Germany, and this was increased when the Soviet Union, in order to recoup itself for the deficit resulting from economic relations with Germany hitherto, imposed restrictions on the import of German goods. Moreover, fearing that the German engineers and workmen in Russia might become exponents of a policy hostile to the Soviet Union, the latter cancelled all the agreements which had been made with them, and thus considerably weakened the favourable position which Germany had acquired in Russia through the Berlin Treaty.

Thus, the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union became more and more strained. Abundant evidence of this is provided, not only by the violent attacks on Russia in the German press, but by the open declarations of the leaders of Germany, that the Soviet Union must be destroyed so as to facilitate German territorial expansion eastward. These principles were of course set forth in detail by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, and they form part of his scheme for sowing dissension particularly between Great Britain and Russia. In this respect, Hitler seeks to avoid the blunder of William II, who recklessly plunged into a struggle to achieve the aims of German policy, without taking into account the friendly relations which had developed between Britain and Russia shortly before the War. Hitler further emphasises that German policy must in the meantime be directed towards the

acquisition of territory in South Eastern and Eastern Europe, by force if need be, before Germany proceeds to carry out her further aspirations. In these ideas he was inspired by the aggressive and colonising policy of the German nation in the early period of the Holy Roman Empire. In Hitler's view, this policy will enable Germany to regain the position of power which she held before the War, and it does not involve, he thinks, any serious danger to Britain, who will be reconciled to it as long as the successes of Germany are not such as to enable her to achieve her aspirations to the detriment of British world-power.

The Soviet Union thoroughly realised the danger entailed by this policy, and sought to counteract its effects by entering the League of Nations and establishing closer contact with the Western Powers. These steps form a hindrance to Germany's policy of expansion, and will continue to do so as long as she is unable to separate the Soviet Union again from the League of Nations and the Western Powers. This was the real meaning of the German explanation of her withdrawal from the Locarno Treaty, and the real meaning also of the German offer to guarantee security on the Western frontiers for 25 years, without at the same time guaranteeing peace in the East. This also explains why the German peace offer was accompanied by such violent attacks on the Soviet Union as an Asiatic State whose revolutionary spirit is a cultural and political danger to Europe, etc., etc. It is, however, obvious, that these attacks are prompted more by strategic motives than by any genuine concern for the well-being of Europe, as an impartial consideration of the facts will show that the Soviet Union has succeeded admirably in setting its house in order, and the projected changes in its constitution are a proof that it is systematically moderating its régime. Moreover, everything indicates that it is willing to co-operate loyally in the League of Nations in the interests of European political and economic reconstruction.

It would, however, be wrong to suppose that Hitler's anti-Soviet schemes are intended to hold good indefinitely. The fact that Hitler in his capacity as German Chancellor consented to ratify the protocol of 1931 and thus to extend the Berlin Treaty, shows that even he would be willing to adopt the policy formerly advocated by Brockdorff-Rantzau, if he found that the Soviet Union were sufficiently amenable to the German schemes against France or Poland, or to German colonial aspirations. Undoubtedly the Soviet Union would have been of great assistance to Hitler if French and British policy had not appreciated the value of the

Soviet peace endeavour before it was too late, and if France by the non-aggression pact and the mutual assistance agreement had not shown that she does not intend to let Germany have a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe. As we have said, the Soviet Union would have been of great assistance to Hitler if these things had not happened, but it should be emphasised that Hitler may very well attempt in the future to secure the advantage which, this time, he has lost. Altogether, in spite of the present severe tension between Germany and the Soviet Union, it should not be forgotten that the Berlin Treaty was prolonged after Hitler came into power and that it might become a basis for co-operation between Germany and the Soviet Union. If this came about, it would be more dangerous to Western Europe than before, especially if the idea were allowed to gain ground that in the interests of peace in the West the security of South Eastern and Eastern Europe must be sacrificed. For it is an open question whether Germany, if she were to succeed in breaking through the peace front of the League of Nations, would not prefer to renew friendship with the Soviet Union in order more effectively to obtain what she wants from the Western Powers.

X. Y. Z.

[For obvious reasons this article by a highly qualified Slav historian of the younger generation, remains unsigned. The Editors, while not necessarily endorsing every argument, regard the article as a valuable contribution towards elucidating one of the key-problems of present-day Europe—Ed.]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN ITS EUROPEAN SETTING¹

THE interaction of foreign policy and public opinion in this country has never been more strangely illustrated than by the events of the last twelve months. The abandonment of League principles involved in the Hoare-Laval proposals met with almost unanimous condemnation, except from the frankly "isolationist" and "pro-Fascist" press: and it was at once obvious that the country would overthrow any Government that tried to follow such a policy. Yet only three months later, when Germany repudiated the Locarno Treaty and reoccupied the Rhineland, the public mind showed very great confusion of thought, and many of those who had been most critical of Italy were ready to condone the German action, despite the fact that this time it was a freely negotiated pact, publicly recognised as such by Herr Hitler himself, and no longer a treaty imposed at the point of the sword, that was in question.

It is perfectly true that (leaving aside the question of good faith, and treating the matter according to its paper values) a better case can be made out for German action in reoccupying her own demilitarised territory, but remaining within her own frontiers, and offering to conclude a new settlement with the Western world, than for Italian action in simultaneously tearing up the Versailles Treaty, the Covenant, the Kellogg Pact, the Argentinian Treaty, etc., and launching a war of naked conquest against a fellow-member of the League who had originally been admitted at Italy's instance against the better judgment of the other Powers. On a basis of law, private or international, there is nothing to be said for Italy, and her apologists have therefore fallen back upon the more elastic arguments of "the Haves versus the Have-nots" and the "moral" right to acquire fresh territory for an expanding population. Moreover, it may very plausibly be argued that the demilitarisation of the Rhine was a provisional rather than a permanent solution, and that it was the manner rather than the fact of its termination that was so objectionable.

This argument, of course, in its turn entirely ignores the strategic issues underlying Locarno: and it would be easy to show that they were fundamental, especially in the mind of the French. But still

¹ The writer may perhaps be allowed to refer the reader to two other recent articles—"The German Dilemma" (*Fortnightly Review*, May, 1936) and "Europe and the Austrian Problem" (*International Affairs*, May, 1936).

more fundamental—and this is what certain sections of British opinion seemed somewhat prone to overlook last March—is the fact that Herr Hitler's unilateral repudiation has cut at the root of that sanctity of treaties on which peaceful international development must rest. The greatest of Continental powers—which for some years has been rearming at a vertiginous pace—is in the absolute control of one man whose belief in his divine mission led him to order the summary execution, without trial, of many of his closest comrades in June, 1934, and to announce that for the critical period he was himself, in his own person, “the Supreme Court of the German People,” from whom there is no appeal. It is this method which he is applying no longer to internal but to international problems. As he was judge and executioner combined in the case of Röhm and Schleicher, so in the Rhineland Coup his action is unilateral, and there is no Supreme Court, either at the Hague, or elsewhere, to which he recognises any right of appeal. If Germany adheres to such an attitude, an absolute deadlock will have been reached in Europe, and the British questionnaire addressed to Herr Hitler shows that the British Government is fully conscious of this danger. It is also clearly reflected in the undisguised alarm of all the smaller powers who are neighbours of Germany.

In this situation three alternative policies lie before Britain. (1) Complete Isolation. This only needs to be mentioned to be dismissed as grotesquely impracticable in the new world of air-power and interlocked interests. There is no little irony in the parallel facts that the only serious advocate of such an attitude should be a Canadian, and that, as Sir Alfred Zimmern has so forcibly demonstrated, the Dominions have made it abundantly clear that “collective security” is the only basis on which an Empire policy can rest, and therefore on which the British Empire can continue to survive. Truly, he that would save his life shall lose it. Without grave risks there can be no Empire.

(2) A Policy of Western Commitments—amounting in effect, if not in name, to a definite alliance with France and Belgium (and perhaps Holland, as strategically inseparable from Belgium) and to strict *désintéressement* in the affairs of Central and Eastern Europe. This policy, plausibly defended by Lord Lothian and others, breaks down over the fact that even our minimum Western commitments bind us to the defence of a Power who has Eastern commitments and cannot, even if she would, disentangle herself from them.

(3) A frank recognition that “Peace in Europe is indivisible,”

with all that it involves. It is round this third point that the real controversy rages, and it would be idle to pretend that British public opinion is as yet ready to accept such a doctrine, though the Left, after an illogical attempt to combine increased commitments with diminished armaments, is undoubtedly moving in this direction. The two contrary arguments on this issue may be succinctly stated as follows. Germany, we are told, is a great and expanding force which *must*, by an inexorable law of nature, find outlets: the only question is whether we are to facilitate or to resist the process, thereby averting, or rendering inevitable, a major explosion. She has, we are further assured, finally renounced all ambitions in the West and is ready to come to terms with France and Britain, and even to renounce colonial and overseas expansion, if only she be left a free hand in the East of Europe, where her natural outlet has lain for 6 centuries, and where she has signally proved her colonising powers. In other words, abandonment of such follies as the Italian adventures of the Salic and Hohenstauffen Emperors or the naval ambitions of William II and Tirpitz, and concentration upon the great twin task of Germanising and civilising the East, thereby saving Europe and herself from those anarchic and non-Aryan ideas, now known as Bolshevism, which more than ever threaten to flood westwards and engulf the Nordic race. To leave Germany a free hand in the East, the siren says, is to involve her in tasks that will engross her for 50 or 100 years: and meanwhile the West will consolidate in peace and prosperity. If, finally, it is added, after accepting her frank renunciation on the West, her readiness to respect all her smaller neighbours (a question to which we shall return), and her readiness to renounce competition in the extra-European Imperial field, we also insist upon denying her right of expansion eastwards, we are in effect aiming at an "encirclement" far more comprehensive than the alleged pre-war policy under that much contested name. We should thus create a situation in which Germany is bound to "break out" sooner or later.

There is much that is very plausible in this line of thought: but it rests logically on the assumption not only that expansion is legitimate (which Britain should be the last country to challenge), but also that the methods of Cortez and Pizarro, Drake, Hawkins and Clive, are compatible with the principles of the League of Nations, and that no peaceful solution of major problems of power is possible. Since there is not room for all, the strong must oust the weak. Then indeed are we of all men most miserable: we must abandon our ideals and arm for the final madness.

Is there, then, no middle path for the amicable adjustment of grievances, the return from the aberrations of autarchy to a system of commercial and financial interdependence, and the vindication of international law? This is the question which at present absorbs all serious students of international affairs in this country for if it has to be answered in the negative, the whole Genevan theory on which British policy since the war has, at least in theory, been based, would stand admittedly bankrupt, and the revulsion of feeling to a basis of "Power Politics" would be very grave.

II.

Some such summary as the above forms a necessary background to any discussion of the position of the smaller nations, and of Czechoslovakia in particular, in the present grave European situation: but it may well be that in attempting to combine this with a reminder to Czechoslovak opinion as to some of our own special difficulties I am only falling between two stools.

It was natural enough that after the Rhineland Coup the British press should have devoted its main attention to the reactions of French opinion, and the fact that a large section of that opinion clamoured for sanctions against Germany, while showing persistent leniency towards Italy's treaty violations, and reluctance to apply the Covenant against her, was widely resented in this country and helped to confuse the main issue. It has been a fatality of the last year or more, that as between France and Britain, opinion in the one country invariably blew hot as opinion in the other blew cold: and we thus had the unedifying spectacle of two countries, in which every citizen endowed with sanity knows that in certain circumstances we must "hang together or hang separately," none the less pulling different ways every time that an European gunman seized the swag, and thereby allowing the situation to go by default.

It is, however, another aspect of the situation with which this article is specially concerned. It is too often forgotten that Germany has no fewer than nine neighbours, and that of these France alone is a Great Power, while Poland is a medium Power and the other seven definitely small Powers; and it is their reactions, rather than those of France, which supply us with the best clue to what is brewing in Europe.

In a sense Poland may be supposed to be less alarmed than the others, because, having a formidable army in being, she was in a position to ask the new National Socialist Germany very frankly

whether it desired war or peace, and so to extract the 10 years' German-Polish Pact, which no Pole regards as either permanent or sincere, but which affords him a respite during which much may happen. The dominating factors in Poland's policy are: (1) the knowledge that she lies, with vulnerable frontiers, between two much more powerful states, neither of which she is disposed to trust, and (2) the determination to prevent, by all means in her power, Poland from again becoming a battle-ground of contending alien forces. The present friction between Germany and Russia involves both advantages and drawbacks for Poland; for the moment neither of them wishes to quarrel with her, but on her attitude, in the last resort, depends whether Germany can attempt an Eastern adventure such as accords with the persistent teaching of "the Rosenberg school," or whether, conversely, Russia can throw her weight into a defence of the *status quo* on the Middle Danube, should it be threatened by the German danger. To some, Poland's pact with Germany has seemed a betrayal of the Franco-Polish Alliance, while others hold that the value of that alliance for Poland is dependent upon the maintenance of close relations between Paris and London. Siren voices from Budapest whisper in her ear that the true Polish policy is to allow the partition of Czechoslovakia—throwing Bohemia and Moravia to the German wolves, restoring Slovakia to the blessings of Magyarisation, herself annexing Carpathian Ruthenia (the last free fragment of Ukrainian soil), and depriving Soviet Russia of a strategic ally on the Danube. But opinion in Warsaw, though perhaps not so enamoured of the general Slav cause as to reject such suggestions as utter treason, is realist enough to reflect that the disappearance of the Czechoslovak salient involves the simultaneous disappearance of Austria and the establishment of a German hegemony on the Middle Danube and perhaps throughout the Balkan Peninsula. Poland, west of the Vistula, would then be the main salient in Europe, and a clash with Germany would only be a matter of time. We thus see Poland, since the death of Pilsudski, husbanding her resources, and cautiously exploring the possibility of a defensive *bloc* of small states from the Baltic to the Adriatic and the Black Sea, such as would keep Germany and Russia widely separated and hardly able to come to blows with one another.

The position of the seven smaller neighbours of Germany need not detain us long. Belgium again sees the shadow of her great neighbour cast upon the threshold and is entitled to remind Western opinion that Germany, in basing her repudiation of Locarno on the

Franco-Soviet Pact, is guilty of gross insincerity, since Belgium has concluded no such pact, yet half the territory reoccupied adjoins her frontier, not that of France. She is not likely to forget the words of Bethmann Hollweg, "Necessity knows no Law": she only asks who will be the next to act upon them. Holland shares to the full the nervousness of Belgium. Her technical experts warn her that her islands contain the ideal bases from which a German airfleet can harry Eastern England, while her colonial administrators ask whether Java and Sumatra are not a rich and easy prey. Denmark, who has carried disarmament further than any nation, has reason to fear General Göring's alleged project of seizing agricultural Denmark as a produce market when the war next breaks out: while Switzerland, where the idea of a citizen army has reached its most perfect democratic and pacifist expression, is hastily increasing her defences, in the knowledge that many strategists are already reckoning with an invasion of her territory in the event of a new conflict between France and Germany. Of Austria it will suffice to say that she has not yet forgotten the Putsch of July, 1934, and the murder of Dr. Dollfuss—the culmination of a long terrorist campaign openly encouraged and financed from the Reich—and that her anxieties were not diminished when Herr Hitler, at the last Reichstag elections nominated as Nazi deputies Herren Habicht and Frauenfeld, the chief organisers of the Austrian Legion and of the Munich Radio campaign against Austria, and of much else besides. What, then, is the position of Czechoslovakia in the strangely fluid situation created by Germany's emergence as the strongest European Power, armed to the teeth, irresponsibly governed, and acting unilaterally, without warning, by sudden *coups de main*?

III.

It was Bismarck who once called Bohemia "a fortress erected by God" in the very heart of Europe, and her whole history, from Charles IV and Hus onwards, has testified to her exposed position as halfway house between West and East, between German and Slav. In her new post-war form as "Czechoslovakia" (with Ruthenia as a sort of tail to the already overlong body of the kite), it has from the first been a commonplace of political geography that she once more occupies an exposed position, and is indeed in many respects the keystone of the post-war arch. The new State admittedly rests upon a combination of two principles—historic rights, as against Austria, the principle of nationality, as against

Hungary—and it contains important German and Magyar minorities, which were openly identified with the pre-war regime, at first opposed a passive resistance, and only gradually accepted the new order. Thus nationally it is a mixed State, in which the Czechs and Slovaks represent the real “Will to the State,” though ever since 1926 an important section of the German minority has taken an active share in the government. At home Czechoslovakia, under the guidance of Masaryk and Beneš, has undeviatingly pursued democratic aims, until today it finds itself an oasis amid the arid waste of dictatorial States: abroad her policy rests upon the League of Nations, the principles of the Covenant and the maintenance of the territorial *status quo*, and her Foreign Minister, Dr. Beneš, during 17 consecutive years of office, has repeatedly played a prominent part in projects of international accord. Recent events have proved in a drastic manner that it is not safe for a small State, even though a member of the League, to rely merely on the plighted word of its greater neighbours: and in the light of this fact such criticism as has from time to time been levelled against the creation of the Little Entente, simply goes by the board. For Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia, in forming the network of agreements known by that name, and latterly in extending them by the parallel creation of the Balkan League, were prompted by purely defensive motives, spared no effort to make every treaty compatible, both in letter and in spirit, with the provisions of the Covenant, and in each case registered it openly at Geneva, in such a way as to preclude the conclusion or validity of secret addenda. There is nothing in the least obscure about their aims: both the Little Entente and the Balkan League desire above all else the maintenance of the *status quo*, as established by the Treaties of St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly, and defined for the latter in Gladstone’s phrase “The Balkans for the Balkan peoples,” and for the former in opposition to Hungarian revisionism, to the “Anschluss” of Austria to Germany, and to the restoration of the Habsburg dynasty. The process of riddling to which the Treaty of Versailles has been subjected has in no way affected the determination of the Succession States to prevent a similar process in the case of St. Germain and Trianon: and the mistaken propagandist tactics of Hungary in Geneva and throughout Europe—which were meaningless and foredoomed to failure unless the three neighbouring States were to be arraigned before the bar of Europe, condemned, and forced to disgorge at the point of the bayonet—greatly exacerbated the whole situation on the Danube.

Quite recently the action of Austria, in announcing the reintroduction of conscription in defiance of the Treaty of St. Germain and without consulting the other signatories, caused intense annoyance, especially in Yugoslavia, which resents Austria's vassalage to Fascist Italy. But here Czechoslovakia exercised her restraining influence, and it was abundantly obvious that Austria's sole object is to defend her present independence, and that she has long relinquished all designs upon her lost territory. But while not pressing home against Austria, the three Governments have made it quite clear that a similar repudiation of the Treaty of Trianon by Hungary would be followed, not by negotiation, but by immediate mobilisation on three of her four frontiers. They are, of course, perfectly well aware that Hungary, like Germany before her, has never fully respected the disarmament clause of the Peace Treaties, and that her army is by no means negligible. But to tolerate such repudiation would simply be to invite fresh aggression, and would injure their prestige both with their own peoples and with those who are watching them outside. It is not at this moment of acute tension and seeming deadlock that the vexed problem of revision can be calmly or seriously discussed.

IV.

Czechoslovakia stands as a classic example of the interaction between the internal and international situation. Her makers used an unique "Weltkonjunktur"—the four years of the World War—to achieve an independence of which none of them had dreamed before 1914. In the first half of the war it seemed that this aim would be impossible of achievement unless they could border with Russia and have her, as it were, to lean their backs against during the period of adolescence. Yet in the second, and decisive, half of the war they achieved their full programme by the help of the West, after the virtual elimination of Russia, and lived through the first years of peace without any help from Russia and almost without contact with her. Czechoslovak independence, which had already been recognised in theory in the late summer of 1918, was carried into effect without bloodshed on 28 October, 1918: like the parallel movements among the Yugoslavs, Roumanians, Poles and Ukrainians, it was a spontaneous national movement, and had already become an accomplished fact long before the Peace Conference could meet in Paris. It is indeed too often forgotten that the Czechs and Yugoslavs declared their independence nearly a

week before the Allies concluded their Armistice with Austria-Hungary.

The evolution of the new State naturally reflected the main political currents of post-war years. In a world which had emerged from a "War to end War," and which so many still hoped to "make safe for democracy," Czechoslovakia was—both by reason of its complex racial and social structure, and of its exposed geographical position, and also thanks to its possessing leaders who were at once constructive statesmen and exponents of a realist philosophy—a "test case" in the grand experiment of democratic government. Today it is the only country of Central Europe where real parliamentary government, based on the ballot, universal suffrage, P.R., and really free elections, still survives; where there is still something to which the name of a "free press" can be given, and where it is possible to form a stable Cabinet in which both Clericals and Socialists are represented. It is only necessary to compare its enlightened social legislation—insurance, inspection, working hours, etc.—with that of Hungary, its treatment of the Socialists and Communists with that of Austria, its attitude to the Catholic Church (as defined in the *Modus Vivendi* and its execution) with that of Germany, its execution of its Minority Treaty with that of Poland, its achievement in the sphere of decentralisation with that of Yugoslavia, in order to realise that my last sentence is an understatement of the case.

Without attempting any similar comparison in the financial sphere, it may safely be affirmed that Czechoslovakia, ever since the first successful initiative of Dr. Rašín in detaching her currency from that of the foundering Habsburg Monarchy, has been a model of sound and stable finance, which has made her the envy of her neighbours and has enabled her to escape the most catastrophic effects of the World Economic Crisis. (In this connection a comparison of conditions among the peasantry of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria would be very enlightening.)

In two other directions Czechoslovakia has a very remarkable record, of which the Western public naturally knows but little, and which has too often been obscured by deliberate hostile propaganda. The transformation of Slovakia—as expressed especially in the educational field,² in land reform, roads, housing and social legislation—is one of the most remarkable pieces of

² In 1918 the 2 million Slovaks of Hungary had 276 primary and no secondary schools in their own language. In 1926-27 they already had 2,652 primary, 39 secondary, 13 training colleges and a University.

cultural work in post-war Europe. The problem of Ruthenia—within its own narrow compass perhaps the most complex of all the minority problems of Europe—is still only partially solved, and the long-promised autonomy is not yet fully accorded: but both in the cultural and the material sphere progress has been so striking, that today the little province is recognised by all Ukrainians as the one bright spot on their otherwise gloomy national horizon.

From all this it results that the creation of Masaryk and Beneš stands with Belgium and with Switzerland in the foremost ranks of enlightened democracy, and that its survival is a general European interest. Her progress towards the normal has been steadily maintained and may reasonably be expected to continue, unless arrested by external complications. There are only three directions from which such complications could come—from Germany, from Hungary, from Poland. Though Polish-Czech relations have not been very good since Colonel Beck concluded the German-Polish Pact, though Warsaw has taken the same attitude as Berlin towards regional pacts, and also towards the French and Czechoslovak agreements with Moscow, and though Warsaw has deliberately exaggerated the petty dispute with Prague about Teschen and ignored the conciliatory gestures of the Czechs, it is none the less obvious to the saner elements of public opinion in both countries that, much as they may differ in temperament, they have common defensive interests on the West and that neither has any interest in seeing the other weakened.

As regards Hungary, Czechoslovakia is well aware that the governing class is more than ever committed to a policy of frontier revision and has hypnotised public opinion in the hope of outside support. But Poland has the most obvious reasons for not wishing the question of revision to be raised, and has no visible motive for helping Hungary to seize Slovakia: Russia is definitely hostile to Hungarian claims, for strategic as well as racial reasons: Austria, who has renounced territorial revision for herself, is gravely embarrassed by Hungary's insistence: even Germany has no particular motive in promoting the aggrandisement of Hungary (whose 670,000 Germans are in the post-war period victims of the the same frenzied Magyarisation as before 1914), and has grounds for the calculation that in certain contingencies of the near future the Little Entente might find itself willy nilly on the German side and would be able to forestall and outbid Hungary. Even Italy, who has played with revisionism, cannot today actively promote it without risking a situation in which she was left to defend

Austria alone. Lastly, the Council of the Little Entente as a whole has repeatedly made it clear (and this was publicly reaffirmed by King Carol, Dr. Beneš and Prince Paul at Bucarest early in June) that "Revision means War," and will be resisted by the whole forces of the three Powers.

There remains the great Note of Interrogation represented by the Third Reich: here is the pivot of the whole situation. Have the small States bordering upon Germany reason to fear her aggression, or not? And here, while frankly facing the undoubted fact that all the most fundamental unsolved problems of the Czechoslovak Republic today are in one way or another bound up with the problems of foreign policy, we are entitled to argue that Czechoslovakia is not in greater danger than four or five of the others, and that tolerable relations between two such incompatible systems as the totalitarian national Reich and the democratic composite Republic are in no way more impossible than cordial relations between the much more incompatible systems of France and Russia, or again between the Reich and Poland, who do not trust each other one inch and do not believe in permanent friendship. It is too often forgotten that throughout the post-war period official relations between Prague and Berlin have remained, apart from minor incidents, more than merely correct: Czechoslovakia's first Socialist Premier, M. Túsar, and her present Foreign Minister, the gifted historian, Dr. Krofta, both filled for a time the Berlin Legation, and like the present Minister, Dr. Mastný, had many close connections in Germany. If the activities of political emigrants, on the one hand, and of Nazi agents and even kidnappers, on the other, cause occasional embarrassment, this applies equally to Switzerland, and of course far more to Austria. Much the most serious incident was the recent nomination by Herr Hitler of Herren Krebs and Jung (two deputies of the forbidden Nazi party of Czechoslovakia, who fled to Germany) as members of the new Reichstag. The German press cannot, of course, be regarded as friendly to Czechoslovakia, and the German Radio periodically attacks her: but there are also periodic exchanges of courtesies, such as the recent favourable comment upon pronouncements of President Beneš and Dr. Krofta, and the response to a recent broadcast of the President.

A certain superficial press which likes to lay emphasis on Czechoslovakia's precarious position, overlooks the fact that there is no analogy whatsoever between a consummation of the *Anschluss* with Austria and a conquest of German-Bohemia. The first, though

today opposed for quite a number of internal political and cultural reasons, would at any rate be a return of Austria to the Reich of which she formed part till 1866, and to which the first purely German National Assembly of Austria declared its adhesion in November, 1918: while the second would be Pan-Germanism naked and unashamed, and would offer proof to all Germany's neighbours that she aimed at the political domination, not merely the legitimate economic penetration, of all Europe from the North Sea and Baltic to the Adriatic and Aegean. It is, of course, only too notorious that there is a school of thought in Germany which does follow this aim: but for the present it is in conflict with that other "Eastern School," of which Hitler and Rosenberg are the foremost exponents, and which dreams of displacing the Polish and Ukrainian populations and finding land enough to support 250,000,000 Germans in a century's time. Nor, of course, is a third rival, the overseas school, to be lightly dismissed, though in many quarters there exists the belief that British neutrality in the Eastern adventure may be purchased by a renunciation of extra-European colonial ambitions. But for the present, apart from some sudden improvisation on the part of the Führer (and this can never be ruled out in the case of one who governs by periodical *coups de main*), the whole tendency of German official policy is to avoid catastrophic solutions, to rely for a settlement of the Austrian question upon insidious but peaceful penetration from within, and to count upon attracting the Little Entente within its sphere of influence, in proportion as the Western Powers prove themselves incapable of arresting the internal disintegration of Austria or achieving an alternative Danubian settlement.

Another problem which superficial and sensational journalism has recently set itself to magnify, is the undoubtedly complicated and delicate question of the Sudetic Germans,³ which entered a new phase at the last Czech General Elections in May, 1935, when the new "Sudetendeutsche Partei" (S.D.P.), won 45 seats and polled more votes than any other single party in the state. Led by the young and sympathetic "Turner" Herr Konrad Henlein, it is a party of youth and of crisis: it represents a revolt of the rising generation against the compromises and half-measures of the older party chiefs, and a despairing protest against the grave economic plight of the German industrial districts of the north. It inevitably

³ See "The German Minority in Czechoslovakia," by A German Bohemian Deputy, and "Czechs and Germans: A Czech View," by Emil Sobota, in No. 41 (Jan., 1936), of this *Review*.

reflects the "ideology" of the Third Reich, though in a form adapted both to the competition of a free press and to the possible action of the censorship. Henlein himself committed the initial blunder of remaining outside Parliament, thus seeming, in Czech eyes, to reject the essential obligations of a parliamentary career. His attitude towards the other German parties was, at any rate at first, essentially "totalitarian": only the S.D.P. had a real right to speak on behalf of the Sudetic Germans, and an embittered conflict was announced against the German Socialists, to say nothing of the Communists. All this led the more nationally disposed Czechs to denounce him and his party as "Crypto-Nazi," while the German "Activists" naturally enough strained every nerve to persuade Czech opinion that the new party was composed of heterogeneous and conflicting elements which were bound to disintegrate, and that the Czechs must not listen to its wooing, but must maintain their alliance with the three German groups (Agrarian, Socialist and Clerical) which have loyally co-operated with them ever since 1926. Foreign observers, in criticising the Czechs for not at once coming to terms with the Henlein party, have not devoted sufficient attention to this deterrent influence of the Activists. It is entirely false to represent the Czechs as "oppressing" the Germans or not co-operating with them: and indeed it was the present Premier, Dr. Hodža, who next to President Masaryk and the late Agrarian leader Švehla, played the main part in securing the active co-operation of the (then) three leading German parties. It is quite true that the political leaders at first kept the S.D.P. unduly at arm's length and refrained from discussing with Henlein the possible bases of collaboration: but that omission has latterly been made good: for in the last two months there have been a whole series of talks between various chiefs of the party and both President Beneš and Dr. Hodža. The President has also discussed cultural affairs with the German University leaders and even with the students, and Dr. Krofta, his successor as Foreign Minister, caused some sensation by a recent speech in which he referred to the Germans, not as a minority, but as "*second Staatsvolk*." It is only necessary to compare the actual demands of the Sudetic Germans themselves with the position enjoyed by the German or other minorities in any neighbouring state—e.g. Italy, Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Jugoslavia—in order to see how *relatively* favourable their situation is, and how much nearer appeasement Europe would be if the Czech measure could be meted out everywhere.

That Herr Henlein genuinely desires his party to co-operate with the Czechs, and does not follow separatist aims, that his programme contains nothing incompatible with the Constitution and laws of the Republic,⁴ must not blind us to the two real obstacles to a *détente*. In the first place the present acute economic distress of the German districts, to which the S.D.P. above all owes its majority, is due first to the over-industrialisation of German Bohemia and secondly to the fact that its main distress is caused by the loss of its market in *Germany*—a fact which it is not in the power of Czechoslovakia to remedy, since it is part of the world-wide policy of autarchy and restriction of imports imposed by Herr Schacht. Those who ascribe it entirely to the wicked Czechs would do well to study the situation in the last year of the World War, when the German districts of Bohemia, despite all the efforts and apparatus of the Imperial Government in Vienna and the benevolence of the allied Reich, were near the point of starvation, while the more agricultural Czech districts, towards which Vienna was ill-disposed, suffered much less acutely. This is in the nature of things. It may be that more could be done for the German districts, but it is certain that there is no systematic discrimination against them, and that the satisfactory ending of their crisis depends on international trade recovery.

Secondly, there is the crucial problem of political orientation in Europe. Czechoslovakia has consistently based her policy on the League, the network of pacts and conventions which follow from it (Locarno, Kellogg, etc.), disarmament and collective security, the Little Entente and regional pacts. The S.D.P. press has no less consistently belittled the League and all its works, condoned Germany's unilateral action, refrained from all criticism of the Nazi régime, remained cold towards the Little Entente, stressed the weak side of France and fiercely denounced Russia. Is it surprising that Czech opinion draws the conclusion that political co-operation with the S.D.P. would involve nothing less than a reorientation of Czechoslovak foreign policy and its dependence on Berlin rather than on Geneva? Is it possible that the propaganda concerning alleged ill-treatment of the German minority which is being carried on from Berlin,⁵ aims at driving Prague on to such

⁴ See article, already quoted, from No. 41. For Henlein's own views see his own "Die deutschen Kulturaufgaben in der Tschechoslowakei" (Karlsbad, 1936).

⁵ See, for instance, the March and May (1936) numbers of *Volk und Reich*, in Berlin, both of which are mainly devoted to articles on Czechoslovakia.

a step, under pressure of British public opinion? That opinion will certainly do well to study this important problem, and might even contribute, by a judicious sympathy, towards its solution: but only harm will be done by accepting propagandist exaggerations⁶ and omitting to contrast the still imperfect, but very far-reaching, liberties of the German minority in Czechoslovakia with the complete denial of all liberty to the Germans of Italy, the continued Magyarisation of the Germans of Hungary, the deterioration in status of the Germans of Poland, the virtual extinction of the once flourishing German colonies in Russia, the many grievances of the Germans of Yugoslavia and Roumania. There is something highly suspicious in this concentration of denunciation against almost the only country which has made a serious effort to live up to its obligations under the Minority treaties. and British publicists ought not to fall into so obvious a trap.

At this moment there is a tendency in Germany to accuse Czechoslovakia of having, by her Pact with Soviet Russia, exposed Germany to extreme strategic danger from the Red Army: and a grotesque myth is added (incidentally denied by Mr. Eden in the House of Commons), as to aviation bases for Soviet planes within striking distance of industrial Saxony. In reality no one knows better than the German General Staff, that the Czechoslovak-Soviet Pact is strictly defensive; that it was only concluded because the scheme for an Eastern Pact fell through. that both Prague and Paris would welcome the adhesion of Berlin to such a system of Pacts; that Russia, not out of virtue, but for compelling reasons of home policy and Far Eastern strategy, cannot risk a Western offensive; and that for Russia the problem of bringing timely

⁶ Typical of many such is the statement of "An Englishman resident in a European capital," quoted by Sir Arnold Wilson in "Walks and Talks" (*Nineteenth Century*, April, 1936, p. 526), who commits himself to the phrase "Economic and political strangulation of *Germanic culture* in Czechoslovakia." It will perhaps suffice to point out that the Germans have exact political representation in Chamber and Senate; they possess a University, 3 high schools, 90 secondary schools, 3,790 primary schools, an academy of music, their own press, learned societies, economic, sporting, scientific and theatrical institutions (incidentally new schools, etc., in Slovakia which they never enjoyed under Hungary). In his *Walks and Talks* (Oxford, 1936) Sir Arnold quotes another Englishman's remarks upon "a solid, *irredentist* minority of Sudetendeutsche, transferred from Germany to Czechoslovakia without their consent." To this it may be answered that the S.D.P. emphatically deny that they are Irredentists, and that the Sudetian Germans had formed an integral part of Bohemia for centuries, and never "belonged" to Germany, except in the remote sense that the King of Bohemia was one of the seven Electors. Nothing could be more misleading than this phrase, passed by Sir A. Wilson.

military help to the Czechs would not be an easy one. There are, indeed, some who think of Czechoslovakia, not as a "Corridor" for Russia to reach Germany, but as a corridor for Germany to reach the coveted Ukraine, without crossing Polish territory.⁷

Even less convincing is the argument put about by Hungarian propagandists—even Count Bethlen himself recently used it in an English provincial newspaper—that Czechoslovakia is the instrument of a new and militant Panslavism. What possible object Czechoslovakia could have in pursuing a Panslav policy, is not explained. In actual fact "Panslavism" was always something of a bogey, even in pre-war days: today it is as dead as a doornail, first, because Soviet Russia, though increasingly nationalistic, does not aim at territorial conquest, though doubtless still dreaming of world-revolution: second because the Western Slavs, and especially the Czechs, desire neither of these two aims, but only to keep their independence undisturbed. Only those who are completely ignorant of all Slav nations, could be taken in by the "Panslav" catchword. That a certain solidarity of racial sentiment still exists, and always will exist, between all Slav peoples (except perhaps the Poles), despite all differences of political creed, is no less true: but that could only be made the basis of a defensive, not of an aggressive, war.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

⁷ See the maps in *Volk und Reich* for January, 1936, representing (a) "the projected Czech-Ukrainian-Russian Corridor" and (b) "without the projected Corridor." In the latter case, it is explained that "if Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia, according to their wish, fall to Hungary, the Czecho-Russian Corridor disappears, and Poland's road to the Adriatic Sea stands open." These maps, it should be made clear, are *Polish* in origin, with Polish text, but are reproduced without disapproval, by *Volk und Reich*.

ALEXANDER GUCHKOV¹

IN the story of the fall of the Russian monarchy there can hardly have been any individual record more striking and more dramatic than that of Alexander Guchkov. He holds his own place apart in this story, and it might in many ways be compared to the part which in much less crucial conditions has been played by Mr Winston Churchill in contemporary British history. The two men met more than once and appreciated each other.

Guchkov was always proud of the fact that he sprang from the Russian peasantry. His grandfather was actually a serf. It was to this that he himself traced his initial attitude to Russian political problems—a resentment of social inequalities directed against the upper class that profited by them and a belief and trust in the autocracy; one will find many suggestions of the same kind in the utterances of Rasputin, and although the autocracy went morally bankrupt under Nicholas II, this attitude was earlier more or less common to the mass of the peasantry.

Guchkov's father was a business man of Moscow; his mother was a talented French lady. In Moscow University he became one of the many brilliant pupils of the greatest, broadest and most understanding of Russian historians, Klyuchevsky, and later studied in the University of Berlin, where already the challenge inherent in his character aroused remark. In his four years in Germany, as he has told me, he studied the dual system of government—an autocrat with Ministers responsible to him and a national representation.

He first won his spurs in public service in the extensive relief work organised by the councils of local government in Russia to meet the very severe three years' famine in 1891-93, and this necessarily brought him into conflict with the Government, which was so suspicious of any united effort in the public, even in such a crying cause, that it hampered the work as far as it dared. His conclusion from all that he saw of the weakness and blunders of the bureaucracy was in favour of applying the German system of authority coupled with criticism to his own country. From this time onwards Guchkov was conspicuous in one field of adventure after another. He visited both Bulgaria and Armenia in a period of massacres; he rode along the Great Wall of China, and fought duels in Manchuria; he joined the Boers in their war for independence against England, and was wounded and taken prisoner.

¹ Every personal detail in this article was verified in conversations of the writer with Mr. Guchkov in Paris on 8, 10 and 12 April, 1935.

In the Russo-Japanese war Guchkov was again conspicuous in the service of the Red Cross. He kept throughout in close correspondence with the Grand Duchess Elizabeth, the elder sister of the Empress, and they even had a special code. When it was clear that Kuropatkin must retreat from Mukden, Guchkov asked to remain with the hospitals and the wounded, and to hand them over to the Japanese under the Geneva convention. He at once stopped the evacuation of Japanese wounded, and later of the Russians too. He has described to me the ominous hush after the departure of the Russians, and how till the Japanese arrived he and his men had to keep off a Chinese mob with revolver shots. The Japanese treated him with great respect. When the hospital operations in progress were completed they escorted him back to the Russian lines, which involved a walk of six days.

Back in Russia in July, 1905, Guchkov at once took a prominent part in public affairs. He felt strongly that the disordered troops might do anything, and he was alarmed at the revolutionary emphasis which he saw at the Zemstvo Congresses. He found only a few moderates with whom he could work, to try and stem the tide. In June he was summoned to the Emperor, and had tea with him and the Empress. In a conversation of two hours he urged that the Russian army could still hold out in the East and that the Japanese would soon themselves want peace. He advised that the sovereign should see a deputation and say some words of sympathy with the public, and that he should call together a national assembly on the lines of the old Zemsky Sobor, that is, not on a basis of electoral districts, but by classes and sections of the public. Both listened to him with close attention, especially the Empress, who also asked him many questions about the war-wounded in the East. Nicholas was, as usual, extremely nice; but shortly afterwards Guchkov met an ex-mayor of Moscow, who had also been summoned for advice and had offered quite different counsels, and it appeared that Nicholas had said the same words to both: "You are right."

After the general strike in October, the new Premier, Witte, invited Guchkov, with several of his fellow-thinkers, to join his Cabinet. These were what were called in Russia public men, as distinguished from those in the Government service. They explained that the Ministry, if they were to join it, must have a programme, or that the credit with the public which Witte hoped to get from their accession would be lost to him. The negotiations broke down because Witte offered the Ministry of the Interior with the control of the police to a well-known reactionary, Peter Durnovo. Durnovo

was very able, but was also discredited on personal grounds. Witte, who was much excited at the time, for the moment agreed to drop Durnovo, but could not agree as to a programme; and in the end Durnovo was appointed on the plea that he alone could secure the personal safety of the sovereign. Shortly afterwards Witte again called Guchkov with some other reformers to discuss the suffrage law which he proposed to issue. Guchkov and that fine public man, Nicholas Lvov, were opposed to inequalities in it, and put this view passionately when the experts, who had been called, were invited to discuss the matter before the Emperor.

Guchkov was not elected to the First Duma, but to the Upper House, the Council of State, which had lately been reinforced with representatives of the public chosen by indirect election. Other members of this house were nominated direct by the sovereign, and Witte had offered such a nomination to Guchkov, saying: "You will be in good company" and mentioning Koni and Klyuchevsky. Guchkov declined this invitation on the ground that these others were professional men and that he was in the first place a politician, so that he might be taken to have sold himself. "I see you do not trust me," said Witte; and Guchkov did not take the trouble to deny it.

Soon after the dissolution of the First Duma in July, 1906, the new Prime Minister, Stolypin, sent for Guchkov and Nicholas Lvov, as he wanted to have them in his Cabinet. Guchkov again insisted on the necessity of a programme. Stolypin at once adopted his suggestion of Professor (later Sir) Paul Vinogradov as Minister of Education, and telegraphed to Oxford to invite him. Vinogradov, however, refused, because Stolypin was not prepared to accept as a condition the abolition of educational restrictions on the Jews. On the question of agriculture, Stolypin said: "I am going very far, perhaps nearly as far as you do," words which his later action fully justified. On the question of a programme, he sent Guchkov and Lvov to the Emperor, and they put as their principles work with the elected county councils, abolition of restrictions on the Jews and their free admission to the professions. Guchkov recommended their continued exclusion from posts in the army and in the administration. He came away, as he has told me himself, with a feeling of absolute hopelessness of getting the sovereign in any way to understand the seriousness of the situation. As he put it to Stolypin, "The Emperor judges principles by personalities and it is impossible to do things that way."

It was with the dissolution, in June, 1907, of the second Duma

that Guchkov's chance came. The passivity with which the country had accepted two successive dissolutions and the restrictions introduced into the electoral law produced a moderate Third Duma in which Guchkov was able to organise something like a working majority, including numbers of disinterested men devoted to reform, of whom many had held high posts in the government service. So far, he had been informed that both the Emperor and the Empress were well disposed to him. In the initial address to the Throne from the Third Duma discussion centred on the retention of the word "autocrat." Guchkov claimed that since the constitutional manifesto of 30 October, 1905, the word now had a Party meaning, and it was deleted. The address also spoke of breaking down barriers between the sovereign and the people, and asked that "bureaucracy" and "camarilla" should be things of the past. Nicholas received the address when cruising on his yacht, and when asked by his suite, "Who are the camarilla?" replied, "You." The Prime Minister, Stolypin, gently explained to Guchkov: "If you forgot to address me as Your Excellency, I should not mind, but if you struck the word out, perhaps I should." This incident was later regarded by Guchkov as dating the beginning of his friction with his sovereign.

Of Guchkov's work in the Third Duma I have written in detail elsewhere.² His great year was the first session (1907-8), during which he organised the Octobrists and led them to an ordered attack. They were men of high standing and of independent views in a country where Parties were in general often discredited, and his was not an easy task. I used often to watch him as he moved about the corridors of the Duma, and to think that he was almost the only man there who looked as if he had the habits of an English politician. It was all done quietly enough by conversation and persuasion. He has admitted to me the benefit he derived from the spade-work of Professor Muromtsev, the Cadet President of the first Duma, who had shaped the various Commissions of the Duma on the basis of proportional representation of every Party in it and instituted frequent meetings of all Party leaders to discuss the course of current business. Guchkov's tactics were, to make the greatest use of the chief power given to the Duma, that of public discussion of the Budget, and to discriminate systematically between those Ministers who were ready to work with the Duma and supply it with full particulars and those who were not. Those who would do this and gave guarantees that their estimates would really be

² *My Russian Memoirs*, pp. 175-183.

applied to the benefit of the country, sometimes even found them increased by the Duma, and this naturally helped to give them credit with the sovereign.

Guchkov was thus able to help Stolypin as against the more reactionary Ministers. There was never any actual agreement between the two, but the Prime Minister very much appreciated this help, which at the same time raised the consequence of the Duma. Guchkov made it clear that he was unwilling to take office, as he wished to remain a Duma man. On no less than four occasions, Stolypin offered posts in his Ministry to colleagues of Guchkov; each of them referred the matter to him, and he left them quite free in their choice, but in no case did they go further with it. Stolypin even wished to offer a post to Guchkov's brother, Nicholas, who preferred his independent position as Mayor of Moscow.

Following out these tactics, Guchkov very shrewdly took up the reform of the army. The Cadets of the two preceding Dumas had in their hurry failed to use the striking opportunity of an exposure of government inefficiency in the Japanese war, and Guchkov was anxious to show the Duma as more patriotic than the government itself. Throughout his life he may be said to have always lived on the fringe of the army, and in the Japanese war he had made friends with many of its most gifted officers, such as Alexeyev and Gurko, and also with Kolchak, the ablest and cleanest of an able group of younger officers who were working for the reform of the navy, of which the administration was in terrible disorder. The fighting services had been reserved by special supplementary fundamental laws as a prerogative of the sovereign, but Guchkov set up a Duma commission of national defence for scrutinising that part of the military estimates which came before the Duma, and himself became chairman of it.

In the Budget debates of May, 1908, he decided to come forward with a denunciation of all the disorders in these services during the war. He did not mention his purpose either to Stolypin, whom he did not wish to compromise, or to the President Homyakov, by whom he did not wish to be stopped, and only told a very few of his closest colleagues. He has told me that he was nervous before his speech, but not while he was making it. I heard it myself, and should not hesitate to describe it as the most effective speech ever made in the Duma. Guchkov was not what is called an orator; he was a perfectly clear and simple exponent of what he wanted to say, on the model of an able English Minister, and his words were really deeds. At the end of his speech he named one after

another of the Grand Dukes who held responsible posts as inspectors of various branches of the services, and were thus in a position to burke all reform, and he called upon them to resign "certain terrestrial benefits" in the highest interests of their country. He read from a manuscript and his manner was absolutely quiet throughout, but no speech ever did so much to raise the consequence of the Duma.

Of course the Grand Dukes were furious, and were always hostile to him afterwards. Nicholas asked why he had not requested an audience and reported on the subject, also why the speech contained a "sinodic" (the church word for a necrology). The Cadet leader, Milyukov, exclaimed to Guchkov: "What have you done? He will dissolve the Duma" The result was the opposite. Seeing that no defence of the Grand Dukes was made by the Government, the foremost of them, Nicholas Nicholayevich, who was Inspector of Cavalry and Chairman of the Government Committee of Military Defence, in a spirited letter to the Emperor, resigned the latter post. The army was put under the control of the War Minister. The Grand Dukes were still allowed as Inspectors, but could not give orders or conduct contracts; their position remained the same up to and throughout the Great War. At the Admiralty no Grand Duke was appointed to succeed the entirely incompetent Alexis Alexandrovich, who had died. It was recognised that the Duma had come to stay, and it was felt that it could really get things done.

During this session it may be said that Guchkov's history was that of his country; but from now onwards he was faced with increasing difficulties. Stolypin was finding his position more and more difficult. The Empress was against him and wanted him to be sent away, for instance as Governor General of Siberia. Witte, consumed with hatred for his more downright and successful rival, did all he could to make friends with the reactionaries and drive Stolypin from power. They suggested to the Emperor that he was gradually being deprived of his prerogative as head of the military services. Stolypin found it necessary to mark himself off to a certain extent from Guchkov, but of course could never join the reactionaries. He was himself a very fine orator, and he created a new party in the Duma between these two sections, called the Nationalists.

It was while this new development was preparing that I first came into close touch with Guchkov. There was one thing which was desired alike by both Government and Duma, and that was friendship with England. The Kaiser had done all he could to

drive Russia further and further into the Far East, and had in every way promoted the war with Japan. England, on the contrary, had made what may be called an insurance alliance with Japan to prevent the war from becoming general. The Kaiser in his personal letters to Nicholas had made a great display of his friendship as "guarding" Russia's western frontier; but he insisted on a heavy price, namely a revision of Witte's able tariff treaty of 1894, which was now entirely to the advantage of Germany, and he refused any help to Russian finance after the war, so that it had to be obtained almost entirely from France. There came a new orientation of Russian policy which, after the Anglo-French Entente, made England count for very much more, even in Russian internal affairs. It is significant that the one Minister who had tried to dissuade Nicholas from dissolving the first Duma was his Foreign Minister, the Liberal Izvolsky.

At the time of the first dissolution some of the ablest Cadet members were taking part in an inter-parliamentary congress in England, and the news was greeted by the British Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman, with the famous words: "La Douma est morte, vive la Douma!"

With the increased consequence obtained by the Third Duma through the policy of Guchkov, it was possible for me in 1909 to arrange a representative visit to England, in which the President and all parties joined to take part. This could not have been done without Guchkov, who actively backed me throughout. I had the same help from the Cadet leader, Milyukov, and I still have the telegram, on which I had insisted, saying that these two and the President, Homyakov, would all be coming: "Start the thing. Homyakov, Guchkov, Milyukov." I have described this visit elsewhere,³ but in all the details, which were sometimes very delicate, I came to know both that Guchov was entirely with me in keeping everything on a non-party basis, and that he exactly understood what was most likely to make the visit a success and give it lasting results. From this time on, I remained in close touch with him till the end of his life. He knew very well where he could count on any help that I could give him and where he could not, but Anglo-Russian friendship remained one of the central principles of all his activity.

In 1910, Homyakov, disgusted with the factiousness of the extreme parties in the Duma, resigned the Presidency, and Guchkov unwisely became President, in the belief that he would be able to

³ *My Russian Memoirs*, pp. 227-242.

influence Nicholas as a kind of tribune at the palace. The President had the right of personal report to the Emperor; Homyakov had never made political use of this or even gone into great detail, contenting himself with witty and pleasant conversation. Some of the Octobrists opposed this decision, but Stolypin was pleased, and with the help of the Nationalists Guchkov was elected. He never succeeded with the Emperor, to whom the quiet wit of Homyakov was much more likely to appeal. Guchkov was too downright for him. Besides this, the streak of adventure in his character did not suit this post. It was not long before he was fighting another duel. One of the members had quoted Stolypin as hostile to Guchkov. Stolypin, when Guchkov appealed to him, replied: "You can say, that is an insolent lie." With these words Guchkov faced his antagonist in the lobby of the Duma. The member spoke of challenging Stolypin, and Guchkov felt that Stolypin would probably accept and that, in view of his waning influence at the Court and as duels were forbidden, this would compromise him as Prime Minister; so he decided to provoke a duel himself, and addressing his enemy in public, he asked: "Count, I wonder how long you will let me insult you?" The duel took place, and Guchkov slightly wounded his antagonist. On his next report to the Emperor, Nicholas asked him about it. Guchkov explained, leaving out his motive of covering Stolypin. Seeing that the Emperor had a look of sympathy, he said: "I think you have got something at the back of your mind, —that you mean to pardon me. I am a supporter of duels, but also I am a supporter of the law, and I beg you not to." At the end of the session he wrote to the authorities to ask to do his sentence, and himself repaired to the fortress of Peter and Paul for the purpose. Here he received a charming visit from Kokovtsev. He was released after two weeks. The Emperor, with his delicate sense, had understood him and waited to send the pardon until he was going through the punishment.

Guchkov had sent in his resignation as President during this incident, and was re-elected; but in 1911 he resigned finally. In the summer of that year Stolypin was pushing through the Duma his well-remembered Bill for extending the zemstva to the western provinces of Russia, where in view of the mixed population, Russians, Jews and Poles, representative institutions had not yet been introduced. Stolypin's plan was a bad one. All sorts of manipulations of indirect election, such as the second electoral law introduced in the elections to the Duma itself, were utilised to secure Russian majorities. The Cadets of course hated the Bill. The Octobrists

wished at least to amend it, and, as the Cadets adopted the foolish tactics of boycott, the Bill did pass through the Duma—only, however, to be rejected for opposite reasons in the Council of State, where a number of reactionaries quoted the Emperor himself as desiring its rejection. Stolypin was furious and lost his head. Having recourse again to his favourite article 87 of the constitution, which authorised the government to issue decrees in time of vacation, he dissolved the legislature for a day or two, issued his Bill in the form in which it had passed the Duma as a decree, and then called the Chambers again. Guchkov went to him and said: "I cannot work with you any more." Stolypin replied: "But I have issued the law in the form approved by the Duma." "You have made a precedent," said Guchkov, "which is fatal to you. You will not be able to carry through what you are doing." He sent in his resignation and went out to the Far East to study the effects of the plague there.

In the autumn Stolypin was assassinated at a gala performance in the chief theatre of Kiev in the presence of his sovereign. Guchkov had seen him a few days before he went. Stolypin was very depressed at this last interview. He had said: "I am sure I shall be assassinated by a member of the secret police." It was noticed in Kiev that Stolypin was quite left out of the special measures taken for the protection of the sovereign. Inviting Kokovtsev to share his carriage, he himself commented on this, and spoke again of assassination. The deed was done by a revolutionary who was also an agent of the police, Bogrov. Stolypin lingered on a few days in great agony, and Guchkov sent him an icon, which the patient valued and had put upon his table; by the time that Guchkov reached Kiev, Stolypin was dead. The two men had understood each other even where they parted company, and Guchkov boldly exposed the circumstances of the crime.

As head of the Duma Commission for Imperial Defence, Guchkov had come to know that Myasoyedov, who under the protection of the War Minister, Sukhomlinov, held a high post in the army, was really a German spy. He denounced him as such in a letter over his own signature in the principal paper, the *Novoe Vremya*, and Myasoyedov felt compelled by public opinion to challenge him to a duel. This took place outside St. Petersburg. Guchkov, who was one of the bravest of men, let his enemy fire first, and then shot into the air, as regarding his antagonist as beneath the honour of a duel, and walked off without shaking hands. In the Great War Myasoyedov was discovered to be in regular communication by aeroplane with the enemy, which was largely responsible for the colossal

Russian losses in the winter battle of Mazovia in February, 1915, and Myasoyedov was tried and hanged.

Kokovtsev had become Prime Minister on the death of Stolypin, and Rodzyanko had succeeded Guchkov as President of the Duma. At this time the public of St. Petersburg was more and more exercised by the sinister influence of Rasputin at court. Guchkov took this matter up, like so many others, fearlessly and without consideration for consequences. He went to the Premier, Kokovtsev, and tried to get him to intervene; Kokovtsev had already made his effort, and was already in consequence doomed to dismissal. Guchkov decided to act through the Duma. He first sent an expert on sects to meet Rasputin and take an opinion of him. Another expert on the subject, Novoselov, wrote of Rasputin in Guchkov's paper, *The Voice of Moscow*. The Governor General of Moscow forbade publication. This was a breach of the law, as papers were now allowed to write all that they pleased, subject to such fines as the Government might later choose to impose. Guchkov now raised the whole question in the Duma, and from this day onward the Empress detested the Duma and Guchkov became her particular bugbear. "Hanging is too little for him," she said, and later even asked in a letter to her husband, "Couldn't a railway accident be arranged in which only Guchkov would suffer?" Nicholas himself detested public debates on any intimate and personal questions which might concern him. The President, Rodzyanko, who over and over again fearlessly exposed Rasputin to the Emperor, did what he could to smoothe the sharpness of Guchkov's attack, but himself threatened resignation if his report was disregarded.

When the third Duma came to a normal end in 1912, Guchkov allowed his name to be proposed for re-election, but took no other steps. The police did, and he was not elected. He continued to lead the Octobrist Party from outside; but it began to divide into different groups. The disregard which the government showed for the Duma led Guchkov in 1913 to come out in more vigorous opposition. At this time it seemed that a new revolutionary movement was brewing, and indeed there were barricades in the streets of St. Petersburg when Germany declared war in August, 1914. The German challenge acted like magic; the barricades disappeared; a colossal crowd sang the national anthem on its knees in front of the Winter Palace, and the nation threw all its energies into the defence of the country.

Guchkov and nearly all the other prominent public men went to the front as heads of the Red Cross, to try to supplement the

hopelessly inadequate provision of the government for the wounded. He was at the head of the Red Cross section in the Second Army, the one which was crushed at Tannenberg, where he had invited me to come on his staff. Some time after the battle, with leave from the Grand Duke Nicholas, he went boldly across the lines with the white flag to ascertain the fate of General Samsonov; he found on this side a wide open No-man's Land, abandoned by both armies. Guchkov was often in the line and in front of it. He saw a large unit under fire without a supply of rifles. He learned of an order to the artillery not to fire more than five shots a day, irrespective of what was being done on the other side. He returned to Petrograd and challenged the grossly negligent War Minister, Sukhomlinov, to remedy the deficit, and on one occasion was even able to inform him of a store of arms which he had forgotten. Unable to get any satisfaction from Sukhomlinov, he approached other Ministers, but they were unwilling to act outside their province. After the great crash in Galicia, he addressed a meeting of the central Red Cross in Moscow, in which he openly denounced Sukhomlinov, who was very unwillingly dismissed by the Tsar and later impeached by the Duma.

The country was now thoroughly mobilised for the supply of munitions, but with the inadequacy of Russian industry, the task was sure to be a long one, and meanwhile the army was literally being shot down. A congress of great industrialists decided to set up war industry committees all over the country, and invited Guchkov to head this movement. The Cabinet was at this time in a panic, and with the help of his friend, the new War Minister, Polivanov, an organiser of great energy and ability, Guchkov actually succeeded in putting his case at a Cabinet meeting, and obtained the necessary sanction. He attached to the work a special section representative of the workers themselves, and after some delay, Russian Labour voted in favour of taking part in this work. The workers' section was an object of constant suspicion to the government which, when the Empress took charge of internal affairs in September, became completely reactionary. Her letters contain constant expressions of her extreme antipathy to Guchkov.

By the autumn of 1916 it was obvious that revolution was in sight. At a meeting of the principal Duma men, provision was even made for the abdication of the Emperor, to be succeeded by his son under the regency of the Grand Duke Michael, and for a national Cabinet; but no definite steps were proposed. Guchkov from the first declared that after the revolution the power would go

to those who had made it, and with Nekrasov and Tereshchenko he engaged in a bold plan to kidnap the Emperor on his way between the capital and headquarters, and compel him to abdicate; he has himself given me all the details of this plot. The preparations involved the collection at a given point in the province of Novgorod of troops which could be relied on. The appointed time was fixed for March, and the preparations were not complete when the actual revolution broke out in Petrograd.

As a member of the provisional committee of the Duma, which sought to take over the power, Guchkov was moving about everywhere in the capital in his efforts to re-establish discipline among the troops, when his friend Prince Vyazemsky was shot sitting by his side in his car. As soon as it was decided to demand the abdication of the Emperor, who had left headquarters and joined General Ruzsky in Pskov, the task was entrusted to Guchkov and Shulgin. They were aware that the newly established Soviet was likely to stop them from going, and they left Petrograd in the early dawn of 15 March, 1917. As is known, Rodzyanko had already by telegraph invited the support of the army commanders and they had almost unanimously telegraphed to Ruzsky demanding the abdication, which the Emperor gave in favour of his son in the afternoon of the 15th. Guchkov and Shulgin have both described their interview with Nicholas that same evening. What most impressed the Emperor, was Guchkov's report that the palace guard of Tsarskoe had itself marched to the Duma to join the revolution. Guchkov has described to me in moving language the strong feeling of pity that he had for Nicholas when he could not help seeing the almost complete indifference of those surrounding the Emperor to his fate. As is known, Nicholas accepted it with the greatest calm, but only insisted on substituting his brother for his son as the next sovereign, a change which completely upset all the arrangements of the Duma committee.

Returning with the act of abdication, Guchkov was astonished on his arrival in Petrograd to find himself arrested by a workers' meeting at the terminus, from which he escaped with difficulty; in fact Shulgin had difficulty in smuggling away the document to the Duma committee. Guchkov was also surprised that, without his agreement, the committee had appointed him Minister of the Navy, as well as of War. Through the disorderly streets he made his way to the palace of the Grand Duke Michael, who, after consulting with the Duma men, decided to abdicate in his turn, leaving the choice of a future government to a constituent assembly. Both Guchkov

and Milyukov, especially the latter, did everything to dissuade him from this decision, but both Rodzyanko and Kerensky took the opposite view, and Rodzyanko insisted that, in the present state of the public mind, he could not guarantee the Grand Duke's life.

As War Minister of the Provisional Government, Guchkov was throughout in an impossible position. It is entirely untrue that he ever sanctioned the famous army order No. 1; at the meeting of the Cabinet to which it was first proposed, he said at once that it would be the ruin of the army. It is true that he did not prevent it from being circulated, but it is difficult to see how he could have done so. As soon as the Soviet messengers got up to the active army with this message, the harm was done, and it was irreparable. Guchkov, hardly recovered from rheumatic fever and with a bad heart, travelled from point to point along the front restoring order, but no more than for the moment. The many changes which he made in the higher command can of course be criticised; his ruling principle, I think, was to choose men who might retain the confidence of the troops.

Returning from the Carpathians to Petrograd on the eve of the events of May, I visited him in the War Office, where he and his family camped in a few rooms of that vast building. After tea he took me into his bedroom, saying: "I will lie down, and you talk." But Guchkov, lying flat on his back, did all the talking. He showed me the telegram in which General Alexeyev, the Commander-in-Chief, warned him for the third time that if fraternisation with the enemy could not be stopped, he would have to resign. The next day I saw the vast crowd that stood before the War Office, called into activity by the first Bolshevik attempt to seize the capital. There was Guchkov standing in the snow in his fur coat making one of the most effective and vigorous speeches of his life. He told them plainly that unless discipline could be restored, things were moving straight to a military dictatorship. He was heard with perfect respect and sympathy, and at his request the crowd dispersed quietly.

Next day I was with him again; and again, lying flat on his back, he told me that he had decided to resign. He had put to his colleagues his demands for the restoration of order, and had failed to get their support. On the following day, he made another of the greatest speeches of his life to the Soviet. Beginning with the now discarded word "Gentlemen," he told the story of his life's work for the Russian army, and of all that was portended by its dissolution. When he ceased, there was a long hush, and then,

even in that hostile audience, a tremendous outburst of applause; but the next minute Zinoviev was preaching Marxism from the same tribune, and so that particular record of achievement was allowed to slip away into history. After resigning, Guchkov joined the army as a lieutenant of the Cossacks, and was one of the last men in the rear-guard when it left Czernowitz, won back to Austria, not by her own valour, but by the Russian Revolution.

This was really the end of his career; though he was on the fringe of a group which was interested in Kornilov's rash march on St. Petersburg, he took no part in that matter. Passing the frontier with so many others, living first in England and then in Germany, he snatched at any chance of influencing foreign governments against the Communist régime, and later, settling in Paris, devoted the rest of his life to that object. He was indefatigable in the collection of information of all sorts from the most curious quarters and on the most various subjects, and on this basis conducted an energetic press work which never really took any noticeable effect. In the emigration, he showed much more readiness than many other leaders to work in co-operation with men of other views. He had a long and serious illness in 1933, and in 1935 was removed to a cancer hospital, where it was recognised that his case was hopeless. He himself wrote of this as no more than a temporary rest, and remained as active in all his work as before. The operation which was in the end performed had never more than a five per cent. chance of adding a few months to his life. His extraordinary vitality survived it for a few weeks, and his first words on recovering consciousness were: "Read me what they are writing about Russia."

So ended this gallant life. He was the last person who would have expected even after death to escape the sharp criticism which, on the contrary, he always welcomed and sought. Challenge, in a way, was the breath of his life, and disagreement one of its chief enjoyments. Even when he was saying the most provocative things, his manner was perfectly calm and sure, and his voice balanced. His fault was that he was always trying to do too much to be in the forefront of some struggle, could not let things work out for themselves; but the record of this turbulent career was instinct throughout with one great driving force, his love for Russia.

BERNARD PARES.

THE NEW POLISH CONSTITUTION

THE new Polish Constitution was approved by the Sejm on Saturday 23 April, 1935, amid scenes of great enthusiasm and the singing of the hymn of the Pilsudski Legions "The First Brigade"; but this fervent rejoicing was followed almost a month afterwards by the death of Marshal Pilsudski himself. The new charter was thus in a most real sense a product of gladness and tears. It was itself a combination and resultant of variant tendencies as they had been experienced and suffered in a country which has braved since the war a stormy constitutional history. It was not Fascist, though it showed the influence of Fascist tendencies. It was not the misshapen progeny of a Dictatorship, because the Dictator had reserved in it no nook or cranny for the perpetuation of his own untrammelled power. It was more exactly an attempt to deal with that urgent and insistent but almost contradictory problem which Sir Stafford Cripps, when those who report him will allow, is endeavouring to broach in our own country—how, within the framework of general constitutional democracy, so to free the executive and administrative power from all encumbering restraints as in a reasonable measure of time to put into effect certain sweeping but necessary measures of social reorganisation.

Poland had become in a peculiar way a suitable land for the attempt to carry out such a necessary experiment. When the resurrected country started on a fresh career after the closing of the war, it was compounded of three territories reclaimed from three great Empires. Its people had been born and bred under different systems of law, they had been compelled to receive much of their early instruction in languages not their own, and above all they had had almost no experience of the working of genuinely democratic institutions. To them Democracy was an ideal, not a reality; and it was small wonder that when, after the Treaty of Versailles, their Constituent Assembly settled down to its work, it should seek such inspiration from those countries where Democracy was deemed to have accomplished its perfect work—from Great Britain to some extent, but perhaps in a larger measure from France.

The first Polish Constitution, when it was at length brought to the birth in 1921, was an attempt to realise the truth of the famous aphorism of ex-President Wilson and to "make the world safe for Democracy." It took its place along with the Weimar Constitution and that of Czechoslovakia as the latest expression and consummation of purely Parliamentary government; not without some attempt

to graft on to the Parliamentary structure a Council for considering those stern economic problems that were bound to arise in a world which, disturbed to its depths, was in danger of lapsing into a condition of almost chaotic insecurity. Parliament, in such Constitutions, was exalted into the possession of almost undivided supremacy. It met at a certain period of the year and it could practically only be dissolved with its own consent. There was no provision such as was made at Weimar for occasional references to the people by way of Referendum; nor was it foreseen, as in the German document, that it might be necessary in an emergency to have recourse to the method of administrative ordinance. The President, the head of the Executive, owed his office, as in France, to the legislature and was elected by the Senate and the Sejm sitting together. Yet the utmost effort was exerted to secure that this supreme and omnipotent Parliament should be sustained by the peoples' will. There was universal suffrage. Both sexes had the vote. The Senate consisted of elder statesmen elected by an older electorate but without distinctions arising from privilege or sex. Proportional Representation encouraged the manufacture of many kinds of warring coteries, so that differences, instead of being fought about before the people at a General Election, were left to paralyse the energies and obstruct the deliberations of the supreme legislative Assembly.

The result was an executive and administrative deadlock, and there is no country where the results of parliamentary democracy with Proportional Representation and a weakening of the executive due to a plethora of parties and an excess of obstructive deliberation, can be discerned more clearly than in the history of modern Poland. No advancing step could be taken rapidly and decisively. During five years it was only possible to govern with the help of a succession of rapidly changing Premiers; at times seeking non-parliamentary help by summoning to their aid a Cabinet of Experts, at times constructing a precarious majority by uniting sections of the Centre and the Right. Pilsudski watched, from his retreat at Sulejowek, this spectacle of executive and administrative impotence with a bitterness and disquietude which he made no attempt to restrain. His deepest sympathies throughout his whole life had always been with the Left, and he could not help seeing that in these kaleidoscopic political combinations the Left was always neglected. It was impossible to get such a Parliament to dissolve before the appointed time. When the issue of a General Election is uncertain, as with the back benchers of the National Government in our own day, Members of Parliament stick to their place like lumps.

Besides, there was another and more serious complication. Poland is a land of palpable National Minorities; and in the Sejm of 1928, through the operation of Proportional Representation, these National Minorities, Ruthenian, German and Jewish, had 81 seats out of a total of 444. What an opportunity for that baneful party manœuvring which could never result in strong and practical legislation; and since, in addition, these Minorities could exert political pressure through the League of Nations and the Minorities Treaty, they were tempted to regard their duties in the Sejm, not as Parliamentarians of the Polish State, but as Parliamentarians attempting to escape from the Polish State into a brand new Parliament of their own.

Such was the hopeless condition of affairs which led to the celebrated Pilsudski coup of 1926 and, incidentally, was the main determining cause of the new Polish Constitution. When Pilsudski obtained possession of Warsaw with the help of his soldiers he did not accept the Presidency nor at once pose as Emperor. He was content, like the earlier Cæsars, to owe his power to a subsidiary office such as Inspector-General of the army, while in reality through President Moscicki he exercised supreme influence in the State. Two things had to be done to give that power of rapid and decisive action to the Executive, which seems necessary in the somewhat chaotic conditions of a changing world. In the first place the head of the Executive had to be granted the power of dissolving Parliament. In the second place, he had to be given, as in a now celebrated Article 48 of the old Weimar Constitution, the power of legislation by administrative ordinance. There was no attempt to dispense with Parliament or to make the Head of the Executive a separate power, independent of Parliament. Administrative ordinances, having the force of legislative acts, were only to be issued when Parliament was not in Session, and they had subsequently to receive the confirmation of Parliament. The Sejm, however, in the years immediately succeeding 1926 became ever more jealous of the Executive Power. On 21 June, 1930, the President, without allowing the legislative body an opportunity to assemble, prorogued an extraordinary Session and set no date for the resumption of its deliberations. Fierce and violent political agitation followed in the country; which, as in the case of the Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia, was repelled by stern and determined repression. The countermove of the Government was to dissolve on 30 August, 1930, in the belief that they could get a new Sejm with a sufficiently strong majority to ensure more

immediately effective action. Their dominating purpose, however, was that this new Sejm should revise the Constitution, and then lay the foundations of a more stable and enduring, because a more administratively competent State. This was their remedy for the defects of purely parliamentary democracy: not the proclamation of a new brand of Hitlerism, but the promulgation of a Constitution which should unite some of what was best in both.

Let us now examine a little more closely how the new Polish Constitution of 1935 looks in the light of these discussions; not with the view of understanding it clause by clause but simply to discover whether, in gaining the capacity for swift and effective political action, it has been found necessary, not simply to correct the defects of dilatory parliamentary democracy, but also to exorcise the very essential and animating spirit of any kind of democratic government.

With this purpose in mind, our first remark that must be made is that the new Polish Constitution takes care to load the scales in favour of the Executive. The French system of electing the President by both the Houses of Parliament is now left far behind. It is the people who have to choose the Head of their Executive, and seven years is his period of office. Not that the people are absolutely free in their choice. An Assembly of Electors consisting of the Marshals or Chairmen of the Sejm and the Senate, the Prime Minister, the President of the Supreme Court, the Inspector-General of the Forces and 75 citizens of the highest merit, chosen $\frac{2}{3}$ by the Sejm and $\frac{1}{3}$ by the Senate, have to make the first nomination. The retiring President has the option of making a second. If the President does not exercise his option, the candidate of the Assembly is elected. If the President nominates someone else, the people have to choose between them. The new Executive is expected to gain the glamour of some kind of contact with the people without being exposed to the troublesome vagaries of unlimited popular choice. At any rate the coming President is to be no *roi faineant*. His powers are that (1) he convokes, adjourns and dissolves Parliament, (2) he has the power of veto on laws passed by Parliament, (3) he appoints Ministers and judges, including also a third of the Senators, (4) he signs and ratifies treaties without asking the consent of Parliament, (5) he decides whether there shall be peace or war, and (6) he has a power of issuing administrative ordinances having the power of legislative

acts when the Sejm is not sitting. This, in war-time, becomes the power of issuing ordinances not subject at all to the interference of the Sejm.

It can thus be discerned that the defects of parliamentary democracy, which have already been disclosed in the post-war history of Poland, are to be cured by the process of giving the Head of the Executive a power over Parliament, the want of which has led to ineffectiveness in the legislative operations of the past. But does the President thereby become an autocrat to be framed in the same salon with Hitler and Mussolini? The answer is that in the new Polish Constitution there are definite limits to these powers of administrative ordinance. Even when the Sejm is sitting, he can issue decrees as regards (a) the organisation of the government or the administration, and (b) the supreme command of the military forces, and the Sejm is powerless to alter or abate them. But certain matters are placed within the jurisdiction of the Sejm alone. These are: changes in the Constitution, elections to the Sejm and Senate, the Budget, imposing taxes and establishing monopolies, the monetary system, issuing of State loans and the selling or mortgaging of State property valued above 100,000 zlotys. The Sejm has thus the very effective power of the purse, although, on the other hand, it must pass a new Budget within a definite time, or else the Budget of the previous year is deemed to be still operative. Furthermore, apart from the few subjects on which the President has an unlimited power of ordinance, his ordinances on other subjects can only be altered or changed by legislative act. It is not set forth in the 1935 Constitution, as in the alterations to the 1921 Constitution which were made after the Pilsudski coup in 1926, that the Presidential ordinances on the permitted subjects must necessarily be presented for the confirmation of the Sejm. All that is provided is that the Sejm can alter or change them if it so please. But even this remains a substantial check on any tendencies to excessive Presidential autocracy, and it is the existence of such limitations which differentiates the new Polish Executive from the creations of Nazi or Fascist constitutionalism.

But is any tendency to overweening power in the Executive further limited in this Constitution by the powers and authority of the Sejm itself? That is a question which it is now very proper to raise and to answer. In the Fascist Constitution Parliament has to be deprived of all power to exercise any effective control on the Executive. The Executive is dictatorial and the dictator must be all in all. It is not so in the new Polish Constitution. In the

first place, as we have seen, the Sejm and the Senate choose 75 out of the 80 Electors who nominate a new President, and only if the retiring President nominates another candidate is recourse sought to the electorate. In the second place the Sejm is composed of members elected by citizens of both sexes, who have completed the age of 24 years, and by general, secret, equal and direct voting. Proportional Representation is abolished and it may safely be predicted that this elaborate system of arithmetical badinage will never again find favour with the framers of a Polish Constitution. But certain arrangements relative to the method of voting and the electoral districts of the Sejm are left to be dealt with by a special electoral law, by which the country is divided into 100 constituencies, each returning 2 deputies. Lists of candidates for the Sejm, according to the Electoral Law, have to be prepared by certain prescribed bodies and submitted to a Board which will be established in each constituency. These Boards will have at their head a Commissioner appointed by the Central Government, and the free and equal voters can only vote for candidates who have been selected through this agency. This looks at first sight an artificial arrangement which takes away with one hand what had been granted as an instalment of a real democratic system with the other. But the very fact of leaving these devices out of the Constitution proper and incorporating them in a simple electoral law makes it certain that they can be amended at any time by a simple majority of the Sejm and not, as in the case of strictly constitutional arrangements, by a majority of the statutory membership of the Sejm. They are thus hardly intended to be unalterable, like the laws of the Medes and the Persians; and cannot be quoted as a permanent weakening of Parliament so that it shall never be able to stand up against the administrative ordinances of an autocracy.

On this account the new Polish Constitution may be generally described as a departure from French to American democratic precedents. The President and the Sejm figure as parallel democratic powers which on occasion may differ; but while, as for example in the present crisis, the American Constitution may leave such distinct independence to either side that serious obstacles may be placed in the path of executive initiative at a sudden emergency, the Polish Constitution provides methods of interconnection between the powers which may more speedily put an end to a political deadlock. The Polish President may dissolve the Sejm. If the present Electoral Law is passed, he may subsequently attempt to influence the electoral boards. On the other hand, if at the *ad hoc*

election a Sejm of the same political complexion is returned, it may await the end of the Presidential term and so endeavour to dictate the Presidential succession. Nor is this power of the Sejm much limited by the existence of the Senate. The latter body is elected $\frac{1}{3}$ by the President and $\frac{2}{3}$ by electors. In the Electoral Law, which has already been quoted, 96 is proposed as the number of such Senators. They must be over 40 years of age, and shall be elected by voters over 30 years of age who have been decorated for services to the State or are members of certain bodies such as, for example, Trade Unions or Co-operative Societies. Here, indeed, is a feature borrowed from the Corporative State; but the Senate as thus constituted, and as in the case of the Constitution of 1921, has only a delaying power and is not nearly so formidable as the American Senate. Indeed, by a $\frac{2}{3}$ majority the Sejm can at any time pass Bills over its head. Neither is there any Supreme Court, as in America, to pass judgment on the constitutionality of the Presidential acts. The Polish judges in the new Constitution are declared to be independent of Parliament, but they are expressly debarred from inquiring into the validity of legislative acts.

What then is the general conception of the State which remains embodied in this new Polish Constitution? In the framework of the Fascist or Nazi State the Sovereignty lies definitely with the *Duce* or the *Führer*, but in the new Polish State it lies not with the President only, any more than in the American Constitution, but is expressed in the balanced interplay of its constitutional arrangements. Throughout the entire document there emerges a distinction between the nation and the State. The nation is ethnographic, composed simply of those of the same religion, language or race. This is the ideal to which both Hitler and Mussolini are tending. But the State is territorial, comprising all those of whatever race, religion, or language within a certain district or area; and it is the purpose of State institutions to weld all these various parts into a distinct and coherent whole. If by the operation of such a device as Proportional Representation the different races are encouraged to perpetuate themselves in Parliament, or if a Minorities' Treaty impels them to become dissatisfied and to make complaints to an outside body, then there is an artificial interference with this process of developing the State until it reaches organic unity. The Minorities do not then seek freedom within the State, but freedom away from the State; and it was because Poland had experience of this inevitable tendency that it broke away from the Minorities Treaty so far as it involved artificial interference by the League of Nations.

Nor is it rash to prophesy that the new Polish State will never acknowledge such subversive tutelage again. Indeed, such a tutelage will not be necessary, as can well be gathered from the course of events. The greater proportion of complaints against Polish treatment of Minorities came from Upper Silesia; but the moment there was no political purpose served in renewing these complaints, they miraculously ceased. The separatist action of the Ruthemans in East Galicia had some political purpose behind it, but under the Electoral Law of the new Constitution these races are represented, not as Ruthenian Nationalists, but as Ruthenian Co-operative Societies. In this way a baleful and subversive agitation will cease to endanger the Polish Constitution.

For the Polish State is more than a simple aggregate of individuals as it is extolled in the opening clauses of the new Constitution. The creative ability of the individual is indeed a moving power in the life of the community. The individual must have liberty of conscience, freedom of speech and the right of assembly. Yet the State, though not a Totalitarian, has a unity of its own, and constitutes in the words of the Constitution itself "a historical heritage which can be passed on from generation to generation." It is proclaimed as a partnership—to use the noble words of Burke—"not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born."

J. H. HARLEY.

THE INCIDENCE OF SUICIDE AMONG THE SUDETIC GERMANS

THE German press has already on several occasions drawn attention to the exceptionally high percentage of suicide among the Sudetic Germans and has implied that this is the result of their unfavourable economic situation, and that the Czechoslovak régime is responsible for it. These allegations were brought to a head recently by the Director of the Institute for Racial Hygiene at Munich, who asserted that the incidence of suicide among the Sudetic Germans is now ten times greater than the average for Germany.¹ When a University professor is capable of writing such nonsense as this, it is obvious that the Germans today in their revolutionary enthusiasm are out of touch with scientific argument, and that therefore there is no point in replying to the assertion. Now, however, a similar reckless statement has found its way into a serious journal of international standing, and it is therefore necessary to repudiate it.

A recent number of the *Slavonic Review* (No. 41, January 1936) contains an article on "The German Minority in Czechoslovakia," which was written at the Editor's invitation by an unnamed but leading member of the Sudetic German Party. The attentive reader will discover from the very first page of the article that it has been written without any undue concern for fundamental statistical data. Thus, on the first page, it is mentioned that communes having a German minority occupy about one-quarter of the total area of Czechoslovakia, whereas on the second page occurs the statement that the territory inhabited mainly by Germans comprises about one-third of the total area of the Republic.² Nevertheless, most readers do not pay close heed to figures, and when an article is skilfully written, even a grossly inaccurate figure will pass muster.

The incidence of suicide among the Sudetic Germans is here mentioned towards the end of the passage dealing with their economic and social distress, which is there expressly mentioned as a result of Czechoslovak policy towards the Germans. The actual statement as to the incidence of suicide is made at the very end so that it stands out more. Here is the quotation verbatim :—

"Small wonder if in 1933 the German districts of Bohemia

¹ L. G. Tirala, *Rasse, Geist und Seele*, Munich, 1935, p. 109.

² According to the exact figures which have just been published by A. Boháč in his essay "The Nationality Problem" (The Notion of the Czechoslovak State, Prague, 1935) the area of the communes with a population of more than 50 per cent. of Germans amounted in 1930 to 27,996 sq. km., i.e. 9.9 per cent. or not quite one-fifth of the area of Czechoslovakia.

showed the highest percentage of suicides in all Europe : between 1920 and 1930 no fewer than 20,000 Germans took their own lives."

This statement contains three inaccuracies which we will now proceed to correct :—

(1) It is untrue that the exceptional incidence of suicide among the Sudetic Germans is brought about by their economic and social distress.

(2) It is untrue that their incidence of suicide is the highest in Europe.

(3) It is untrue that between 1920 and 1930 there were 20,000 Germans in Bohemia who committed suicide.

With regard to the first statement, we cannot here discuss in any detail the complicated array of social and biological factors underlying the incidence of suicide. Large numbers of scientific books have been written about it, but the material will have to be dealt with in a more positive and reliable manner before any final conclusion can be reached. It is, however, certain that the most widespread cause of suicide is to be found in ethnical differences, in a definite outlook upon social life, and, as far as Europe is concerned, particularly also in a lack of social cohesion, i.e. in the loosening of social bonds. The highest incidence of suicide in Europe is found in areas with a modern individualist outlook and an advanced urban-industrial civilisation. During the last half-century before the War the highest incidence of suicide was revealed precisely in the "happy" countries with exceptional economic prosperity, i.e. Germany, Denmark, Switzerland and Bohemia. According to the data of Netušil, who was the first to establish an international comparison over a long period of time, the average number of suicides per 100,000 of the population were as follows :—³

Germany (1877-1914)	...	...	...	25.2
Germany (Saxony only) (1831-1914)	...	...	...	28.6
Denmark (1831-1915)	...	...	...	24.3
Bohemia (1870-1913)	...	...	...	23.1
Switzerland (1886-1915)	...	...	...	20.7

As regards Bohemia, we can supplement these data for the present period by the figures relating to the Czech and German areas there, with a comparison with pre-War conditions. The pre-War Austrian statistics of deceased persons did not distinguish their nationality, but this drawback can be remedied by grouping

³ F. J. Netušil, "Incidence of Suicide in the Czech Territories as compared with the International Figures." Prague, 1923.

the districts according to the national character of their population. Thus, in Bohemia the average annual number of suicides per 100,000 of population was as follows :—

In areas :		1901-13.	1919-34.
mainly Czech...	... ..	27·2	32·7
„ German	... ..	33·8	37·9

As the pre-War statistics do not distinguish any territorial details whatever beyond the administrative district, we were obliged to re-arrange the post-War data also according to the administrative districts which are twice the size of the judicial districts, so that they give a rougher idea of the divergencies in the country which are due to nationality. In these forty administrative districts, inhabited mainly by Germans, the average percentage of the German population is 83·2 : they contain 87 p.c. of all Bohemian Germans.

These data teach us two things. First of all, they show that in the German districts of Bohemia, there was a considerably higher incidence of suicide than in the Czech districts even before the War, and hence at a period when their economic prosperity was considerable and they were under a German régime. Further, we see that as compared with the pre-War period, the incidence of suicide has greatly increased both in the German and in the Czech districts. Moreover, this increase in the incidence of suicide is relatively higher in the Czech than in the German areas. In the German areas the increase amounts to 12 per cent., while in the Czech areas it is as much as 20 per cent. This development is particularly marked in the last two years. In 1934 the number of suicides in the mainly Czech districts increased, as compared with the preceding year, from 1,718 to 1,831, whereas in the mainly German areas there was a decrease from 1,157 in 1923 to 1,148 in 1934. We have compiled the analogous data for Moravia and Silesia only for the post-War period, i.e. 1919 to 1934, because the pre-War territorial conditions in Silesia were too divergent from those existing today. On the other hand, however, we were able to utilise the judicial districts, which bring out more clearly the nationality divergencies than the administrative districts do. In order to facilitate comparison we supplement these data by the relative data for Bohemia, which have been prepared also according to the judicial sub-divisions. Thus, the following figures show the average annual number of suicides per 100,000 of population between 1919 and 1934 :—

	<i>Moravia-Silesia</i>	<i>Bohemia</i>
Judicial areas mainly Czech ...	25·0	32·4
„ „ „ German ...	30·9	38·9

These data show best of all the influence of an urban-industrial civilisation. The Germans in Moravia, although having the same ethnical roots and subject to the same tendencies of thought as the Germans in Bohemia, show a much lower incidence of suicide, because in Moravia they are not yet permeated to the same extent with modern urban-industrial civilisation. Here the difference is so marked, that these German areas show a lower incidence of suicide than the Czech areas in Bohemia

A further proof of how misleading it is to assert that a high incidence of suicide is caused by economic and social distress, can be derived from the direct data as to the nationality of suicides which we have on record from 1925⁴. Here we will quote from them the average for a period of eight years, which provides a sounder basis for judgment because it counterbalances the chance oscillations. To these figures we will add the data for 1930, which have the advantage of being based upon the population figures as ascertained at the census of that year. In addition to the Czechs and the Germans we are able to observe in particular the ethnical group represented by the Jews. The figures showing the incidence of suicide per 100,000 of the population are as follows:—

	1925-32.	1930.
Czechs in Bohemia	34·6	38·3
Germans in Bohemia	38·9	39·5
Czechs in Moravia and Silesia	26·0	27·2
Germans in Moravia and Silesia	32·4	36·2
Jews in Bohemia and Moravia	42·4	42·5

From these figures we see first of all that the difference in the incidence of suicide between Czechs and Germans in Bohemia is smaller than appeared in the data of those two groups of districts according to the majority nationality. Further, we see again that there is a higher incidence of suicide among the Czechs in Bohemia than among the Germans in Moravia. What, however, is more significant is the incidence of suicide among the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia, which is greater than among the Germans in Bohemia. This can scarcely be regarded as the result of economic and social distress caused by the Czechoslovak régime, as alleged in the above-mentioned article, for it is a matter of common knowledge that the Jews in Czechoslovakia are in a far better economic situation than is shown by the Czech or German average.

⁴ The data for 1925 and 1927 are published in vol. 77 of "Statistique tchécoslovaque" table V, pp. 498-503, and for the years 1928-30 in vol. 121, table V, pp. 274-279.

With regard to the second point we have already enumerated the results of observations over a long period, which show that actually the Germans have the highest incidence of suicide in Europe. This, however, does not apply only to the Germans in Czechoslovakia. The high incidence of suicide among them is a phenomenon closely associated with their particular racial character. This is again brought to mind by the latest sociological study on suicide, in which it is proved that throughout the World the incidence of suicide forms the most serious problem among the Germans, in which respect they are followed next by the Japanese.⁵

The German deputy whom we have quoted is either unaware of this fundamental fact, or purposely disregards it in order to make his argument more effective. His method of dealing with the subject is scientifically inadmissible for two further reasons.

He bases his information on the maximum incidence of European suicide upon the data for a single year. Any international comparison of so great a scope must be based upon results dating over a period of at least five years. We have already mentioned that in the year 1933 the incidence of suicide among the Germans in Czechoslovakia was exceptionally high, as in the following year it sank by more than 10 per cent. (from 47 to 46.5).

Among the Germans in Czechoslovakia the incidence of suicide is increased by the fact that in Bohemia they form the bulk of the population precisely in the most highly industrialised areas. Thus, in 1930 in the regions in which the Germans formed a racial majority no less than 50 per cent of the population was engaged in industry, whereas in the rest of Bohemia the percentage was only 37.5 per cent. If we were to detach in an analogous manner the most industrial areas in Austria or Saxony, we should certainly discover that the incidence of suicide there is considerably higher than in the German districts of Bohemia. The fundamental condition for geographical statistical comparisons is that entire units should be compared and the various sizes of the categories should be taken into account.

In Austria no data have been published beyond the year 1932, when the average incidence of suicide for the whole of Austria, thus including also the largely agricultural regions, amounted to 44 per 100,000, the corresponding figure being 41 for the year 1931 and 39 for the year 1930; the analogous figures for the German areas of Bohemia are 45, 43 and 42 respectively. Even this brief

⁵ L. J. Dublin, *To be or not to be*. New York, 1933, p. 26.

comparison shows that in Lower Austria the incidence of suicide is considerably higher than in the German areas of Bohemia.

In Germany the published data on this subject, containing details of the various provinces, do not go beyond the year 1933. The highest average figures for the whole period 1929-1933 were as follows:—Hamburg and Berlin, 48·1 : Anhalt, 43·1 : Saxony, 42·9.

The analogous figure for the German districts of Bohemia is 43·4. Hence, with greater justification than the German deputy mentioned above, we could say that the greatest incidence of suicide in Europe occurs either in the Hamburg area or in Berlin. An unbiased and accurate statement as to the present exceptionally high incidence of suicide among the Germans in Czechoslovakia should be worded somewhat as follows:—

“In the last five years the incidence of suicide in the German districts of Bohemia has risen to an extent which makes it equal to the average in Saxony or Anhalt, although it has not yet reached the average in Lower Austria.”

With regard to point 3, it is inconceivable how anybody can assert, as is done in the article to which we referred, that from 1920 to 1930 the number of Germans who committed suicide in the German districts of Bohemia or in the whole of Bohemia (the wording is not clear) amounts to no less than 20,000. It is hard to say whether this inaccurate figure is the result of carelessness, which used to be very rare among the Germans, or a deliberate intention to mislead, but in any case it is the only statistical figure relating to suicides which is quoted by the author. Moreover, he quotes it as if in confirmation of his statement that the incidence of suicide in the German areas of Bohemia is the highest in Europe. The English reader who knows how many Germans there are in Bohemia can easily compute for himself that the figure mentioned would imply an unprecedentedly huge incidence of suicide.

In actual fact, during the decade between 1921 and 1930, the judicial districts of Bohemia with a majority of Germans record a total of 9,028 suicides, and if we add the year 1920, the total comes to 9,869. Where did the author obtain the figure of 20,000? The accurate data are easily obtainable in the “Reports of the States Statistical Office.” Nor should it be forgotten that the figure which we have quoted includes also the Czechs who were living in the largely German areas. On the basis of the data concerning suicide according to nationality from 1920-1930 we can estimate the percentage of these Czechs at 18, their total number for the ten years in question therefore being about 1,776. Hence, during the eleven

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years from 1920 to 1930 the number of Germans who committed suicide in these areas was about 8,093.

If the author is concerned with all the Germans throughout Bohemia the analogous figure can be estimated only from the details for the corresponding years 1925-1930, as before 1925 the nationality of suicides was not placed on record; a conjecture for the decade 1921-1930 produces about 8,160 or, including the year 1920, about 8,960 Germans who committed suicide during that period throughout Bohemia. Where then are the 20,000? If the author were thinking of all the Sudetic Germans, i.e. the Germans in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, he could not arrive at a figure greater than 11,600 for the eleven years 1920-1930. It is surprising that the greatest German political party in Czechoslovakia could not select for its article in an important English periodical somebody who has a better understanding of statistics.

There can be no doubt that the incidence of suicide in the German districts of Bohemia is exceptionally high, and that this unfortunate circumstance deserves every possible attention as well as the impartial scientific analysis. Here we will briefly draw attention only to one detail which surprised us in the second part of the article in question. We there see that the data according to nationality show a considerably smaller difference in the incidence of suicide between Czechs and Germans than appears from the data according to the districts with Czech or German majorities. It is true that these data were compiled for the period 1919-1934, while the former data applied to the period from 1925-1932. If we transfer both data to the same period 1925-1932, the total number of suicides is as follows :—

In areas with a German majority	...	...	7,816
Among all Germans in Bohemia	...	...	7,208

Towards the middle of the period in question, i.e. at the end of 1927, the total population of the administrative areas with a German majority was about 2,411,300, while the total number of Germans in Bohemia was about 2,315,300. Hence, for the period 1925-1932 the average annual number of suicides per 100,000 was :—

In areas with a German majority	...	...	40.5
Among all Germans in Bohemia	...	...	38.9

From the difference between these figures it is obvious that in the areas with a German majority the non-German, i.e. the

Czech population, shows, a higher incidence of suicide than the German population. We are led to this conclusion by a comparison between the percentage of non-Germans in all areas with a German majority and the percentage of the non-German suicides in those areas. This percentage, of course, can only be estimated, and this can be done on the assumption that the Germans living outside the areas with a German majority show much the same average incidence of suicide as the other Germans in Bohemia. Probably it was even higher, for these Germans live largely in the highly industrialised areas of the North-East and in the cities such as Prague, Pilsen, etc.

In 1930 the number of Germans in Bohemia, apart from those living in administrative areas with a German majority, was 300,046, of which on an average the number of annual suicides was 3×38.9 or 117, thus making a total of 934 for the period of eight years under consideration. If from the total of German suicides in Bohemia (7,208) we deduct this number, we arrive at the figure of 6,274 German suicides in areas with a German majority, and this forms 80.27 per cent. of the total of 7,816 suicides there. The total population of those areas in 1930 was 2,435,798, of which 2,026,044, or 83.18 per cent. were Germans. The comparison of these two percentages confirms our conclusion that the Czech population of the areas with a German majority shows a higher incidence of suicide than the German population there. It should be added that the Czechs form 97.2 per cent. of the non-German inhabitants in those areas. The fact thus established, which certainly deserves more detailed statistical analysis, constitutes a further confirmation of what was suggested at the outset. Other things being equal, the incidence of suicide increases directly with a higher degree of urban-industrial civilisation and indirectly with the extent of social integration. As regards the former factor, the Czech population in the frontier areas is above the average for the rest of Bohemia, and is certainly below the Czech average in respect of the second factor. With reference to the ethnical factor in incidence of suicide is this exceptionally high incidence of suicide among the Czechs in Bohemia, not perhaps an indication of their ethnical kinship with the Southern Germans?

In another direction also we propose to extend our remarks beyond the narrow controversial scope which formed their starting point. A Czechoslovak who sees here a number of the latest statistical figures relating to incidence of suicide cannot help asking himself what bearing they have on the theory with which the first President of Czechoslovakia established his reputation as a European thinker

fifty years ago. In 1881 T. G. Masaryk issued his well-known *Der Selbstmord als soziale Massenerscheinung der modernen Zivilisation*, in which he classifies the various cases of suicide according to the extent of their influence, and he arrives at the conclusion that the real cause of the modern tendency of suicide is the decay of a uniform religious outlook among the irreligious masses.

In the subsequent fifty years the chief amendment which sociology, in accordance with its fundamental methodological postulate, has made in this view is, that it is not possible to reduce the various causes of suicide to one main cause, unless it were, at the most, merely of a formal, negative character. Hence Masaryk's theory can be expressed in the reverse way, and it then denotes that religion, piety, is the chief defence against suicide.⁶ The statistical material which has been quoted in this article provides two interesting proofs of this theory:—

(1) We have mentioned on the basis of the figures for the years 1925-1932 that the highest incidence of suicide in Czechoslovakia is shown by the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia (42 per 100,000). On the other hand, in the above-mentioned work, Masaryk mentions the Jews as an example of a nation whose close attachment to an old religion prevents the morbid growth of suicide; but at the same time he points out that among the Jews living among our religious Christians in urban areas there is an increase in religious indifference and scepticism. The Jews in Bohemia and Moravia belong precisely to this latter category; even from the beginning of the Middle Ages they have lived in urban areas and are entirely pervaded by the modern urban-industrial civilisation.

But there are other Jews living in Czechoslovakia. In the eastern parts of the Republic, mainly in Carpathian Ruthenia, there is a very large Jewish population originating from the comparatively recent emigration at the end of the 18th century. These Jews are still living off the beaten track of modern Central European life with all its stress and strain. In Carpathian Ruthenia modern urban-industrial civilization is only just beginning to develop, and 20 per cent. of the Jews there still make a living from agriculture. At the same time, too, they are still closely attached to their ancient religion. Let us observe the incidence of suicide among these Jews in Carpathian Ruthenia, whose standard of living and economic situation is much more unfavourable than among the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia.

⁶ Josef Král, *Notes upon Masaryk's "Suicide,"* Bratislava, 1927 (in Czech).

During the years 1925-1932 the number of suicides among persons of Jewish religion was as follows :—

In Carpathian Ruthenia	... 38 out of a total of 100,741
In Bohemia and Moravia	... 404 out of a total of 119,025

Thus, the Jews of Carpathian Ruthenia have an incidence of suicide which is almost ten times less than that of the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia. These figures confirm Masaryk's theory.

(2) Nor is it borne out only by these detailed analytical figures. We shall indirectly reach a confirmation of Masaryk's theory also if we survey the most important facts synthetically. Of the various details hitherto ascertained statistically concerning suicide, the most striking one is undoubtedly that in the whole vast domain of European culture throughout the world the German area is distinguished by the highest incidence of suicide. We have further shown that the Czechs in Bohemia, and they alone, also approximate to them in this world-wide maximum. In Denmark, which for the years 1831-1915 also showed an average of as many suicides as Germany, we observe since the end of the 19th century a continued decline in suicide, so that for the years 1918-1932 the average was only 15.2 per 100,000 inhabitants.

According to Masaryk's main theory the intensity of the incidence of suicide depends indirectly on the religious feelings of the masses which forms the main defence against the modern tendency to suicide. Whether in this sense a strong religious feeling on the part of the population has any decisive effect upon their conduct, cannot easily be ascertained in the domains of modern civilisation. Of the two views under observation : suicide and religious sentiment, the latter is an almost unknown quantity as far as these countries are concerned : but if we view religious development through the ages we can easily discover those European regions, the inhabitants of which have revealed a more intense religious feeling than the others. They are the countries which gave birth to Huss, Luther and Zwingli, who were the first to achieve the religious reformation. So penetrating a trait of ethnical character cannot be lost within the space of four centuries. If it is precisely these countries which in the modern period suffer most of all from incidence of suicide, we regard this as a confirmation of Masaryk's thesis, inasmuch as these are the countries where the lack of religion is now felt most keenly.

JAROMÍR KORČÁK.

THE PRUSSIANISATION OF THE POLES¹

Historical Retrospect

THE Present is the child of the Past. It is the heir to its good and evil deeds alike. In order to learn how the mistakes and misdeeds of former generations leave their mark upon, and influence the actions of, succeeding generations, it is only necessary to visit the former Prussian provinces of Poland. Nowhere else in the world can the process of historical retribution—the process that is described in the Biblical saying that the sins of the fathers shall be handed down to their children unto the third and fourth generation—be observed more plainly and strikingly in its destructive effect upon social and racial relations. The spiritual and material heritage of an unhappy past survives in German-Polish relations to thwart mutual understanding and appreciation. Hence it is imperatively necessary that any survey of present-day conditions in the provinces of Pomorze and Poznańia should begin with even the most summary account of the history of the struggle between the two races for the mastery over the Eastern Marches, that has now been in progress for nearly a thousand years. Any such account forms the indispensable historical background without which the present racial situation in Pomorze and Poznańia cannot be viewed in its proper perspective.

Of the earliest inhabitants of the lands between the Oder and the Niemen few records survive. There can nevertheless be no doubt that these were Slav or Lithuanian tribes dependent upon hunting, fishing and cattle-rearing for their livelihood. Wendish Slavs, Cashubes, and Lithuanian tribes formed the inhabitants of the westernmost lands bordering on the Baltic sea-coast. Farther eastwards, where the great plain begins that stretches across Russia to the Ural Mountains, the Poles were living on the lands still occupied by their descendants. Ethnographically Poznańia is Polish soil: a fact that is not contested by German ethnographers

¹ The following books are suggested as likely to prove useful to readers desirous of studying the present subject in greater detail.—

Encyclopédie Polonaise; Vol. 4, Fasc. I, Régime Politique et Administratif dans la Pologne Prussienne; Fribourg, 1918. Bruns, Carl Georg, *Gesammelte Schriften zur Minderheitenfrage*; Berlin (Heymann), 1933. Hoetzsch, Otto, *Osteuropa und Deutscher Osten*; Königsberg (Osteuropa Verlag), 1934. Laubert, Manfred, *Die preussische Polenpolitik von 1772–1914*; Berlin, 1920. Massow, W. von, *Die Polennot im Deutschen Osten*; Berlin 1907. Seyda, Maryan, *Territoires Polonais sous la Domination Prussienne*; Paris, 1918. Tymieniecki, Kasimierz, *History of Polish Pomerania*; Poznań, 1929.

and historians. The early ethnographical character of Pomorez cannot be described with similar exactitude. Nevertheless it is possible to say without fear of contradiction that, whatever the racial character of its earliest inhabitants, they were certainly not Germans. The two provinces of Pomorze and Poznańia were inhabited throughout the first twelve centuries of the Christian Era by non-Germanic peoples.

The Teutonic Order and the Ordensstaat

A resumption of the *Drang nach Osten* in the German race in the 13th century witnessed the first appearance of the German sword in these borderlands. The Order of the Sword overran parts of Lithuania and the present Latvia, established its headquarters in Riga, stormed and destroyed the pagan Lithuanian fortress of Klaipėda, and in its place erected a castle to which the knights gave the name of Memel. But it was the successor of the Order of the Sword—the Order of the Teutonic Knights—that imprinted upon these lands the German character that they have retained in whole or in part for more than seven centuries. Under the greatest of their Grand Masters, Hermann von Salza, and armed with the Emperor Frederick II's *privilegium* to hold the lands they might conquer, the Teutonic Knights made their appearance in 1228 in Pomorze, where they established a base at Toruń (Thorn) from which they could sally forth to raid and eventually to conquer the surrounding lands. It is not necessary to narrate the history of the Teutonic Order here. Its outstanding achievement was the creation of the so-called *Ordensstaat*, which realised Hermann von Salza's ambitious plan of a German State in the Eastern Marches that should serve as a rampart against the onslaught of the Slavs. At the zenith of the Order's power in the 14th century the *Ordensstaat* included the territories at present comprised within the Polish province of Pomorze, the Free City of Danzig, the Memel Territory, and the Prussian provinces of East Prussia and Grenzmark Posen-West Prussia together with a portion of Eastern Pomerania. It is exceedingly important for the present-day problem of the German minority in Pomorze and Poznańia, subsequently to be studied in these pages, to note that Poznańia was never at any time included within the boundaries of the *Ordensstaat*, nor did it ever come under the Order's governance. The second important aspect of the Order's achievement in its bearing upon the modern problem is that the establishment and organisation of the *Ordensstaat* conferred upon the lands ruled over by the Grand Master, the tradition of German

civilisation and order that they have largely retained to the present day. Prior to the incorporation of Poznań within the Kingdom of Prussia in the 18th century no tradition of German civilisation was ever implanted in the soil of that purely Polish province. A third aspect of the Order's rule in these conquered lands deserves to be emphasised here. However cruel and bloody may have been the conquest of the Slav lands by the German sword (it hardly beseems an age when war is a matter of poison gas and the bombing of civilian populations from the air, to be too censorious of mediæval methods of warfare), there can be no question that the civilising work of the Knights was as efficient as was their conduct of a campaign. They made barren soil fertile and brought prosperity to a countryside that had hitherto only known poverty. They cut canals, built roads, and founded towns. Moreover, they colonised these lands with a race of men able and willing to bear arms in their defence, and to devote their whole energies to their cultivation and improvement. The coming of these colonies was nevertheless destined to be of fateful import, not merely for the future of German-Polish relations, but also for that of Germany and indeed the whole world. The colonists were composed for the most part of the younger sons of knightly or Junker, families.

The fact that Prussia was thus colonised by Junkers was destined to be of cardinal importance for the future development both of Prussia and Germany Their (the colonists') stern qualities were only deepened and strengthened by subsequent centuries of hard struggle with the unfruitful soil of their new home. Thus there arose in Prussia a race of men born to rule and fitted both by nature and experience of life to play the dominant rôle that has fallen to them in modern Germany. The conquest and colonisation of Prussia by the Teutonic Order was the indispensable preliminary to the Prussian domination of Germany.²

The downfall of the Teutonic Order in the 15th and 16th centuries was hastened by its defeat in the Battle of Tannenberg in 1410 at the hands of the Poles and their Lithuanian and Russian allies. Military defeat alone could not have sufficed to destroy the Order's power. Internal revolt against its autocratic rule in the form of the Prussian League, gave the Order its death-blow. But its downfall did not involve the destruction of its work. The impress given by the

² "The Teutonic Knights" in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 27 April, 1933.

Order to the lands and the people under its rule endured and still endures.

The long struggle between the Teutonic Order and the Kings of Poland came to an end in 1466 in the Second Peace of Thorn, by which Prussia was incorporated within the Polish State. For more than three centuries West Prussia enjoyed a semi-autonomous position under Polish rule. It possessed its own provincial Diet, sent representatives to the Polish Diet in Warsaw, and its sons were not obliged to serve in the Polish army outside the provincial frontier. Poznań continued to be what it had hitherto always been: an integral part of the Polish State. Although Germans had settled there in the towns and villages, Poznań never came beneath the iron hand of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order; there was never any attempt at Germanisation on a large scale; and such evidences of German civilisation as were discernable when Poznań passed under Prussian rule, were mainly confined to the towns. In the present Pomorze conditions were different. Although the Germans adopted Polish names and imitated Polish customs, they did not acquire Polish feelings, and their own racial sentiments lived on in them. An influx of Polish settlers took place after the incorporation of the province in the Polish State, that did not avail to submerge and destroy its German character and traditions. The memories of the law and order maintained by the stern rule of the Teutonic Knights were not wholly effaced in the population, and only acquired greater vividness in consequence of the disorder and lack of strong government that preceded Poland's downfall. If the chaotic conditions obtaining in Poland at the time of the First Partition in 1772 are recalled, there is little cause for wonder that the inhabitants of Pomorze should have welcomed the Prussian Grenadiers as symbolising the advent of ordered government.³

Pomorze and Poznań under Prussian rule

The work of the Teutonic Order was resumed and carried on in the Eastern Marches under Frederick the Great and his successors with increasing vigour. Nevertheless it is important to notice the difference between the methods employed by Frederick the Great and by Bismarck and still more by Bülow. Frederick made no secret of his contempt for his new subjects. His belief in the superiority of the Prussian over the Pole came to be generally shared by his compatriots and to form an almost insurmountable barrier

³ Laubert, *Die Preussische Polenpolitik von 1772-1914*, p. 7; cf. also Hoetzsch, *Osteuropa und Deutscher Osten*, p. 295.

between the two races that has not yet been wholly destroyed. Ever since Frederick's day his fellow-countrymen have believed that the best way of raising the—alleged—low cultural level of the Poles, and of "inculcating in these Slav peoples better customs and morals, will always be to mix them with Germans in the course of time."⁴ Actually the population of Pomorze in 1772 was already of mixed blood. The Polish aristocracy had frequently married into German noble families—a custom which they maintained until the coming of the World War—with the result that they, and still more their descendants, acquired a kind of dual nationality that was not lacking in its effect upon both German-Polish relations and provincial politics. The fact that Frederick the Great described his new Polish subjects as "this totally imbecile society with names ending in 'ki,'" did not, however, cause him to adopt an intolerant attitude towards them in regard to their native customs and language. He felt that the "disorderly Polish population" could never be made into Prussians after the model of his own countrymen. The most that could be hoped for was that the "unpleasant and intractable Polish element" in the population of Pomorze might be induced to become law-abiding Prussian citizens of Polish speech in the course of time.

The fundamental difference between the Frederician and the post-Frederician Polish policy is revealed here. Frederick did not attempt to make Prussian bricks out of Polish straw. Bismarck, and notably Bülow, were not content that the Prussian Poles should continue to be law-abiding citizens of Prussia distinguished from other Prussian citizens only by their Polish speech. They were firmly resolved to eradicate in the Prussian Poles all traces of Polish culture and Polish national sentiment. The Prussian Poles must become Prussians *pur et simple*. Frederick demanded of his officials in West Prussia that they should know and use the Polish language. Bismarck and Bülow would not permit that even the Poles should speak their own native tongue. It is just conceivable that Frederick's more tolerant policy in cultural matters, united to his endeavours to raise the economic prosperity of the province to the highest possible level, might have resulted—especially if it had been consistently pursued by his successors, with the introduction from time to time of necessary modifications to correspond to the changing demands of the age—in contenting the Polish population of Pomorze with its lot. Bismarck's and Bülow's policy, on the other hand, was

⁴ Preuss, *Urkundenbuch zu der Lebensgeschichte Friedrichs des Grossen*, vol. V., pp. 193-4.

nothing less than a resounding challenge to the latent spirit of Polish nationalism to arise and defend itself. In the event their challenge met with the only possible response. The Poles are indebted very largely to Bismarck and Bülow for having aroused and intensified the national spirit that has enabled them to re-occupy their place on the map of Europe as an independent nation.

At the same time it is only fair to remember that Bismarck and Bülow were confronted in Poznańia with a problem of a very different kind to that which awaited solution at the hands of Frederick the Great in Pomorze. Attention has already been called to the mingling of German and Slav blood to be found in the population of Pomorze and also to the existence there of a German tradition of civilisation and government. These two factors favourable to a Prussian solution of the problem were conspicuous in Poznańia by their absence. Until its incorporation into the Prussian State Poznańia had never known German rule; its population was almost wholly Polish. It was therefore only natural that the reaction of the population in comparison with that of Pomorze to Prussian rule should be different and hostile. Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries Poznańia was the great stronghold of Polish nationalism, in its unending warfare against Prussia's ruthless policy of Prussianisation. It was from Poznań (Posen) that the Poles in the neighbouring Pomorze derived both the inspiration and the organisation that enabled them to maintain a united front with the Poznańian Poles against oppression. The problem that Bismarck and Bülow failed to solve in Poznańia was a minority problem in the modern sense of the term: the governance of a racial minority wholly alien alike in blood and sentiment to its rulers. It is necessary to bear in mind this fundamental distinction between the two provinces of Pomorze and Poznańia in studying both their history under Prussian rule and the situation of their German population to-day.

Frederick the Great's activities in his new province call for mention here in order that a comparison may be made later between past and present conditions. The landed property of the Polish State was expropriated and very moderate compensation awarded to the tenants. The expropriated lands were in future only given to German farmers to cultivate. Ecclesiastical property was treated in similar fashion. Strategic considerations did not escape Frederick's vigilant attention. In order to protect the province against the neighbouring Poles Frederick embarked on a scheme of German colonisation along the valley of the Netze that should also link up

Silesia with East Prussia by a German wall. His treatment of the peasantry is specially noteworthy. Serfdom was abolished and the peasants given heritable possession of their farms. Their education was also provided for by the establishment of 750 schools in the country districts alone. The nobility, on the other hand, were the losers by their change of allegiance. Their numerous privileges were largely done away with and their estates made subject to taxation.

It would obviously be impossible within the limits placed upon the present essay to narrate in any detail the history of Prussian rule in the former Prussian Poland. It must suffice to indicate briefly its main features and more especially those that have a direct bearing upon the present situation of the German minority in Pomorze and Poznań. Throughout the century that elapsed between the Congress of Vienna and the outbreak of the World War Prussia's Polish policy alternated between conciliation and oppression, only to come down finally on the side of oppression. At times the indicator in the balance remained almost stationary between the two extremes. In a very general sense it may be said that a policy of either conciliation or passivity was in operation during the years 1815-71, with the notable and fateful exception of the decade 1830-40, which saw the commencement of Prussianisation under von Flottwell and von Grolman. The periods of conciliation or passivity can be passed over here, simply because they unhappily exercised no lasting influence upon German-Polish relations. It was otherwise with Grolman's and Flottwell's Polish policy.

Grolman's memorandum of 25 March, 1832, on the subject of Prussia's policy in the Polish problem, influenced Bismarck in formulating his own Polish policy in his speech to the Reichstag on 28 January, 1886. As a soldier Grolman regarded the Polish problem primarily from its strategic aspect. The proximity of Posen to Berlin, and its position on the lines of communication between Silesia, Prussia and Pomerania, caused Grolman to declare that "this land (Posen) is so intimately a part of the Prussian State that every idea of separation from that State must be looked upon as high treason, and every loyal son of his Fatherland must devote the last ounce of his strength not merely to retain this land for Prussia, but also to make it loyal, that is to say German."⁵ In other words—the strategical position of Posen (Poznań) in relation to Prussia was of such a nature that its Prussianisation was

⁵ Hoetzsch, *op. cit.* p. 326.

deemed essential by a Prussian Staff Officer in the vital interests of national defence. An aspect of the pre-War German-Polish Question is thus laid bare that undoubtedly played a predominant—if not always very obvious—part in the determination of Prussia's policy towards its Polish subjects. Nor has this aspect of the Question ceased to be of practical importance to-day. Grolman was indeed only giving expression in other words to Clausewitz's pregnant saying: "A Polish State means a fundamental rebuilding of the European system, of which Germany will have to bear the cost. Russia's face will thus be turned towards the East. France will become the master of the Continent."⁶

The means which Grolman and Flottwell advocated to turn the Poles into Prussians were those that Bismarck and Bülow subsequently put into force. Polish customs and sentiments which stood in the way of the attainment of this aim were to be abolished; German civilisation, material and intellectual, was to be implanted in Poznańia, and intensively cultivated in the hope that the result might be the fusion of the two races and the emergence of a common German civilisation. Polish was no longer to be taught in the schools. Polish conscripts were not to serve in local regiments and instead were to be distributed over the entire Prussian Army. The estates of the Polish aristocracy were to be acquired by compulsory purchase, and divided up among German peasants in order to strengthen the German population of the province. German peasants already settled in Poznańia were to be given assistance to purchase farms from Polish peasants and to break up uncultivated ground for new holdings for their own children. Finally Grolman desired to see the complete disappearance of the province of Posen (Poznańia) and its partition among the neighbouring Prussian provinces. He hoped thus to effect the extinction in the Polish population of national sentiments and historic memories. Grolman and Flottwell did not survive to see their ideas given the fullest expression in practice. It was left to Bismarck and to Bülow more than half a century later to carry them out.

Before briefly discussing Bismarck's and Bülow's policy of Prussianisation, it is first necessary to ask what motives inspired it. These were twofold: national and international. The fervent Prussianism of Bismarck that had welded the German peoples into a German nation under Prussian leadership, could not reconcile itself to the presence in the body politic of alien elements. There is no reason to suppose that either Bismarck or Bülow was animated by

⁶ Quoted in Brackmann, *Germany and Poland*, p. 219.

feelings of dislike for the Poles as a race. Bismarck indeed spoke highly of the manner in which the Polish peasants had displayed their loyalty to the King of Prussia in three wars with "their blood and with the bravery characteristic of their nation."⁷ Nevertheless Bismarck saw in the Prussian Poles potential—if not actual—enemies to the security and stability, not merely of Prussian governance in the Polish provinces, but also of the Prussian State itself. He was therefore resolved to banish that danger from the realm of practical politics by compelling the Poles to become Prussian by sentiment as well as by name. In doing so, Bismarck was acting contrary to the promise given by King Frederick William III in 1815 to his new Polish subjects when he said: "You will be incorporated in my realm without being obliged to deny your own nationality."⁸ Bismarck would doubtless have excused this breach of faith by the necessity of improving "the numerical proportions of the German to the Polish population to the advantage of the Germans, in order (as General Grolman said in 1832) to secure in each province citizens loyal to the Prussian State."⁹ Moreover, he held that the Poles looked upon their Prussian citizenship as "terminable by notice," and therefore did not deserve to be treated on an equality with their Prussian compatriots.

Foreign policy was always uppermost in Bismarck's mind. In this sphere the Polish Question became in his eyes a means to an end. His dread of a resurrection of the Polish State within the frontiers of 1772 was at least as real as his well-known *cauchemar des alliances*. "The creation of an independent Polish State between Silesia and East Prussia . . . (Bismarck wrote in 1863) . . . would constitute a permanent threat to Prussia."¹⁰ And again: "Polish independence is tantamount to a strong French army on the Vistula."¹¹ In words that have a prophetic ring when read in the light of all that has happened during the past two decades, Bismarck warned the Poles that they would only achieve independence "as the result of a war, disastrous to Germany, when Prussia has been smashed to pieces."¹² As a Prussian statesman Bismarck, therefore, envisaged his duty to be that of placing every possible hindrance in

⁷ Quoted in Laubert, *op. cit.* p. 122 from Bismarck's speech on 18 March, 1867.

⁸ Quoted by Hoetzsch, *op. cit.* p. 317.

⁹ Quoted by Hoetzsch, *op. cit.* p. 366-7 from Bismarck's speech on 28 Jan., 1886.

¹⁰ Smogorzewski, *Poland's Access to the Sea*, p. 71, note 45, quoting from "Die Gesammelten Werke, Politische Schriften," edited by F. Thimme, p. 60.

¹¹ Quoted in *Ibid.* p. 62 from *Bismarck-Jahrbuch*, vol. VI, p. 175.

¹² Grant Robertson, *Bismarck*, pp. 388-9.

the way of the achievement of independence by the Poles. In the larger sphere of Germany's international relations "Poland and the Poles were a conclusive reason, even if there had not been others equally exigent, why Berlin should have a control of the vassal state of Austria, and maintain a close understanding with Russia."¹³ It was therefore these dual considerations of domestic and foreign policy that inspired Bismarck to adopt, and Bülow to carry on, that policy of Prussianisation which sowed in the soil of Prussian Poland the tares of racial hatred amidst the good seed of material progress and prosperity.

Prussianisation developed its attack against the Poles simultaneously on two fronts—cultural and material. The attack on the cultural life of the Poles began in 1873 with an order forbidding instruction in Polish national schools to be given in any language other than German, except in religion and religious singing. Fourteen years later there came the still more oppressive enactment that prohibited the teaching of the Polish language. German became the sole language for official intercourse, and Polish gave place to German place names. A brief interlude of conciliation during Caprivi's Chancellorship (1890-94) was followed by a renewal of repressive legislation in 1900, when German was substituted for Polish as the language of instruction even for religious subjects. Polish newspapers were subjected to a rigid censorship; the sale of Polish literature on railway bookstalls was forbidden; the use of the Polish language was interdicted at public meetings in all places in which the Polish population did not attain to more than sixty per cent. of the total population; the private teaching of Polish was prohibited; and even Polish family names were compulsorily replaced by German names.

The material existence of the Poles was subjected during the same period to an equally severe onslaught. The Colonisation Law of 1886 authorised the Prussian Government to spend five million pounds in purchasing Polish estates for division among German peasants pledged to marry only German wives. In 1885 Poles who did not possess Prussian nationality were ordered to leave the country: an enactment that resulted in the dispossession and forced exile of 34,000 Poles. Under Bülow anti-Polish legislation received a fresh impetus. In 1901 Poles were forbidden to benefit by the law governing leasehold tenures. The Polish peasantry became an especial object of attack in 1904, with the passage of a law prohibiting the creation of any new peasant holdings or the

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 389.

building of new dwelling-houses. Four years later Bülow's notorious Expropriation Act empowered the Colonisation Commission established in 1886 to make compulsory purchases of Polish estates upon which to settle German colonists. On the eve of the World War the Prussian Parliament was discussing the draft of a law designed to confer a right of pre-emption upon the Prussian State in regard to all sales of land in the Polish provinces.

What measure of success attended this Prussianising policy? The attack on Polish cultural life provoked a revival of nationalist feelings in the Poles that caused them to close their ranks and present a united front to the enemy. Co-operation became their watchword. Everywhere co-operative societies sprang into life which slowly transformed the Polish peasantry into a highly organised and intensely nationalist modern democracy. The two provinces were gradually covered by a vast network of agrarian banks and associations, trade unions, athletic and political and literary clubs, and libraries that stimulated Polish national feeling and gave it an effective channel of expression.

Moreover, Prussia was the loser in the struggle for the possession of the land. A Prussian writer states that Prussia's colonisation policy resulted in an increase of 98,000 hectares in the total area of land in Polish ownership and in a diminution of the German population of the province of Posen (Poznań) from 52.20 per cent to 38.70 per cent. between 1861 and 1910.¹⁴ Another German calculation proves that between 1896 and 1905 the Poles in West Prussia (Pomorze) alone increased the land in their possession by 29,079 hectares.¹⁵ Prussia's colonisation policy from 1886 to 1914 has been stated to have cost a sum of 1,300,000,000 gold Marks.¹⁶ The actual achievements of the Colonisation Commission during the entire period of its activity (1886-1915) must also be placed upon record. It increased the German population in the two provinces by 151,000 persons, transferred 126,310 hectares of land from Polish to German ownership, and secured German landowners in the permanent possession of a further 280,000 hectares. The net cost of the Commission to the Prussian State has been estimated at 621 million Marks.¹⁷ "Ces chiffres ne correspondent pas au but visé par Bismarck."¹⁸

¹⁴ Bruns, *Gesammelte Schriften zur Minderheitenfrage*, p. 256

¹⁵ Tymieniecki, *History of Polish Pomerania*, p. 158, quoting from Bernhard's *Polnisches Gemeinwesen im Preussischen Staat*.

¹⁶ Smogorzewski, *op. cit.* p. 61. ¹⁷ *Encyclopédie Polonaise*, tome I, p. 324.

¹⁸ Seyda, *Territoires Polonais sous la Domination Prussienne*, p. 68. In reality M. Seyda's remark is intended to apply only to the figures for the Commission's purchases of land.

Thus the Poles emerged the victors from the struggle for the land. It was the least of their triumphs. The most precious lesson which the Western Poles learnt in the hard school of their Prussian taskmasters was the respect and desire, no less than the capacity, for ordered government and economic progress. Many among them today are willing to acknowledge their debt. Unfortunately their sense of obligation is too often accompanied by painful recollections of the methods of instruction for them to be wholly just or wholly grateful to their former rulers who are now their subjects. The memory of past injustice is a potent force in political and social life. The policy of Prussianisation failed of its desired effect. The present-day German minority in Pomorze and Poznańia has been called upon to pay the penalty of failure.

IAN F. D. MORROW.

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN EUROPE—IV

THE POLES IN GERMANY

IN a recent number of *The Warsaw Weekly* the subject of "Poles Abroad" was discussed. From it I take one paragraph :

"Germany, with 1,400,000 Poles, comes next after U.S.A. They reside principally in Silesia, near Berlin, and in East Prussia. They are mainly manual workers and farmers. The recent Polish-German understanding has made their position somewhat better than before; yet there are only 62 Polish schools, with a total enrolment of 7,000 children. This is quite inadequate. Regularly published are four dailies and thirteen periodicals. As a political force they are not important, especially under the present régime in the Reich. They are, however, well-organised economically; they have their own banks," etc., etc.

This brief notice can serve us as a point of starting for a few considerations on the Polish Minority in present-day Germany. By way of introduction, however, certain observations are necessary. 1. The much used and abused term "Minority" is still in need of closer definition. 2. We must realise that there are quite distinct kinds of minorities, tending to overlap and, at times, to cancel one another out. 3. It may be taken as an axiom that the temper of most minorities is largely dictated by the Majority. A singular exception will arise where abnormal conditions exist in the "mother" nation outside the state in question; which then proceed in a lesser or greater degree to colour all the attitudes and aspirations of the group concerned.

Each of these points bears directly on the matter before us in this paper. Until we know what a Minority is, or the kind of minority we are talking about, no one on earth can determine how large or how small the Polish group in the Reich is today. Further, it is only too true that neither race, nor speech, nor religion—not even class, which in some places has played a large part—can serve us as a yard-stick to measure by; or at best only locally. Finally, we shall see that religious hostility has done much—and still does—to separate the two major Polish regional groups in Prussia, the Silesian and the Masurian. We might add that the time-factor is also important. The Poles of the German world are different today from what their fathers were thirty years ago; they are even different today from what they were before the Nazis took over the helm in Berlin. In the face of these perplexities, I shall warn the reader from the start that he will find in these pages at best a few

facts, some reflections on past and present status, and a few tentative conclusions. They are entirely my own, and are based in part on actual observation.

I

There is no finer example in Europe of how the legacy of the past lames the present than the one we are discussing. Exposed for generations (in the case of Silesia it is centuries) to denationalisation, the remnants of Poland in the German republic were crippled from the start. Not only political but even more economic considerations stacked the cards against them. Add to this the fact that the restoration of their own state was bound to draw "home" many of their ablest local leaders, and one sees how nearly hopeless the outlook was. Thus, then, neither before the war nor since could one ever say that all Polish-speaking folk in German lands belonged to the Minority. A steady process of assimilation has gone on in the Oder lands ever since the colonisation days. True it stopped almost completely at a certain line, but even beyond this line 19th-century industrial expansion did a notable work.

For the purposes of this paper—though here I shall at once expose myself to strictures, I propose *not* to count among the Minority the upwards of 250,000 Poles settled in the Rhineland Big Industry areas; not because they are not Poles, but because they are distinctly a colonist group—as much as the Poles in Pennsylvania are. Actually they are a factor to be reckoned with, notably in the field of labour organisation. What is more they are, at bottom, Poles; often far more so than tens of thousands of their fellows on the eastern borders. More than once I have heard people who know both east and west say this: "In the Rhineland our folk speak German, but they think and feel Polish: here in the East they may talk Polish, but they think and feel German."

Practically, it is no small question whether any body of subjects, not belonging by speech and tradition to the majority-nation and scattered up and down the land, can function as a Minority. Even if it were culturally and economically well-placed, the ways and means issue would be serious. As things are in Germany, the task of conserving the "togetherness"—if it ever existed—of the Polish population is difficult; and that of writing about it, not a bit easier. One has first the large number of peasants who have tilled their land for centuries all along the eastern frontier of the Reich, from the point of junction with Lithuania to the head-waters of the Oder. Here there is no question as to the presence of the externals of a Minority. To the peasants must be added the workers, wherever

industry has developed on any sort of scale—as in Silesia. A shrewd guess would put the number of these people at close to 900,000. The trouble is that by no means all of these folk are Polish-minded. Perhaps the majority of them, at least in places, have accepted their lot as Prussian citizens, and there are very many who are not articulate at all, caring only and most of all for their daily bread. Ask them what they are and they will still say: “We are Here-folk.”

Let me first set down what may be admitted by most as a fair table of figures, based on the essay of Professor George Kurnatowski of Warsaw of about 1926. As an estimate these can be accepted as valid today, since the population movement has not been great anywhere. We have then as follows:

Poles in East Prussia ...	...	...	250,000
Do. in German Silesia ...	...	...	550,000
Do. in other Borders ...	...	...	40,000
Do. in Central Germany ...	...	...	250,000
			<hr/>
Total ...			1,090,000

If to these are added the Rhineland colonists, settled in industry, one has an approximation to the number given in the first paragraph of this paper.

On the other hand, the official German census for 1925 gave quite different figures:

Poles in East Prussia ...	...	...	103,000
Do. in German Silesia ...	...	...	528,000
Do. in other Borders ...	...	...	32,000
			<hr/>
Total ...			663,000

The number for the Rhineland is put at 21,000, while there is no account taken at all of Poles in Berlin, in Hamburg, in the Saxon areas or in Lower Silesia. If one could assume that there were here up to 150,000 Polish workers (and families), we should then arrive at 800,000 Poles—on the basis of the official census.

The Polish professor has based his study rather on the census of 1910, which he feels to be a much safer and surer guide. The one taken in 1925 made it possible to include all bi-linguals as Germans; and it expressly distinguished Masurian and *Ermlaendisch* from Polish as a language. (Why they also did not exclude *Wasserpolnisch*—the Oderland dialect—and thus go the whole way, is a riddle.) Even apart from this, however, the 1925 census shows too great discrepancies from the former one to make it reliable.

The real point we arrive at, is the one made already: that no

two people will agree as to how large the Polish Minority in Germany is. If we accept the German figures for East Prussia, then we admit the religious factor at once as cancelling out the language tie: the Masurians are largely Lutheran, and for generations have had it dinned into them that they cannot be Protestant and Polish at the same time. The truth is, of course, that the creation of a separate province of Upper Silesia after the war—something that would have been done a hundred years ago if Prussian leaders had shown any horse sense—initiated a new set of conditions there. The local control passed into Centrum (i.e. Catholic) hands and this made possible an advance in assimilation of the Polish-speaking population that had never been possible under the brutalities of pre-war days. How far the majority of these folk are from consciously belonging to a minority, I could observe myself in recent years. It has been proved to the satisfaction of the Germans, both by the voting in election times and by the school statistics. To this we shall come in a moment.

Taking now this 900,000 strong kernel of the Polish population of the Reich, which can at least claim to be *bodenstaendig*, we find them at all times subject to three kinds of pressure:

1. That of school and church—not to mention the run of kindred cultural agencies such as libraries, play-grounds, which have been consistently ill-disposed to everything Polish and to every contact with the Polish State. (Some modification of this has come since January, 1934.) In the main the pastor has been more anti-Polish (even when he has a Polish name, and his parents spoke no German) than has the priest.

2. Economic leadership and control is overwhelmingly German, which means that the hope of livelihood—certainly the hope of any prospects for one's family—is conditioned by a readiness to forget one's Polish origins and accept the fact of assimilation.

3. Politics, by turns so useful a handmaiden and so disgusting a prostitute, has so far become a matter in which neither the individual nor the local group can have any say, that conformity is extremely hard to evade. On the one hand there is the ruthless propaganda, on the other the formulating of election ordinances; with the result that the "machine" works. It worked under the "liberal" régime of the twenties. Under the Nazi banner the "system" has become everything.

II

It is time now for us to look briefly at the status enjoyed before the law by the Poles (and other national groups) in the German Republic;

and then, also briefly, at the use they made of this status. To this we shall add something on the new situation that has arisen since Hitler came to power.

In May, 1919, the Germans assured the Peace Conference that their non-German subjects would receive the same rights in all respects as the majority of the nation (Special conditions for German Silesia were to be imposed later by the Geneva Convention of 1921.) Article 113 of the Weimar Constitution then declared that "foreign language groups"—*fremdsprachige Volksteile*—were not to suffer any disadvantages in the land; notably in the matter of the use of their mother-tongue in the school and the law-courts. The story of this famous clause is too long to tell here. Suffice to say that when the Socialist deputy, Cohn, urged that the words "National Minorities" be substituted, he was opposed strenuously, and only had the satisfaction of telling the Assembly that they were asking of their neighbours in the new republics what they themselves were unwilling to grant!

So averse was even the "liberal" German State to admitting the existence of National Minorities in the country that the lawyers got busy to find ways of proving that the Reich was wholly homogeneous—a nation-state. Dr. Giese of Frankfurt came to this conclusion: "Such Minority groups as use the German tongue, e.g. the Masurians, the Cassubians, the Wends, and the Poles, cannot avail themselves of the privileges of Article 113." A curious example of "throwing out the baby with the bath-water." It was no wonder that the charge was soon brought, that for responsible German opinion the very concept of minorities and their claims began at the frontier; for it certainly was not acceptable at home. Not a single political party showed any disposition to admit these claims. What is more, all the privileges won by the non-German groups were viewed as concessions, as something done by way of expediency but certainly not as part of the accepted political principles.

A sample of this is seen in the way things turned for the better after the famous speech of Mussolini, answering the complaints made by Germans in regard to what was going on in the Tyrol. Nor was the pronouncement of Stresemann at Stuttgart toward the end of May, 1915, really different. He knew that the first Continental Congress of National Minorities was soon to meet, and chiefly on German initiative. The same regard for the demands of German Minorities in other lands dictated the granting to the Poles, in the closing days of December, 1928, of the right under certain conditions

to build at their own cost private schools. (The Danes had secured this privilege two years earlier) The storm of opposition that greeted this decree, chiefly of course from nationalist German circles, showed how divided public sentiment was. The view was openly taken that it would be better to let the German Minorities abroad suffer their fate, rather than threaten the well-being of the Reich by such liberalism. We shall see later that ways and means were easily found to make the actual gains accruing to the Minority from this decree almost negligible.

If, then, one adds these facts to what I have called already " the legacy of the past," it can surprise no one that the Poles in the German State recognised how helpless they were in the struggle to maintain their cultural heritage, and sought very soon for ways and means of strengthening their prospects. Three main lines of effort were at hand. Most important of all, the organising, educating and consolidating of their scattered units of population; secondly, the nurturing of ties with the " mother " state, just restored to a place in the councils of Europe; and, thirdly, the making of a common " front " with the other, very much smaller, minority groups in the Reich. We shall take these briefly in turn, and in the reverse order.

1. *The Federation of National Minorities in Germany.*

After creating their own Union of Poles in Germany in 1922, the leaders began to approach representatives of other non-German groups—Danes, Lithuanians, Wends (Sorbs) and Frisians, with a view to a common campaign. The result was the Federation named above, which began to publish in 1925 *Kulturwille*. Because of their overwhelming numerical preponderance the Poles took the initiative; and their Dr. Jan Kaczmarek became the accepted spokesman of the Federation when it appeared in the forum of the Congress of National Minorities that same year. (Owing to German opposition the Frisians were not admitted to the Congress.) Two years later the cause of the Frisians was made an issue at the Third Congress, and when German opposition again sufficed to defeat it—though they had supported the admission of the Catalonians and the Basques!—the Federation left the meeting. With it went the Polish Minorities from other lands, the Czechs, Slovenes and Croats from Austria, and the Russians from Poland and Lithuania.

This episode is significant, as showing under what difficulties non-German (or non-revisionist) minorities had to work, whether in

the Reich or on an international platform, and also as showing one of the possibilities that has arisen for articulation on the part of small minorities without taking things to the League of Nations

2. *Connections with the Polish State.*

This interesting theme can only be touched on here. The rehabilitation of a Poland that even approximated to a reunion of the lands occupied by Poles, was bound to affect radically the spirit and attitude of Polish regional groups throughout the continent. At the same time this restoration—so feared by Bismarck and Bülow—was just about the most undesired thing that could happen to post-war Germany. Partly on this account the German people was not allowed in its thinking to concede the possibility of permanency to the new Poland—a cardinal blunder, as is now admitted. For the same reason the hostility in German circles to everything Polish during fifteen post-war years was intense. This alone would make it good strategy for the Polish Minority to aim as much as possible at standing on its own feet; and having as little recourse as possible either to diplomatic intervention on the part of Warsaw or to support of any kind from the Polish public. As time went on there was more of this latter, and quite naturally so. In proportion as Poland's standing (under M. Zaleski's leading) improved in international relations, she was able to demand for her fellow-nationals in Germany (or elsewhere) an equivalent of what she had been obliged to promise to the minorities in her own borders. On the other hand, the soliciting of material support for cultural ends from the Polish public was made easier from 1928 by the granting of rights to build private schools, as noted above. From now on, a regular appeal on these lines began to be made throughout Poland; and the Germans allege that what now began was nothing short of an organised "fishing for souls." This sort of charge need not be taken seriously, yet it is true that the hopes of Minority leaders seemed for the first time to be in the way of partial fulfilment. At least some of the handicaps they had worked under were to be removed.

One comment here in passing. What the Poles were now engaged on, i.e. supplementing their local resources with funds from outside, was nothing new. Every minority has done it since the war—the Germans more than others. It may be gravely doubted whether this practice is not, in the long run, harmful rather than a help to the cause. It looks fine, and does give temporary advantages; but savours not a little of charity, and charity never built any social

order. By the same token, it may also be said that diplomatic intervention is a tool which should be used as little as may be. Put brutally, the inference is that a minority that cannot manage to stand on its own feet should not try to function at all. All reaching out to, and dependence on, the good offices of a "mother" nation does little to solve difficulties, but does much to trouble the waters of international peace.

Fortunately these "gains" are only part of the story of the ties formed with the Polish State. They include the exchange of slum children sent to the country for summer vacation, already going on in Silesia before the Pact of January, 1934, which gives train-loads of Minority children from both sides of the line a holiday in the atmosphere of the "mother" nation. One should add further the participation by Poles from the Reich in the Congresses of Poles from Abroad, meeting from time to time in Warsaw; at which common problems are discussed, and along with which comes a chance of visiting the famous shrines of the homeland. A specific example of a tie with the Polish State is the use made of the clause in the Schools Decree of 1928, permitting teachers to be brought from the Polish side. It was this clause that made possible, at the end of 1933, the opening, after interminable negotiations and troubles, of the first Polish High School in the Reich, at Beuthen.

3. Organisation, Education and Consolidation.

These big words look as though they meant a great deal. They represent, of course, ideals rather than realities, so far as the Poles in Germany are concerned. At the same time it would be a mistake to think of these people as a shapeless mass, or as a derelict drifting without a pilot. Already in 1926 Kurnatowski could write as follows:

"The Poles have created political, cultural and economic unions, which do function: often fighting against great odds.

"The Union of Poles in Germany, with headquarters in Berlin, is a political organisation which aims at bringing in all their fellow-countrymen. It has provincial and local units. The Federation of Polish School Unions strives to unite the different agencies working for the right to use the Polish language in instruction. . . . In East Prussia, along the Vistula, and in Warmia (Ermland) there are Agricultural Societies and People's Banks controlled by Poles. The same is true of Upper Silesia, and of the new province of West Prussia. The Farmers' Co-operative and Credit Unions of these three lands have organised three regional divisions, and are on their way to create a Central Bank. In Masuria there is a Masurian Union

in Ortelsburg which is Polish, and a Federation in Lyck with the motto "Masuria for the Masurians." There are libraries, lecture circuits, sport clubs, amateur theatricals, musical and charity organisations, societies for assisting immigrants, for helping young women, etc., etc."

Speaking generally, it may be said that, as time went on, these beginnings have grown. The Union of Poles has divided its constituents into five "provinces," and in each of these the local unit serves as the "cell." A well-edited press, composed of regional newspapers and of weeklies of a semi-official (*The Pole in Germany*) or a special nature (*The Polish Voice from Berlin*), not to mention religious or "youth" publications, is the major means of conserving contacts. The maintenance of such a press, which can hardly count on any advertising at all, is of course a hard business. There is, in addition, a staff of "secretaries" who do some travelling, and who serve a very important purpose of keeping in touch with what is happening locally. Not the least of their functions is the securing of proper legal advice and advocacy for their people, not only in matters pertaining to civic rights, but even in everyday disputes.

Of course the chief end of all such organisations is the conserving of membership, or the extending of the same. This brings us to the question, whether the membership of the Union is effective at all? Here the Germans point to the election figures of post-war years, and virtually prove that the Polish Minority in the land is a fine fancy, but nothing more. They look as follows:

Elections of 1924—Polish Votes	...	114,595
Do. 1930— Do.	...	75,805

Or, if we take the single, largest region of Polish-speaking folk, viz. German Silesia, we get these figures:

Elections of 1924—Polish Votes	...	49,259
Do. 1928— Do.	...	30,209
Do. 1930— Do.	...	36,996

This for the Reichstag. For the Prussian Diet the figures are:

Elections of 1924—Polish Votes	...	41,708
Do. 1928— Do.	...	34,306

For the Silesian Diet the figures are.

Elections of 1925—Polish Votes	...	29,023
Do. 1929— Do.	...	30,519

Clearly, this showing is not encouraging for those who claim the Minority figures given above; which were, for Silesia, 180,000 with

only Polish as mother-tongue, and double that number for those with both Polish and German. Only a small percentage of Polish-speaking are also Polish-thinking, and so could qualify for membership in the Minority. Yet this line of argument proves too much. It must be recalled that in order to elect any member there must be 60,000 votes polled for him in his district! This alone makes the election of a Polish deputy to the Reichstag as good as impossible—the largest vote so far polled has been 49,000—and certainly discourages from the start any use of the ballot. One might go on and note that the trend taken by German elections since 1932 has not been likely to inspire confidence in the value of the ballot as determining individual views at all. All the same, the fact remains that the major problem for the leaders of the Polish Minority to solve is, how to overcome the disabilities under which they started, and to transform what are today only the raw materials of a Minority into an articulate national group.

The field where this whole problem has most to be faced is that of the schools. Since much the same situation obtains everywhere, I shall confine my remarks to the Silesian area. Here the half-million Polish-speaking folk are in a sorry plight. To all claims that the authorities do not provide teaching for children in whose homes only Polish is spoken, in that tongue, the single and simple answer is given—it has become a sort of magic formula in the land—“*die Leute wollen es nicht!*” Now there is truth in this plea that people do not want it; properly said, “the people do not make their want effective.” Fischer reports in 1931 that 51 Minority schools have been granted, of which 27 are functioning and contain about 350 children. The rest are available, but are not taken advantage of. It is also pointed out that the number of children in Silesia who demanded the teaching of religion in Polish dropped from 10,833 in 1923 to 1,462 in 1930. All of which is taken as indicating far less of Polish sentiment in the land, than the Union of Poles would make out.

Just here we face the question of the rôle of the Church in this whole problem. At once it may be said that the Lutheran faith has been a major instrument in the Masurian lands for detaching the common people from their Polish affiliations; and it is the sad fact that many blunders made by Polish public leadership in other centuries helped to make this task easier. As for Silesia, the help given to the Polish elements before the war by the Catholic Centrum in defending their rights against Prussian despotism ceased to function under the republic. The reason was that German Silesia

was given the status of a province, and the Centrum was now not in opposition but in control. We find then, no longer the aggressive anti-Polish policy of pre-war days, but very nearly the true Catholic indifference to national matters, or rather to language as an essential factor in loyalties. This has proved more dangerous to the Polish cause than did Prussian tyranny; and by letting sleeping dogs lie, the Centrum has strengthened the German cause considerably in the case of bi-linguals. Add the fact that after the settlement of 1922 most actively Polish priests went to the Polish side, in exchange for actively German ones who came home: so that by 1933 only three or four parish priests in German Silesia were left to nurture Polish cultural ideals among their people.

III

When we come to the Nazi régime, notably to the days following the conferences of November, 1933, between the Chancellor and M. Lipski, two views prevail. One is what I suggested at the outset, that things are better for both National Minorities, whether in Poland or in Germany. The other is that the said minorities have become victims of the Pact of Non-Aggression. By this is meant that, whereas before the government of the "mother" nation was fairly ready to listen to appeals, and not slow to take them up, the reverse is the case today. Mostly the Minority is told that it must seek to work out its own problems. The probability is that there is justification for both these views.

With regard to the status of the Poles in the Third Reich a few facts and comments must suffice. They are anything but consistent with one another.

No one would expect that status to be favourable. The Poles are not eligible for the Folk-communion (*Volksgemeinschaft*) either by race, speech or culture. They are mostly Catholics, and that is in itself a problem. They belong to the classes that have been hardest hit by the depression. They live in a country whose avowed aim is homogeneity at all costs—co-ordination, conformity. By most Germans they are thought of as "foreigners." When the atrocity of Potempa was acclaimed by the Leader himself, popular opinion was moved less than it should have been: not so much because the workman kicked to death was a "Red," but because he had a Polish name.

Over against this we have some curious facts:

(a) The Nazi régime is particularly anxious that all non-German elements, at least Christian ones, should get a square deal; (b) that

such non-German elements must be preserved as they are, and *not* assimilated, since they would hurt the purity of German race and culture; (c) that the presence of such elements in the land makes possible the creation of a non-citizen status, whose rights and duties are being defined and whose services as auxiliaries (other terms occur to one) may be useful.

On the other hand the following things have been going on in German Silesia since 1933 :

Groups of Polish-speaking lads are being lined up and trained as Hitler-youth, with Polish as the language of instruction. Constant progress is being made with the changing of Polish place-names into German ones, in order to get rid of visible traces of Slavdom from the map. Numbers of Polish-speaking unemployed have been admitted into the Nazi organisations, not a few of whom are at heart communists, and have "joined up" only for the loaves and fishes. Constant troubles keep arising for Polish farmers in regard to securing their hereditary title status (*Erbhofrecht*) to their farms—the Nazi innovation intended to ennoble agriculture; and, finally, a curiosity like Dr. Helmuth Nicolai's "*Oberschlesien im Ringen der Völker*." Here we get the pure Nazi doctrine, even though all German efforts for six hundred years are made to stand on their heads as a result. The deep regret is expressed that there is not a strong Polish Minority in the German Oderland (*sic!*), since if it existed there would be a gathering-station for non-Germans. As it is they are being assimilated in hundreds of thousands, and that is a calamity for the German race and heritage.

Meantime, the impression I got from residence in Upper Silesia was that the taking over of the province from the Centrum administration in 1933 meant a reversion from the peaceful policy of assimilation prevailing since the Settlement in 1922 to the methods of the Big Stick. I found many Germans who felt that again—as by the errors of Bismarck—all the gains made might be lost : also Poles who said frankly that the newer and more brutal methods were far less dangerous to their cause than those of the Centrum. What a confusion of forces and of contingencies !

From what has been said in this paper the reader will have got a picture of things confused rather than ordered, of things forming rather than formed, of a process rather than a structure. That is unavoidable at this stage, in the case of the million or more Poles in Germany. They have to be reckoned with, but no one at present can foresee just how.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN EUROPE—V

THE JUGOSLAVS OF ITALY

IN November, 1918, when the Italian army occupied Istria, Trieste and Gorizia, a public proclamation to the Croats and Slovenes declared: "Be assured that powerful and victorious Italy cares for all her citizens, of every nationality within her new frontiers." The King of Italy, in his speech from the Throne, on 1 December, 1919, said, "We shall respect the autonomy and local customs of the newly-annexed territories." On 27 September, 1919, the Premier, Tittoni, solemnly declared in the Rome Parliament: "The minorities must know that every idea of oppression or denationalisation is alien to us. Their language and cultural institutions will be respected." Prince Colonna, in submitting the Annexation Bill to the Senate, also declared that Italy would respect their autonomy, and conform to the ideas of Cavour. In 1921 the Premiers Giolitti and Bonomi reaffirmed the principle of decentralisation.

On 21 May, 1922, at Trieste, the Croat and Slovene deputies to the Rome Parliament were presented to the King and Queen, and the latter spoke to them in Serbo-Croat. One Istrian deputy explained to her the position of the Croats and Slovenes in respect of schools, churches and administration, and on leaving the Queen said, "Bit će bolje" (Things will be better). On 23 May, 1922, she was in Postojna and asked the Slovene representative about the schools: he replied "Our schools in Istria are closed." Here again on leaving she assured him that "His Majesty the King was in favour of opening all their schools."

In 1924 the Foreign Minister, Count Sforza, in Parliament, declared that Italy had acquired many thousands of Yugoslav subjects, and wished to assure to them the widest freedom of language and culture.

These declarations of leading Italian statesmen were intended to appease the civilised world, and were believed. But not one of their promises has been fulfilled.

I.

The Italians went to war with Austria, to liberate their "Terre Irredente": they desired as the frontier the Julian Alps, not realising that they would thus include 650,000 Slavs. The Slovenes are a small nation, but industrious and cultured, and they have been robbed of one-third of their number by the Italians, who,

falsely informed by their irredentists, thought that the new districts were only inhabited by Italians. Great was their amazement to find everywhere, in the administrative offices, churches, schools, Slovene teachers, priests and officials. But they also found a few Italianised Slovenes, who distinguished themselves for their patriotism and demanded "Italy or death" (*Italia o morte*).

At the last Austrian Census, in 1910, the Slav population of the districts now belonging to Italy was as follows (according to the "Umgangssprache," or customary language):

	<i>Slovene.</i>	<i>Croat.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Gorica (Gorizia) ...	154,564	187	154,751
Istria	55,365	138,274	193,639
Italy	52,003	4,941 ²	56,944
Carniola	58,000	—	58,000
Carinthia	1,561	—	1,561
Lastovo (Lagosta)	—	1,403	1,403
Rijeka (Fiume) ...	3,937	15,731	19,668
Trieste	56,916	2,403	59,319
Zadar (Zara) ...	—	5,705	5,705
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	382,346	168,644	550,990 ¹

Giovanni Marinelli, in his *Slavi, Tedeschi, Italiani nel cosiddetto "Litorale Austriaco"* (1884-5, Venice), says of the Slovenes that they live in the district of Gorizia in "compact masses," but many Slovenes have been Italianised. Between 1846 and 1880 the number of Italians grew by 50 per cent. In Trieste there was an Italian majority, simply because so many "regnicoli" ("from the Kingdom") settled there.

The exact numbers today are not quite easy to ascertain, since the Italians contend that the Austrian statistics work out to their disadvantage, while we hold the exactly contrary view. Certain clues as to population figures during the last 26 years may be briefly summarised as follows:

In 1900, in the former Austrian Coastland (*Küstenland*—i.e. Gorizia, Trieste, Istria) there were 756,546 inhabitants, in 1910 894,468, or an increase of 138,032 (18 per cent.). Of these the

¹ This does not, of course, include the island of Krk (19,562) nor that portion of the commune of Kastav (10,380) which were assigned to Yugoslavia. The figures for Italy are to be found in the official *Annuario Statistico Italiano* (1914), p. 28.

² These are refugees from the Turks, who settled in Larino and Campobasso, in South Italy, and still speak their own dialect.

Slovenes and Croats numbered 366,580 and 437,551 respectively, or an increase of 19 per cent.—1 per cent. higher than the population as a whole. Even if we take the lower percentage, the increase of Yugoslav population, at 18 per cent., would be 99,178 between 1910 and 1920, 117,030 between 1920 and 1930, and 69,048 from 1930 to 1935—giving a total of 836,246 at the end of last year. It is true that the War reduced the number of our people, and that many from the occupied districts emigrated to America, to the new Yugoslav State, and to France; but even if we admitted a diminution of no less than 186,246, there would still be 650,000 Croats and Slovenes in Italy today.

As an example of Italian census methods we may mention Beršec, in eastern Istria, where in 1910 there were 525 inhabitants—all Croats. At the last Italian census not a single Croat was returned: all were Italians!

Before me lies the Italian *Guida di Fiume* (1914), which gives the following racial figures for that city: Croats (Illyrians), 15,731; Slovenes, 3,937; Serbs, 70; Total 19,738, or 39.79 per cent. But in the rubric for religious persuasions 885 inhabitants of Fiume are given as of Orthodox faith. How, then, can there be 885 Orthodox and only 70 Serbs? If the number of Serbs has been cut down in the statistics, we may assume the same in the case of the Croats and Slovenes.³

Other illustrations of the alleged "favourising" of the Yugoslav element may be briefly adduced. In 1900, at Bale (near Pola, in Istria), there were 453 Croats, but in 1910 only 193, or 58 per cent. less. At Kanfanar (in same district) the Italians increased from 199 to 885 in the same period, while the Croats fell from 3,073 to 2,885. This does not suggest favourising.

Let us supplement our argument from Italian sources of an earlier period. In Benussi's book *La Regione Giulia* it is stated that among the population of Istria, Trieste and Gorizia the increase of the Italians was 13.4 per cent., that of the Slovenes and Croats only 2.8 and 1.7 per cent. Yet Benussi alleges that the latter were favoured by Austria against the Italians. In his other book *L'Istria nei suoi due millenni di Storia* (Trieste, 1924, p. 568), he states that when the Austrian Government gave a Croat "Real School" to Volosko (in reality it was the Commune, and not the Government, that founded it) the Italians did not protest, because

³ This was under the autonomous régime which Fiume enjoyed under Hungary.

Volosko was an entirely Croat town. And yet the Italians promptly closed this secondary school in a Croat town.

The same writer, in his *Manuale di Geografia, Storia e statistica del Litorale* (Pola, 1885, p. 118), states that in 1560 the Croats founded the village of Tar. In 1910 there were in this village 1,282 Italians and only 34 Croats. The original settlers had been Italianised—under Austria.

Czörnig, in *Die ethnologischen Verhältnisse der österr. Küstenlandes* (Triest, 1885, p. 31) gives the population of Istria in 1846 as follows: Italians, 60,040 (26 per cent.); Slovenes, 31,995 (14 per cent.), Croats, 134,455 (58·9 per cent.); Roumanians, 1,545 (0·6 per cent.): Total, 228,035. In 1846, then, there were not much more than a quarter of Italians. Yet in 1910 the Italians were 40 per cent.: the Jugoslavs 60 per cent. Thus in 60 years the Italians, though living mainly in the towns, where the rate of increase is lower than in the villages, rose from 26 to 40 per cent. Incidentally Benussi (*L'Istria*, p. 614) quotes figures given by Czörnig in 1850, according to which the Italians of Istria were 56,734, or only 24·9 per cent., the Sla'vs 171,381, or 74·9 per cent. I deliberately quote only Italian and German writers, and not any Slav sources.

We are thus entitled to conclude that the estimate of 650,000 Jugoslavs in Italy, allowing for the natural growth of population since 1910, is in no way excessive. It remains to show that this population is without any rights in school, in church, in administration, a people of "Rayah" without parallel in any civilised country

3.

To write of the Croat and Slovene schools in Italy is not a lengthy matter: for there are none left. The map which accompanies this article speaks more eloquently than many volumes.

Of all the 541 schools whose names are to be found there,⁴ only one survives—a private school of the Serb Orthodox community of Trieste, founded as long ago as 1790: 540 primary and 9 secondary schools have been suppressed. Gone, too, are the 850 Slav teachers—many of them driven out during the terror of 1921, and forced to fly to Jugoslavia or beg their bread. This network of schools had been built up by keen personal effort, through the "Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius," the counterpart of the Italian "Lega Nazionale," which, under the Austrian régime, set itself to open Italian schools in Croat villages. Already in 1880 the *Verbale*

⁴ There were 10 others at Zadar (Zara) and on the island of Lastovo (Lagosta).

Dieta Istriana (p. 135), the official organ of the Provincial Committee, speaks of "schools where the children are all, or almost all, Slavs, but where only Italian is used." For instance, in the island of Lussin (Lošinj) the schools were Italianised by the efforts of the Lega Nazionale: but many were erected in places where assimilation was scarcely possible, such as Krkavec, Brkač, Šošići, Zrenj, etc.

The Italians had at first publicly announced that they would give the Slavs more schools than they had under Austria, but they took away all those which Austria had given. The Roman *Gazzetta Ufficiale* of 24 October, 1923, published a decree forbidding the Croat and Slovene schools: and this was the work of the Italian philosopher Gentile as Minister of Education. On 22 April, 1924, the gazette published a decree-law permitting to the Beduins of Tripoli and Cirenaica schools in their native Arabic, but from us "Free Italy" has taken all that we had.

4.

At first the Italians assured the Slovenes and Croats that their faith would be respected, since it was "Catholicism, the faith of all Italy." But their first step was to attack the shepherds, with the aim of scattering the sheep. The first victims were the three Slav Bishops, Dr. Antun Mahnić, Dr. Andrija Karlin and Dr. Fran Sedej. Bishop Mahnić, of Krk, remained to defend his clergy, and sent a sharp protest to the Peace Conference in Paris against the illegal and inhuman actions of the Italian troops. Between him and Admiral Cagni a long written controversy developed. Finally the Bishop decided to leave for Yugoslavia, but on 4 April, 1919, the Italian torpedo boat which was to take him to the Croatian Coast, received telegraphic orders to land him at Ancona, whence he was sent to Rome. A year later he returned to Krk (Veglia), old and broken in health, but he soon went to Yugoslavia for a cure and died on 14 December, 1920.

Bishop Karlin, of Trieste, soon shared the same fate. On 19 December, 1918, his palace was sacked by Italian demonstrators, who demanded that he should at once leave Trieste. The teacher de Luca, who was tried for the destruction of the Bishop's property, was, on 14 February, 1919, acquitted for his patriotic conduct. In his farewell address to his clergy (*Acta curiæ episcopalis*, No. 5 of 1919) the Bishop complained that some of them had been expelled or transferred to Sardinia, that religious instruction in the mother tongue had been abolished in the middle schools and reduced to

a minimum in the primary schools. In 1924 Dr. Karlin was nominated Bishop of Maribor (Marburg), and in his first pastoral address he referred openly to the persecution of his compatriots in Trieste and Istria. The attack on him as Bishop was "not because I had committed any crime: my sole offence was that I am the son of a Slovene mother and never concealed the fact." The Pope held it advisable that he should give up the See of Trieste, where his life would be in danger, and he had, of course, obeyed. Dr. Karlin died at Maribor in 1932.

The third victim was Dr. Sedej, Archbishop of Gorizia, against whom the local Italian paper, *La Voce dell' Isonzo*, opened a campaign in February, 1919, bidding him pack up his belongings and leave Gorizia. In January, 1920, he was stoned on the public square of Gorizia and wounded on the forehead. In May, 1921, the front of his palace was adorned with a death's head and the motto "Death to Sedej." The Archbishop continued at his post, and disapproved of the Lateran Agreement of 1929, especially the manner in which section 22 was interpreted against the use of the mother tongue for religious instruction and against the grant of privileges to priests not of Italian nationality. On 31 October, 1931, he received the decree from Rome, accepting his resignation, and a day later the *Piccolo*, of Trieste, announced the nomination of the Italian chauvinist Giovanni Sirotti (*recte* Sirotić) as administrator not as coadjutor, according to the usual practice. Dr. Sedej died, a month later, on 28 November, 1931, and Mgr. Kren, an Italian, closed his funeral oration at Gorizia with the words, "Thou art worthy that thy mortal remains should be laid in the Catholic Church of the early centuries." As recently as March, 1931, the saintly prelate had celebrated his 25th anniversary as Archbishop and had received recognition from Slav and Italian clergy alike, as to the benefits which his "strictly Catholic attitude" had conferred both upon the Church and upon Italy, while Pope Pius XI had cordially congratulated him upon his long work as "a good pastor," and the official *Osservatore Romano* had written of "a real plebiscite of love and veneration."

Already on 29 October, 1919, the Civil Commissioner of Trieste had issued a decree (77,588C, Part III) forbidding religious teaching in all schools in the occupied territory: and Archbishop Sedej, in the name of the whole episcopate, protested against this to the then Premier, Nitti. One passage from his protest deserves quotation: "It is symptomatic, so say our people, that whereas the Civil Commissariate in Trieste desires in all respects the fulfilment of

the Austrian laws, it make one solitary exception, as regards religious teaching."

In this connection it is well to quote the remark of the Franciscan Bolognini, who took over from the Slav Franciscans the monasteries at Pirano and Cres, and in reply to their anxious inquiry as to how the Slav population would now be able to visit the church and receive the Sacraments, said, "*Privateli dei Sacramenti finchè non imparano l'italiano*" (Deprive them of the Sacraments, until they learn Italian).

At the priests' Seminary of Gorizia the present Archbishop, Dr. Margottì (successor of Mgr. Sirotti) issued orders on 23 October, 1934 (No. 109/34) that the official language in use there (*lingua ufficiale e di uso comune*) was to be Italian. The Slav seminarists dare not speak their mother tongue, even to each other. In the same way the seminarists of the diocese of Fiume (under Bishop Sam) may neither write nor read Slav letters nor use Slovene or Croat prayers. The Bishop of this overwhelmingly Slav diocese has never issued a Slav pastoral letter. In the whole diocese there is not one purely Italian parish, and 12 purely Slav: but not one Slav priest has been appointed to the Fiume Chapter.

Italianisation has even affected the church bells, it being the custom to name a bell after a special Saint (and, of course, in the Slav districts a Slav saint). At Drenova (near Fiume) a new bell was christened by the Bishop himself as "*Santa Italia*." At the Church of St. Jerome, in Fiume, a new bell bears the inscription: *Me fregit furor hostis, at hostis ab ære revixi Italiam clara voce Deumque canens, 1929.*" First Italy, then God.⁵

In 1884 the Italian writer, Carlo Podrecca, wrote that perhaps the Slavs of Istria were predestined to be the bond of union between Italian and Slav culture. Archbishop Zmajević of Zara used to hope that the Glagolitic rite would prepare the way for the unity of the Western and Eastern Churches. The treatment of the Croats and Slovenes in Italy today is making both ideals more and more impossible and widening the gulf. Today in Istria and Gorizia it is the police commissaries and prefects who give orders in the Church, as is shown by an event as recent as 10 May, 1936, when the Prefect of Trieste, Tiengo, officially and expressly forbade the use of a

⁵ Reasons of space unfortunately compel us to omit Mr. Barbačić's interesting historical summary of a long array of Italian occupants of the Sees of Trieste, Koper (Capodistria), Poreč (Parenzo), Novigrad (Cittanuova), Pola, Osor, who pursued an entirely different, and truly enlightened policy in the matter of language, towards the three nationalities under their care, under Austrian rule.—ED.

single word of Slovene in all the churches of the city and its suburbs (Barkovlje, Škedenj, Rojan, Sv. Jakov and Sv. Ivan.)⁶ On Sundays police agents and blackshirts are on the watch during Mass, lest a Slav word should be uttered : and this is called Italian liberty !

The following statistical table shows the position in the church in the territory occupied by Italy —

<i>Bishopric.</i>	<i>Parishes. Chapels. Churches. Priests. inhabitants.</i>					<i>Slav</i>
Celovac (Klagenfurt)	4	—	4	5	2,164	
Dubrovnik (Ragusa)	1	—	1	3	1,508	
Gorica (Gorizia) ...	135	1	140	153	155,309	
Krk (Veglia) ...	20	2	26	29	19,207	
Ljubljana (Laibach)	37	8	45	53	64,329	
Poreč (Parenzo) ...	47	12	59	52	75,259	
Senj (Zengg) ...	2	—	10	13	19,668	
Trieste (Trst) ...	108	42	152	171	251,265	
Vidam (Udine) ...	10	49	59	57	39,724	
Zadar (Zara) ...	6	—	8	12	11,184	
	370	114	504	548	639,617	

According to the rearrangement of dioceses the figures are as follows :—

<i>Bishopric.</i>	<i>Parishes. Chapels. Churches. Priests. inhabitants.</i>					<i>Slav</i>
Gorizia ...	172	7	183	203	207,161	
Parenzo ...	47	12	59	52	75,259	
Fiume ...	13	7	28	36	64,273	
Trieste ...	101	37	140	156	221,301	
Udine ...	10	49	59	57	39,724	
Zara ...	27	2	35	44	31,899	
	370	114	504	548	639,617	

(In each case the total population is much larger : I have only reckoned in the Slav districts : in the mainly Italian districts there are, of course, many Slavs.)

Of the sufferings of the Slav priesthood under Italy space fails me to write : it would be necessary to give many detailed personal

⁶ Already, on 19 January, 1931, the Public Prosecutor at Trieste declared publicly : " We must condemn the use of the Slav language in the churches, and the priests must help us. But in the frontier districts the priests use a language which no one needs to know. Against such priests we must act."

narratives. Their fate must be summarised in a short statistical table :—

Interned in Italy	...	...	...	28
Interned and then expelled	...	...	...	8
Imprisoned locally	...	...	...	14
Imprisoned and then expelled	...	...	...	9
Expelled—Priests	...	...	...	116
Expelled—members of religious Orders	...	...	...	83 ⁷
Total				258

Among the Slavs of Italy a Slav priest will soon be a white raven : and it may be questioned whether this will be to the advantage of the faith.

5.

It is now customary for the Italians to describe us Croats and Slovenes as "barbari." If personal morality be a test of barbarism, we may quote from 3 books of Signor Benussi⁸ the comparative figures of illegitimacy in the Slav and Italian districts.

	1866-1870.	1870-1874.	1880.	1900.
	%	%	%	%
Trieste ...	23.5	16.6	13.4	16.4-18.5
Gorizia ...	2.8	2.2	1.7	2.3-3.5
Istria ...	3.9	3.1	2.3	2.5-4.1

If literacy be a test, it is to be borne in mind that illiteracy was almost unknown in the Slovene districts under Austria, and that the district of Sežana in particular had only 2 per cent. of illiterates—the best record in the whole Empire. In Italy, on the other hand, according to the census details of 1921, only 94 per cent. could read and write in Piedmont, 92 in Lombardy, 88 in Venetia, and of course a far lower proportion in central and southern Italy (in Calabria only 52 per cent.).

In the cultural and economic field the Croat and Slovene intelligentsia, clergy and teachers, had long worked tirelessly for the benefit of the nation. In the villages there were musical, sporting and gymnastic societies, reading rooms, co-operative societies, agricultural societies, creameries, etc. ; and in most

⁷ This figure does not include 47 other clergy and 56 lay brothers, from 17 monasteries, who were obliged to leave the country.

⁸ *Manuale di geog. dell'Istria*, (1877), p. 137; *Manuale del Litorale* (1885), p. 152; *La Regione Giulia* (1903), p. 278.

cases these activities were in the hands of enlightened and high-minded priests and schoolmasters. In this respect the Slovenes of Trieste and Gorizia were better organised than the Croats of Istria. In Gorizia there were 168 cultural, 167 choral, 62 theatrical, 37 gymnastic societies. Between 1922 and 1928 they had 88 courses, 1,702 lectures, 1,757 cultural evenings, 85 competitions, 960 games, 19 concerts, and issued 128 leaflets. The teachers of this district had their own choral union, which gave performances in Italy also: they also had 11 societies of their own, forming a central League (*Savez Jugo-slavenskih učiteljskih Društava*) in Trieste, and publishing two juvenile papers, *Novi Rod* (Slovene) and *Naša Nada* (Croat). In order that such institutions should work, it was necessary to find men ready for every sacrifice, and there was a devoted staff in every branch of activity, including religious exercises, pilgrimages and the dedication of emblems.

At the beginning of 1928 there were 414 co-operative units—148 financial, 55 produce, 165 dairy, 8 viticultural, 13 building, and 25 others—with about 100,000 members. All this has now been wiped out. The Co-operative League of Trieste, when dissolved by the Italians in February, 1929, numbered 133 units.

Between 1919 and 1929 there were 450 Slovene and Croat publications, in the literary, educational, musical and charitable sphere, etc. There was one daily (*Edinost*) and 17 weeklies, 24 reviews and other monthly publications. There were 4 printing presses and 6 societies which published books.

Signor Giannoni, Prefect of Triest, and Signor Crispo-Moncada, Prefect of Friuli, by decrees of October, 1923, forbade the appearance of purely Croat and Slovene newspapers: all their contents must be also printed in Italian. These decrees were withdrawn only three days later, but the papers were now subjected to a more stringent censorship. On 11 January, 1929, *Edinost* (which in 1928 celebrated its jubilee) and all the other Slav papers, were suppressed, though by special permission of Signor Mussolini the Slovene deputy, Dr. Besednjak, was allowed to issue two weeklies—the Slovene *Novi List* and the Croat *Istarski List*, and the family monthly, *Družina*: but in 1930 even these were prohibited. With great difficulty it is possible here and there to obtain permission for an occasional Slav leaflet. The newspapers from Jugoslavia are not allowed in Italy, and anyone found by the authorities in possession of one is liable to 5 years' internment. In 1935 the Italian Government allowed three Jugoslav dailies to enter, and 20,000 copies were at once sold: but this did not suit Italy, and after the outbreak

of the Abyssinian War, their entry was again forbidden. Other countries encourage their people to read as much as possible and thus acquire knowledge: the Slavs of Italy are prevented from reading books or papers in their own language, and the children must learn to pray in Italian. And an Italian priest has been found, in the person of the ex-Franciscan Pasquale Giannuni at Cerovlja, who collects Croat books and burns them in the village square.

6.

In Italy everything is possible. Our children, who were christened with national Slav names and had always been known under these names by their families, have been forced to alter them and today it is no longer possible to give in baptism the name of a Slav Saint, even such as Cyril, Methodius or Vladimir, who are to be found in every church calendar. In vain all protests. There exists in Italy a law, of 8 March, 1928, forbidding parents to give their children absurd or unworthy names or such as might cause public offence.

In Trieste Aldo Pizzagalli published in 1929 a book of 345 pages, entitled *Per l'italianità dei Cognomi*. In it are given thousands of Slav surnames, with Italian equivalents. But in practice these changes of name assume different forms according to the district: and sometimes members of the same family are given quite different names such as no one had ever heard of. Here are a few examples:

<i>Original Slav Name</i>		<i>In Trieste District.</i>	<i>In Pola District.</i>
Babić	changed to	Balbi	Babići
Čermelj	„	Carmeli	Cermelli.
Čuk	„	Zucchi	Ciù.
Debeljak	„	Debelli	Debella.
Horvat	„	Crovato	Crevato.
Kljon	„	Coloni	Cluni.
Kovač	„	Fabbri	Covacci.
Kralj	„	Carli	Cralli.
Reje	„	Rei	Rezzi.
Slavec	„	Salvi	Slavi.
Vitez	„	Viti	Vitis.

The Italian, whenever he hears a Slav name, seems to see a Yugoslav flag. In order, then, to erase every trace of Slavdom in Italy, the Government issued a Decree-law on 10 January, 1926—at first only valid for Trentino, but on 7 April, 1927, extended to all the newly annexed territory—enjoining a return to the original forms, in the case of all surnames of Italian or Latin origin which

had in the course of time been distorted or translated into another language. On 16 April, 1936, the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* published a law laying down "rules for the changing of Christian and surnames in special cases." It is to be supposed that this law will be applied with special severity against the Slavs in Fascist Italy.

A history of the methods by which the Jugoslavs of Italy have been deprived of all parliamentary representation and reduced to the position of a helpless minority in local government, even in the districts which are almost exclusively Slav, would involve detailed treatment far exceeding the scope of this article. Such a history would strikingly illustrate the oppressed state of the Slav population, but it might appear to many readers as of merely academic value, in view of the complete breakdown of the whole parliamentary and representative system in Italy. But the brief summary given above of cultural and educational conditions, will serve to show that by their annexation to Italy the Yugoslav minority has lost its culture, its liberty, its daily bread, and is in danger of losing the faith of its fathers.

FRAN BARBALIĆ.

APPENDIX A

THE ITALIAN PROCLAMATION OF NOVEMBER, 1918.

Slovenes !

Today the new laws of justice and freedom are in force. The Austrian Government, which deceived you for so many years, and played off nation against nation, no longer exists. Victorious Italy has today made an end of struggle and enmity. Peace and concord must now rule between the actions. This Italy brings to you.

The Italian and Slovene languages are no longer at enmity, no longer incited against each other by the Germans, who exploited the struggle for their own advantage. Today it is easy to divide work and profit.

Italy today belongs to the European Great Powers, because she has a rich industry which she herself has created in recent years, and because she is rich in the world market in her well-developed agriculture and in her great culture.

Only an industrial and commercial Great Power like Italy can assure to you the wellbeing which you need. Only so can you develop in the future your stockbreeding and your agriculture, whose fruits will be a source of prosperity, if they find a market in the big Italian cities.

In future the way of the sea stands open to all, to develop their markets overseas.

Slovenes !

Italy, the great State of Liberty, will give to you the same civic rights as to all her other citizens; she will give you schools in your own

language, more numerous than Austria gave you. Your religion is respected, because it is the Catholic religion, that of all Italy.

The Italian Kingdom, the great Italian nation, which has destroyed the rule of Austria, will assist you with all its power. Italy has not fought and conquered only for the freedom of her own nation, but for all the nations oppressed by Austria.

Almost a century has passed since Italy has been fighting for freedom. History proves this to you. Slovenes, rest assured that Italy, powerful and victorious, will care for all her citizens, of whatever nationality, within her new frontiers.

APPENDIX B

THE ITALIANS IN JUGOSLAVIA.

According to the Italian official date of 1927 (see *Compendio Statistico*, pp. 10, 35) there were in that year, in the whole of Jugoslavia, 14,329 Italians, who possessed 10 primary schools, with 617 children, and 1 secondary school, with 52 children.

According to the Treaty of Rapallo the "Italian minority" in Jugoslavia has a right to its own schools. In the whole of Dalmatia and the coast district, from Sušak to Kotor, there were on 1 June, 1930, only 4,900 Italian citizens, scattered in 95 villages and towns. The great majority of these are Optants, of Croat nationality, who do not know Italian! There are 8 places containing over 100 Italians—Split, 1,309; Krk (Veglia) 759; Sušak, 644; Dubrovnik, 503; Drenova, 380; Korčula, 380; Trogir (Traù), 132; Šibenik (Sebenico), 128. In 1929-30 the Italians had the following schools:—

1. Dubrovnik, primary	...	...	...	26 children.
2. „ kindergarten	...	...	...	30 „
3. Korčula, primary	...	...	...	8 „
4. „ kindergarten	...	...	...	21 „
5. Hvar (Lesina), primary	...	...	...	8 „
6. „ „ kindergarten	...	...	...	9 „
7. Split (Spalato), primary	...	...	...	151 „
8. Trogir „	...	...	...	22 „
9. Šibenik „	...	...	...	24 „
10. Krk „	...	...	...	90 „
11. „ girls' technical school	...	...	...	33 „
Total				422 „

It would thus seem that the numbers are somewhat lower than those given officially in Italy, but numbers undoubtedly vary from year to year, so both may be correct.

Besides these schools the Italians maintain 23 societies and reading rooms. In all their schools religious instruction is given in Italian. At Šibenik they have their own priest, who can preach in Italian at the

Church of St. Lawrence. A special Lenten preacher is allowed to visit them from Italy : and the Bishop of Šibenik confirms the Italian children in his own chapel and gives them an address in Italian. Christenings, marriages and funerals are conducted in Latin.

At Krk the Lega Culturale Italiana has a branch, and the teachers and catechists are natives of Italy. They have their own church of St. Quirinus, where there is an Italian sermon every Sunday, and Italian hymns are sung.

At Split the priest is also from Italy, and has the Church of the Holy Spirit, where the Bishop occasionally confirms and preaches in Italian. In Lent a special preacher comes from Italy. Similar arrangements prevail in other places in Dalmatia.

I give these details, that the reader may contrast the status of the tiny Italian minority in Jugoslavia with that of the 650,000 Jugoslavs in Italy.

Moreover, at the Bor copper mine, in Serbia, near the Bulgarian frontier, there are 200 Italian workmen, and they have a small Catholic Church. On 22 November, 1931, the Croat Franciscan, Father Vlašić, from Belgrade, at their request, preached to these men in Italian : and this, of course, could not have been done in that part of Serbia without the approval of the Yugoslav state authorities and of the Orthodox Church.

KAREL ČAPEK

KAREL ČAPEK is known to most English theatre-goers as the successful author of "R.U.R." and the "Insect" play, and to very many readers as the humorous and witty writer of the "Letters from England" and the "Gardener's Year." But though a number of his other books have been translated and had a certain "succès d'estime," most English readers do not know that Karel Čapek is an extremely ambitious and subtle practiser of the craft of fiction, a philosopher-poet passionately interested in the problems of truth and justice, in short, a great artist who has to be reckoned with as one of the major figures of contemporary literature. His surprisingly varied work is not all available in translation, and his whole development is obscured by the order in which the English translations were published, which for obvious reasons does not correspond to the original sequence. "Les sots admirent tout dans un auteur estimé," we read in *Candide*: and with this motto in mind we shall try to give a critical sketch of his whole artistic and philosophical development, without slurring over his failures, while stressing those books which are likely to survive by virtue of their firm structure and deep search into the mysteries of human life.

Čapek's development falls into three natural periods which, of course, must not be taken as rigid divisions and overlap to a certain extent. His early writings, mostly short stories, culminate in two excellent collections, "Wayside Crosses" (1917) and "Painful Stories" (1921). A new period of dramatic successes and utopian romances, interlaced with essays and travel-sketches, begins with *R.U.R.* (1921) and in recent years Čapek has written a trilogy of distinguished novels (*Hordubal*, *Meteor*, *An Ordinary Life*, 1933-35) which represents a very distinct new phase and a surprising maturing of his powers.

Čapek's earliest writings reach back to pre-war times (he was born on 6 January, 1890, in Malé Svatoňovice, a village at the foot of the Krkonoše, or Giant Mountains) and inevitably bear the traces of the time and the youth of their author. Čapek then wrote in conjunction with his elder brother Joseph, who has since become a distinguished modernist painter. The earliest collection of their stories was published only in 1918, though it was written between 1908 and 1911. "*Krkonoš's Garden*" is a curious mixture of little burlesque tales, anecdotes and epigrams,

prose-poems and phantasies. Parodies of the style of symbolism clash piquantly with quotations from telegrams and newspapers. Much in the book is crude and naïve : but some numbers present a certain interest as they anticipate later developments, for instance "System," which, in a grotesque fashion, treats the problem of the robots before the name was adopted. In 1918, the brothers added a preface which sketches their autobiography : they speak of their home in the country, their father, a country doctor, the dual influence of nature and industrial developments. They also hint at their literary background, naming Wilde, Strindberg, Poe, Baudelaire, Huysmans, besides the Czech decadents. But one could not easily put one's fingers on their kinship with the *fin de siècle* : they rather laugh at it and affect a very superior, though essentially very youthful, attitude to life, love and civilisation. The book is not altogether as fresh and naïve as the later preface would like to make us believe, and the Garden of Krakonoš, the humorous mountain-ghost, is invoked in vain for a very sophisticated and rather derivative collection. But it would be ungracious to dwell on a book which after all represents their author's very first step on the road to fame.

The very early comedy *The Fateful Game of Love* (written in 1910, though published only in 1922) succeeds very much better. There is no denying the artificiality of the trifle, a sort of *commedia dell'arte* with a tragic leading motive in an ironic setting. Gilles, the romantic weakling, is killed in a duel by the bullying ruffian Trivalin, but the lady is carried off by the plotting Brighello. This traditional theme, which is treated in very musical blank verse, is lightened by a series of devices that purposely bridge the gulf between the public and the actors. For instance, the doctor asks the audience why they came at all, Trivalin suddenly refuses to go on acting or challenges anybody in the audience, Scaramouche raises a fire-alarm in order to get the audience away when Isabella and Trivalin make love to each other. All this deliberate spoiling of the theatrical illusion is very amusing, though the device is, of course, known since the times of Ludwig Tieck at least. The very same ironic and melancholy setting of the dying "rococo" recurs in the best story of the next collection of tales. *Luminous Depths* (1916), still written in collaboration with Joseph Čapek, contains a story, "L'Eventail," which also could be called the fateful game of love. The garden-party of Principe Bodoni in 18th century Naples catches the right flavour of the time : the automatic dolls of M. J. L. Droz are worthy of E. T. A. Hoffmann

though the Čapeks aim at something more restrained and objective. The preceding "Red Story" does not come off so well, possibly because of the inherent improbabilities of the very sanguinary action, or because Čapek does not quite succeed in catching the right matter-of-fact tone which we find in Stendhal's "Chroniques italiennes." The style of the two stories is purposely bald, keeping strictly to the facts, psychology is clearly shunned and all the stress falls on pure narrative. Here quite rightly a parallel to pre-war German "Neo-classicism" (Paul Ernst) has been discovered, but obviously it was a passing phase, a training in story-telling, while the other stories in the collection are actually very different. "Between Two Kisses" is a good story of a lapse of memory under the shock of grief and its sudden reawakening after many years. "Luminous depths," the concluding number of the collection, anticipates "Wayside Crosses." There is nothing "classicist" about the phantasies and reflections of a traveller on the "Oceanic" (obviously suggested by the "Titanic") who sees a beautiful girl for a moment and then loses her for ever in the disaster without knowing her name or fate. The girl remains completely mysterious, the whole atmosphere is dreamlike, the catastrophe is curiously enough described three times in succession, in order to increase the tension which at the end is not relieved at all. The range of the whole collection is remarkable, the advance compared to "Krakonoš's Garden" quite undeniable. The Čapeks have discovered the charm of sheer story-telling, and they move easily from one style to the other among the most various settings. There was, however, no further development towards the style of the Italian "nouvelle," though "L'Eventail" was a promising piece of work. But the rather awkward and wasteful "Luminous Depths" point to the future: to a new and original mystery-story.

Later, Karel Čapek has spoken about his first book written without the collaboration of his brother, *Wayside Crosses* (1917), as of a collection of "detective stories." But they are very unusual detective or rather mystery stories, without any solution for the mysteries. The very disappointment of our expectation is their main point: just the most important part of the event told remains behind the scene. The justification of this interesting technical point is, of course, in the view of life the stories are meant to convey. *Krakonoš's Garden* was full of a naïve scepticism and an irreverence which rather enjoyed demonstrating that there are no absolute values. But in the *Wayside Crosses* the joy has turned into bitterness. The world appears as a whirlwind of chance and

contingencies without deeper coherence. The facts of the world are there, quite without regard to their comprehensibility and their meaning. Our souls stand helpless in front of the huge mechanism of nature. We would like to believe in a higher order, but there are no miracles, only insoluble mysteries. The very first story, "The Footprint," tells of two people meeting somewhere in the fields covered with freshly fallen snow. Only their footsteps interrupt the whiteness of the landscape. But suddenly they see a single fresh foot-print beside their path in the untouched field of snow, and no amount of speculation can account for its presence. The "Mountain" tells of the discovery of a corpse at the bottom of an old quarry, of the hunt for the murderer on a mountain, and his suicide without any disclosure of the motives or the facts of the murder. But the despair and gloom of these stories is relieved in the last, called "Help." Nothing happens except that a sleeper is waked up by a knocking at the window and a woman's appeal for help. But no further appeal is made, and nothing can be discovered of its origin. But there is a change in the soul of the man awakened: he suddenly realises that he has lived in a prison hitherto, that he has waited for the great voice saying: "Lazarus, arise!" But now he knows that there will be no strong voice, but only a small and still one: "Lazarus, arise and help us." A new day of unselfish work is promised, there seems hope in man's tiny task in a world of mystery and chance. *Luminous depths* cover huge stretches of time in a few sentences; *Wayside Crosses* concentrate on single mysterious moments. The following *Painful Stories* (1921, translated into English by F. P. Marchant, Dora Round, F. P. Casey and O. Vočadlo under the title of *Money and other Stories*) return to the normal epical form, though they do not imply a substantial change of outlook. Life is again arbitrary and disconnected, brutal and disconcertingly illogical. The stories are "painful," because they are so inconclusive, because they frequently end with a submission after a very unheroic revolt. A husband takes money from his wife which he must know she gets from her lover ("Three"); an intelligent girl throws herself suddenly at the mercy of a man who does not care for her and rejects her ("Helena"); a governess is tormented by her employers at a castle, and her poor little revolt is broken by a letter from home ("At the Castle")—these are some of the themes which contrast a very trivial outward occurrence with an inner drama of painful resignation. The supreme instance is possibly the first story, "Two Fathers." A child dies, and the supposed father breaks down

in grief on her grave, while the real father—as everybody knows in the village—is singing lustily in the choir. There is an atmosphere of heavy, melancholy fatality in these stories, which can be very well compared with some of the “painful” stories in Maupassant or Chechov. But we must not exaggerate Čapek’s personal pessimism. Actually just during this period he wrote a very instructive, well-planned little book on *Pragmatism* (1916) which shows that even then he had a very considerable sympathy with the active optimism preached by American philosophy. The little book had a certain political background when published in the year of America’s entrance into the Great War, and we must also beware of overrating Čapek’s adherence to the “pragmatists.” Though he shares their distaste for hasty generalisations, their stress on questions of practical ethics, their democratic interest in common man, I doubt whether Čapek has learned very much from their epistemology, and actually his work is moving towards a very different conception of truth.

Painful Stories very worthily concludes the extremely interesting period of Čapek’s early writings. Then came immediately the success of *R.U.R.* (1921), which shows a complete change of style and outlook. *R.U.R.* was preceded by another play, *The Robber* (1920), which, however, points back rather to *Krakonoš’s Garden*. The preface states that it was conceived as early as 1911. There is an atmosphere of irresponsible youth about it, a certain naive charm which is difficult to deny, though the play hovers most awkwardly between a realistic comedy and a symbolic Maeterlinckian play. The crude devices of locking in and locking out the main actors have a farcical touch, while the love scenes in the forest have a lyrical beauty rarely attempted in the later Čapek. “*R.U.R.*” (Rossum’s Universal Robots, 1921. English translation by Paul Selver) took the world by storm, and there were some good reasons for this success. The main idea of the robots (the word, derived from *robota*, drudgery, was suggested by Joseph Čapek) was timely: the discussion of the whole problem of progress and of man’s relation to machines was, so to say, in the air just after the War. The whole tendency of the play, its warning of mankind against the dangers of a machine-civilisation, seemed very healthy, and the final optimism, declaiming belief in the power of love and the survival of life, sounded very reassuring. The play has also considerable theatrical qualities: the men-automatons moving stiffly like dolls, the tension of the great revolt, the striking types of men—all this testifies to Čapek’s lively sense for the stage.

If we, however, examine the play in cold blood, the fissures in the structure and the gaps in the argument become obvious: the robots which are conceived as men-machines without soul or feeling, are changed during the play by a sleight of hand into real men. There is no revolt of robots, but a revolt of oppressed men: one race of men is simply dethroned by another and the whole story loses its point. It all comes to an attack on human ambition, and a recommendation of simple humanity: of love, laughter and tears. The science displayed with much ingenuity is, after all, pseudo-science: a sort of magic by which men are made artificially with bones, veins, muscles, etc., just as any man, though on some mythical chemical basis other than man's.

The second play in this vein, *The Life of the Insects* (1921, written again in collaboration with his brother, translated by Paul Selver) seems to me very much better. Of course, its texture is looser: it is almost a ballet, or review. The breathless speed of the dialogue avoids the mistakes of the rather bookish theorising which vitiates the later plays. The idea of presenting butterflies as lovers, beetles rolling balls of dirt as capitalists, ants as militaristic imperialists, though rather obvious, is carried through with great gusto. The play in its original edition has its logical end with the death of the Tramp, who dies just as the moths die, singing and dancing Life's praise. There is not much point in deploring any pessimism which, after all, is as far as it goes there, merely a realistic view of things, and the Tramp is a kindly enough creature.

The Macropoulos Secret (1922, translated by Paul Selver) is again a play about a scientific invention, the magical character of which is here frankly admitted. A physician of Emperor Rudolf is supposed to have invented a recipe for prolonging life, and his daughter is still living today. This looks like a counterpart to Shaw's *Back to Methuselah*, but Čapek's play was written before he had heard of Shaw's, and his tendency is exactly the opposite one. The heroine has lost all joy in life and all desire for further life, all those around her finally reject the use of the recipe and a sensible young girl burns it. So youth has destroyed the fear of death. A life lived decently for sixty years is more valuable than three hundred. The setting of this moral in a legal comedy is not always convincing, however, and the figures remain puppets. The last of Čapek's dramas, *Adam the Creator* (1927, translated by Dora Round), written again in conjunction with his brother, is rather disappointing. The idea seems a good one: Adam has destroyed the world, and God is asking him to recreate it. But he has no ideas of his own: every-

thing he creates makes an even bigger mess of life, and when there is a chance to destroy the second world, he very properly refuses. It seems to be a little unfair to deprive mankind of any right of criticising because it would not be able to create, and the moral to be drawn seems a little too self-righteous about the present state of affairs: but obviously this quietism suited Čapek at a certain point of his development, and one must understand his impatience with all salvationists and world-reformers. But the execution of the idea is not very successful. At least on the stage (I remember the first performance) much seems dull and artificial. Čapek possibly felt after *Adam* that the stage is not his proper domain, and since then he has not written anything more for it.¹

Contemporaneously with the plays Čapek started to write utopian romances. The first is *The Absolute at Large* (1922, translated anonymously, 1927), which again starts with a brilliant idea: an engineer is able to burn matter so completely that only the Absolute remains and is liberated. Though the invention is excellent from the economic point of view as one pound of coal is burning weeks and weeks, the general consequences are disastrous: people become affected with religious mania, start to distribute their belongings, preach sectarian fanaticism, etc. This is very amusing satire on the gulf between theory and practice in religion, but after a few chapters Čapek gives the topic up in despair: the Absolute suddenly begins to work all the machines, and overproduction suffocates all economic life, the religious mania leads to endless wars of sects, ending in complete exhaustion. The last scene is placed in a public-house, where everything is as it was before, once the awful carburators are suppressed. But though the book contains some brilliant humorous scenes, especially on a barge and on a merry-go-round, its main conception is uncertain and the design becomes very loose towards the end. The "utopian" or rather anti-utopian phase of Čapek's writings finds its fullest expression in *Krakatit* (1924, translated by Laurence Hyde), Čapek's longest book. Again the satire is directed against any titanism, and the moral drawn is the moral of resignation. Prokop, the great specialist in high explosives, invents the deadly Krakatit, capable of blowing up anything. Throughout the whole of the novel he fights for withholding his secret, which, if betrayed, might become the end of civilisation. At the end he has forgotten how to make Krakatit,

¹ He has, however, given amusing glimpses of green room life and the troubles and joys of the dramatist in a little book: *How a Play is Produced* (1926, translated by P. B. Wadsworth).

and the old man whom he meets comforts him that he has, after all, found something. Never will he any more save or destroy the world. For the first time he will sleep a dreamless sleep. There are many beautiful and striking scenes in *Krakatit*; especially the idyll in the country, which has obvious autobiographical touches, is in Čapek's best vein. But this solid piece of writing clashes curiously with the later scenes in Baltin, where Prokop is confined. The love-scenes between him and the Princess Wille suddenly take on a phantastic colour of brutal violence which reminds us of some of the most painful scenes in D. H. Lawrence. The whole setting in a fanciful and grotesque aristocratic society, ingredients of melodrama, sex psychology, technological speculation, feverish dreams are mixed up disconcertingly with curious allegorising. The Princess Wille has an allegorical name, and D'Hémon or Daimon is a figure out of fairyland with burning hands. Many of the fever-hallucinations of Prokop are managed very interestingly, and there is a certain largeness in the whole conception, and a fierce intensity in some of the scenes—however absurd their rational connection: but the book drags on many points and the violent changes of style and technique make it incoherent.

Side by side with the plays and romances the essayist Čapek developed his powers. He settles down, so to say, and writes a number of very pleasant, very sensible and humorous books of sketches, essays, travels which in one way or the other express his deep humanity, his belief in ordinary man, his sense of the bewildering variety and beauty of the world. His optimism is sometimes a shade too cheerful, and does not altogether avoid a certain contempt for all that is greatest in man. These books began with a tiny pamphlet, *A Criticism of Words* (1920), a list of words and slogans which are dissected, exposed and found wanting. Čapek hates "journalese"—though he is himself an eminent journalist—and he knows how to poke fun at stable phrases, well-worn slogans and generally big words which seem to him pernicious, as they erect a wall between us and the concrete life of things. The same desire to make us see things directly with our own eyes, to feel them with our senses, finds expression in another collection of essays *On Intimate Things* (1926, translated by Dora Round, 1935), reflections on things commonplace and trivial at first sight, though everywhere pointing towards the mystery of life. "A Mysterious Happening," for instance, repeats in a more homely setting the topic of the "Foot-print." Only a bumper of beer is left half-empty on the roof of a neighbouring shed. Mysteriously during a short absence

of the onlooker the bumper is emptied and during a second absence it is carried away. Čapek speaking on all sorts of topics from oriental carpets, street-organs to the loves and lives of cats and literature, never loses his light and deft touch, his eye for the follies and weaknesses of mankind and his love for its deep aspirations. His love for the ordinary man and his ideals is most excellently expressed in the *Gardener's Year* (1929, translated by R. and M. Weatherall) a book of chatty, humorous sketches on an amateur gardener's delights and sorrows, arranged according to the progress of the seasons. There is a great deal of excellent, humorous observation of human types, and much solid first-hand knowledge displayed in an unambitious but always enjoyable book.

Čapek's deep humanity, his astonishing power of observation, come out best in his travel-sketches. The first were the *Letters from Italy* (1923, translated by F. P. Marchant), full of lively reflections on art and architecture, agreeably set off by genre-pictures on the life of Italian towns, villages and ports. The book shows Čapek's love for the primitive painters, his real appreciation of early mediæval Italy, while he is obviously uneasy before Renaissance and Baroque developments. The book is frankly the diary of a holiday tour, very short and very fully enjoyed, and does not pretend to any full comprehension for Italy's past or present. The *Letters from England* (1923, translated by Paul Selver), show a very much deeper understanding for the character of the people. They are, it is true, light travelling sketches and the surprised attitude of the provincial and continental, battered by first impressions of London traffic, are sometimes a little too self-conscious. Čapek is rather interested in the daily life around him, the English landscape and the English character, than in history or art or anything out of the way. But inside these limits he manages to convey a great deal of subtle observation, quiet fun and real understanding. For the first time Čapek reproduces his own artless sketches, which enhance the appeal of the delightful book. The *Pictures from Holland* (1930, translated by Paul Selver) continue in the style of the *Letters from England*. They are lively descriptions of the surface of Dutch life, which become somehow more personal owing to Čapek's interest in watching a small nation doing a beautiful job. Čapek discusses the problem of the small nation and sets the Dutch up as an example for his own nation, teaching how to achieve greatness by quality rather than quantity. The *Trip to Spain* (1930, translated by Paul Selver), is a little different in type from the preceding books. It apparently was

written as a commentary to the much more elaborate sketches. The whole book is more lyrical and less humoristic than the others. Again the penetration is astonishing, especially when we consider the fact that Čapek never pretends to see behind the scenes, or to look for unknown Spain or undiscovered England, never deviates from the beaten track, never seeks adventures nor—though obviously well read and well informed—has ever got up his subject in libraries.

The vivid interest in men, their habits of life and their institutions, is the starting-point of Čapek's political interests. A collection of papers, *On Political Things, or Zoon Politicon* (1932), says many sensible things on Czechoslovak and general problems. Čapek is a genuine democrat and has always advocated a humane, tolerant, and liberal government against extremists both on the right and on the left. Čapek preaches—if one can call his vivid papers preaching—civic duties, the right kind of nationalism, and ably defends his position against those who have accused him of a relativist scepticism. He wants to see things from all sides, he hates hasty generalisations, doctrinaire fanaticism, any uncritical acceptance of ready-made opinions and systems. He very sensibly criticises the dangers of the American worship for quantity and speed, and the evils of industrialisation, and tells us why he is not a communist, though he has a warm heart for the poor and an open mind to socialist proposals for the amendment of evils. Everywhere his tolerance, his broad humanity, his common sense come out and prove him to be a good European who loves his country as it should be. Personal and political interests combine in the labour of love to which Karel Čapek has devoted much time in recent years. He has interviewed President Masaryk in many quite informal meetings over a period of several years, and has compiled a story of his life told as far as possible in Masaryk's own words. (*Conversations with T. G. M.*, I, 1928; II, 1931; III, 1935. Vol. 1 and 2 translated as *President Masaryk tells his Story* by D(ora) R(ound)). Čapek tries to efface his own part in the work and only in the last volume, devoted to an exposition of Masaryk's credo on religion, ethics and politics, the question and answer system in the Boswellian manner is preferred. But Čapek's share is really very important and personal: the book was criticised for its incompleteness and lack of new information on details. But Čapek did not want to write a scholarly biography, but a popular book on the saga of President Masaryk's great life for his nation, which would keep the authentic voice of the speaker remembering by-gone times. Actually Čapek has sifted and selected the material with

great skill: the art of the "arranger"—though sometimes hidden—is everywhere present, just as it is in the much maligned Boswell.

Čapek—and the book on Masaryk is a further proof—is interested very much in a vital question of modern literature: how can literature again appeal to the masses, while keeping its high artistic standard? The way to this ideal seems to lie in a development of the popular *genres* of literature, which should be exalted by the writer while remaining comprehensible to the common mind. This explains his special interest in the despised forms of "low" literature to which he has devoted a brilliant collection of sociological studies: *Marsyas, or on the Margin of literature* (1931). There he tells us about journalism, the psychology and typology of anecdotes, writes about popular humour and proverbs, collects a series of extremely funny poems from the suburbs of Prague, has his say on pornography, on stories in calendars, novels read by maid-servants, etc. He is sceptical about consciously "proletarian" art, praises very properly the resources of the Czech language, and devotes much space to an illuminating discussion of two genres: the fairy-tale and the detective-story.

Fairy-tales are Čapek's speciality. He very sensibly rejects theories of mere migration and shows that most of its motives and types can be very well explained from the experiences and dream-wishes of our and everyman's daily life. His own *Fairy-Tales* (1931, translated by R. and M. Weatherall) are a veritable treasure-house of pure aimless story-telling. His fairy-world is a happy one: full of sensible little dogs and cats, forward witches, genial, slangy water-sprites, pigmy postmen, ridiculous detectives, polite brigands. These things may look slight to grave pundits, but they are really very difficult to do without becoming sentimental or crude, and Karel Čapek succeeds because he never loses a sincere understanding of childhood, a sense of humour and the light touch. *Dashenka* (1931, translated by R. and M. Weatherall) is another book for children, though not exactly a fairy-tale, even if "fairy-tales" for the puppy Dashenka are included. It is a wholly delightful humorous record of puppy-life, accompanied by drawings on the margins and very good photographs at the back.

The mystery-story has interested Čapek since the *Wayside Crosses*. Two new brilliant volumes of tales, *Tales from One Pocket* (1929) and *Tales from the Other Pocket* (1929, translated with some omissions as "Tales from Two Pockets," by Paul Selver), develop this popular form along new lines. The stories have become very much more concise, brighter, their point very much more

epigrammatic compared to the older volume. If we except a few more trivial pieces, they are all genuinely concerned with problems of truth and justice, though they seem to be written only for excitement and amusement. Some of the stories, especially in the first volume, praise the intuition and the instinct of ordinary man in preference to the ways of calculating reason, the sagacity of common sense defeating far-fetched speculation. A police agent finds the man who stole an important military document from the larder where it was hidden, because he is not looking for sinister spies but for simple larder-burglars. ("The Stolen Papers—139 VII, Sect. C.") A young bricklayer throws a heavy stone much further than even athletes can, because he wants to hit a farmer who is maltreating a boy. He cannot repeat the performance which he succeeded in doing when prompted by moral indignation. ("The Record.") A poor village idiot finds a blue chrysanthemum while all those who look for it—police, and the whole village—fail because they respected the signboard, "Trespassing is forbidden," on the railway's premises. The wonderful flower is quietly blooming in a guard's little garden. ("The Blue Chrysanthemum.") Other stories show truth from two sides. The murder of an old peasant by his son-in-law, because he wanted to sell a piece of the family's fields, is condoned by the whole village and taken as a moral duty by the murderer. The judge condemns him for murder, but wavers in his mind as he is himself of peasant stock ("The Farm Murder.") Sometimes, however, a moral absolutism is hinted at. In the "Crime at the Post Office" a humble country constable becomes the instrument of supreme justice, the avenger of a crime which could not be brought to human justice. Every one of these stories tries to convey implicitly some moral: the relativity of human justice, the mysteriousness of life, the sudden dawn of moral conscience. The sight of an old murdered woman evokes a sudden sense of an eternal order. "There is something in me which does not belong only to me—a feeling of a severe and great order." The second series, though the stories are hardly different in type, is composed differently: while the first is told in the usual objective manner, the second is composed of tales told to other people. They are associated rather loosely by verbal links which enhance the illusion of spontaneous reminiscence. But there is never any description of the story-tellers or their setting. The style is more colloquial in accordance with this fiction, and the structure looser. These seemingly very ordinary stories of murderers, policemen, detectives and judges are actually one of the very best books of

Čapek, which points to his highest achievement, the trilogy of novels written in 1933-5. The poet, the writer of tragedy who seems to have slumbered through the period of very pleasant tales and plays and essays celebrating life's fullness and ordinary humanity, awakes again in *Hordubal* (1933), *Meteor* (1934) and *An Ordinary Life* (1935, all translated by R. and M. Weatherall). Though every one of these novels is completely distinct in theme and method, there is a common conception underlying them all. All of them retell the very same story from different points of view and thereby enhance its variety of meaning, the mysteriousness of ultimate reality. Possibly Karel Čapek has learned directly or indirectly something from the masters of perspective in modern fiction—from Henry James or Joseph Conrad, or even more likely he has himself developed a method in his search for truth which remains always in perspective only. *Hordubal* is a most remarkable book: on the surface it is no more than the simple story of a peasant who has returned from America to his farm in Carpathian Ruthenia, where he left behind his wife and child. His wife has found a lover in the man she hired to look after the horses. Hordubal is killed one night apparently by a needle used in basket-making. The story is first told from the point of view of Hordubal, a dumb primitive man full of sorrow at his suspicions and the changes on the farm. Though the feat is an exceedingly difficult one, Čapek succeeds in conveying Hordubal's point of view by reproducing a sort of internal soliloquy which is discreetly supplemented by the author's commentary. The soliloquy achieves illusion by the constant use of the historical present tense, by tags of Slovak and Russian words, though of course if we examine the text more thoroughly, there is no "realistic" reproduction of the actual thoughts of such a man. The second part tells of the clumsy efforts of the constables to establish the truth, the third of the trial. Some of the circumstances of Hordubal's death are never explained completely: was he murdered by Manya or by the woman Polana? Or did he actually die before the murder, as he was ill before, and as the medical examination seems to suggest? What was the actual motive of the murder? Was it an attempt to hide the consequences of an unlawful love, or simply the desire to obtain his dollars? Hordubal cannot tell us this himself. The constables and the court will never discover it. The point of the book is summed up in the last words referring to Hordubal's heart, which was sent to Prague for medical examination: "The heart of Juraj Hordubal was lost somewhere, and was never buried." An awful crime has been committed, but human

justice, though it may punish technically, will never do justice to the loving, suffering soul of Hordubal. But as sheer poetry, though necessary to the whole conception, the two last sections may seem a falling-off compared to the first part of almost ballad-like grandeur, its evocation of landscape and the soul of the ageing man who has come back after years of toil and finds his cattle farm now used for horse-breeding and his wife and daughter wrapped up in a stranger.

The second of the trilogy, *Meteor*, carries the principle of perspectives even further. There are not three successive points of view, inside and outside as in Hordubal. There are four perspectives in which the truth remains hidden. An aeroplane crashes in flames and the only passenger is so badly hurt that he cannot be questioned or identified. The patient is dying in the hospital while everybody is kept guessing and wondering who he is and how he came there. The doctors limit themselves to the facts they can ascertain. Three people reconstruct the story: a nun, a clairvoyant and a poet. All three stories, widely as they diverge in detail, have an identical pattern underlying, which is filled out more and more concretely by every one of the successive storytellers. The nun is telling of her day-dream, a love-story, and her hero's sudden return home by plane is explained by a reawakening of his desire for his bride. The story of the clairvoyant is frankly a speculative reconstruction. The sudden return home is explained by the desire of a chemist to defend the priority of one of his discoveries. The third and last story, of the poet, is frankly imaginative fiction: a more subtle, more diverse story of loss of memory, love, the recovery of memory and the sudden return home to reclaim a heritage which would allow the marriage. The exotic setting in Cuba (possibly inspired by the trip to Spain) is something new in Čapek and succeeds excellently. The poet's exact phantasy seems to have come nearest to the unknown "objective" truth, for the doctors hear later when the patient has died without recovering consciousness, that he has actually suffered from a tropical disease, has travelled in a chartered private aeroplane and was registered as a Cuban. The book is written in praise of the poet's imagination, and the reflections interspersed with the poet's tale point this way. The poet is a hound who follows a scent with unerring instinct, a man who out of all the universe of possibilities discovers the only possible steps, past and future. What is called a real story is no more than one possibility among a thousand. "All reality is merely a casually opened page

or a word read at random in the sibylline books": while the poet lives in a world far freer and larger, in the world of poetic necessity. Karel Čapek by no means disparages objective truth. I think he would agree with Chesterton (and the name is not fortuitous, as Čapek obviously has learned from him) when he tells the excellent parable of the blind men and the elephant. One blind man who takes hold of the trunk of the elephant pronounces the animal to be a snake, the other, embracing one leg declares him a tree, and so on, while the elephant remains the same, just as truth remains eternally the same, however partially man may see it in his blindness. The poet is then the man who is almost recovering his sight. *Meteor*, on the whole, seems to be the most original, the most poetical of Čapek's many novels. Here, for once in a way, the exact phantasy of the poet is at work, much more so than in the pseudo-scientific romances.

The last volume of the trilogy, *An Ordinary Life*, approaches the problem of truth from a new side. A retired railway clerk, who is feeling the approach of death, writes his autobiography—an ordinary life of some early troubles, a smooth career, a dull marriage. Nothing more at the surface. But when he begins to think it over, he remembers all sorts of strange events he has slurred over or even distorted in his memory. He discovers another life of his own, and then another and another. The life of man is a whole crowd of different possible lives, of which one only is realised or only a few, while others appear only here and there, for a while or never. Man himself is, as it were, a whole crowd of men: in the railway clerk there was a simple man, but also an ambitious and ruthless one, a hypochondriac, too, and sometimes also a passive sufferer: but he discovers even the poet and the dreamer in himself, and for a moment during the war, when he worked against Austria, the hero. All his ancestors, he sees, have come to life in him, and in this light the mystery of the possibility of knowledge seems to be solved at last: I am not I, I am all men, everybody lives a piece of my life, and I live everybody else's. We can understand all this variety because we ourselves are such a multitude. This fine idea (which is near to Schopenhauer and Buddhism, though without their conclusions) throws light back on *Hordubal* and *Meteor*. There are unforgettable episodes in the *Ordinary Life*, especially the memories of childhood, bathed in the haze of memory; and for the first time Čapek gives a penetrating picture of the Czech bourgeois. But it seems to me that the use of the first person is somewhat overtaxed. The impossible is asked of our story-teller. The hero,

speaking of himself, can only report: he can only recall the past and tell us what he was. The retrospective telling becomes frequently too analytical, too racionative to carry conviction. But this seems a fault inherent in the approach chosen, and it is difficult to imagine another one.

The very last book by Karel Čapek, *Salamander War* (1936) is a return to the utopian romances for former years. Some of the parallels with the *Absolute at Large*, such as the figure of the Jewish captain of industry, are even deliberate. But in distinction to the earlier book, *Salamander War* has a much better design, and the main idea is carried out with consistency: giant salamanders are discovered in the South Seas, who develop a remarkable intelligence and later are furnished with weapons and explosives by their human exploiters, who use them for building dams, etc. For a long period they remain merely men's robots, but then they turn against him and slowly submerge one part of the continents after the other to get new breeding grounds in shallow coast-waters. To the very last they are supplied by selfish men with raw materials and tools. The doom of mankind seems inevitable, but the author, in a final chapter, discusses ways out for the preservation of mankind. The only salvation is in the Salamanders developing nationalism and killing each other off. The book contains very good genre-pictures in Čapek's best vein and delineates very nice human types, such as Captain Van Toch, the old sea-tar, or Mr. Povondra, the butler, who started the whole trouble by admitting Captain Van Toch to the captain of industry. There is plenty of good, topical satire on modern science and pseudoscience, on recent politics and a lavish display of Čapek's quite extraordinary power of mimicry of styles: scientific, journalistic, colloquial, dialectical, etc. But one feels that much of this power is wasted on a topic rather too well worn since Morris and Samuel Butler, Wells and Chesterton and Huxley and scores of others.

We must not forget that Karel Čapek is still a comparatively young man at the height of his powers. But his work as it stands now commands admiration by the very variety of his achievement, by the range of his powers, by its earnest striving after the highest goal. This sketch has fulfilled its purpose if it has brought home this variety, if it has shown the underlying struggle for a philosophical conception and an original form. In a few books, Karel Čapek has achieved real greatness, even measured by the highest standards. And obviously he should be judged by his best.

RENÉ WELLEK.

OBITUARY

IVAN PAVLOV¹

PROFESSOR PAVLOV, the greatest of all Russian men of science, died in Leningrad on 27 February from pneumonia, after a short attack of influenza.

Ivan Petrovitch Pavlov was born on 14 September, 1849, the son of a poor priest in a village in Ryazan, who added to his meagre stipend by peasant farming. After some early education at a theological seminary he felt the call of biology, having been keenly interested when a boy of 15 in a Russian translation of G. H. Lewes's *Physiology of Common Life*. He entered as a student of science at the University of St. Petersburg, and studied under Zion the physiologist and Mendeléyev the chemist; and on completion of the course in general science he went through the medical curriculum at the Military Medical Academy. After obtaining in 1879 his licence to practise medicine, Pavlov became research assistant to the physician Botkin, with special charge of the experimental work on animals. He graduated M.D. at St. Petersburg in 1883, and in the following year was appointed privat-docent in physiology. Then followed two years' work in Germany under Carl Ludwig at the Leipzig Physiological Institute and under Rudolf Heidenhain at Breslau. In his boyhood Pavlov had trained himself to use both hands, and he found this ambidextrous skill of great value in laboratory manipulations. In 1891 he became director of the physiological department of the Institute of Experimental Medicine lately founded at St. Petersburg by Prince Oldenburg; in 1897 he added to these duties those of professor of physiology in the Military Medical Academy. Ten years later he was appointed one of the four scientific members of the St. Petersburg Academy, and in virtue of this post assumed control of yet another laboratory. His personal experiments, however, were carried out in the Institute of Experimental Medicine, the other two laboratories being in charge of assistants working under his direct inspiration.

The researches with which the name of Pavlov is linked are remarkable no less for their number than for their variety. The earliest work that brought him into the foreground was on the physiology of the circulation. He discovered new facts about blood pressure by contriving operations which allowed experiments to be done almost without pain. Hitherto important phenomena

¹ Reprinted from the *British Medical Journal* of 7 March, 1936, by kind permission of the Editor.

had been masked by the reactions of the animal to the pain of operations or to other abnormal conditions. As the late Professor E. H. Starling well said in a study of the man and his work,² "Pavlov realised that these disturbing factors—namely, anæsthetics, pain, and discomfort—must be eliminated before the part played by excitation of a nerve, for example, under normal conditions could be appreciated, or proper value given to the results of operative procedure. We see the beginning of these ideas in the first chapter of Pavlov's scientific activities, those connected with the physiology of the circulation." Pavlov's researches on the physiology of digestion won him even higher fame. He elucidated the nervous control of the digestive glands and the part played by these glands in normal life. Once again he achieved success by devising experiments that prevented the subject from being distracted by pain. "Here the introduction of new methods devised to fulfil the conditions laid down by him at the beginning of his career enabled him to rewrite this chapter in physiology. At the present time our whole idea of the course of digestion is based upon Pavlov's discoveries. This work would have been impossible but for Pavlov's marvellous skill as an operator."

From 1888 to 1900 all his activities were devoted to the problems of digestion. At the beginning of that period he showed that the vagus nerve was the secretory nerve to the pancreas, and was able to explain why previous observers had failed to obtain any results from stimulating this nerve. A note published by one of his pupils in 1889 described Pavlov's method of obtaining pure gastric juice by making fistulous openings into the stomach and the œsophagus. By these means he was able to work out the whole process of gastric secretion and the mental and physical stimuli that induce it. Between 1892 and 1897 his colleagues in other countries became fully informed of Pavlov's discoveries on the physiology of digestion through a series of papers in the *Archives des Sciences Biologiques*, and in the latter year a collected account of his studies and experiments was published in German and in French, an English translation appearing soon afterwards. For his achievement in laying bare the main features of the digestive mechanism Pavlov received the Nobel prize for medicine in 1904. By this time his methods were widely known through the agency of his pupils, many of whom had acquired enough operative skill to perform the difficult operations which Pavlov had done himself.

From 1902 onwards Pavlov and his disciples dedicated them-

² *Nature*, 3 January, 1925.

selves to an attack upon the problem of the nature of the higher nervous processes in the brain. Hitherto the methods of investigating the functions of the cerebral hemispheres had been unsatisfactory. To quote again from Starling: "Up to the time when Pavlov began his researches, we lacked such objective physiological methods as would do for the analysis of the functions of the cortex the same services that had been rendered by physiological method in the hands of Sherrington for the analysis of the spinal reflex functions, or which have recently been used by Magnus and others in the investigation of the manner in which equilibrium is maintained or restored . . . Pavlov conceived the ingenious idea of using the appetite reactions, with which his previous twenty years' work had made him so familiar, as an objective sign of cortical reactions." A preliminary account of the researches out of which arose his conception of conditioned and unconditioned reflexes was given by Professor Pavlov in the Huxley Lecture delivered at Charing Cross Hospital on 1 October, 1906. For some time afterwards the elaborate investigations of Pavlov and his pupils in this new field of science were only known in broadest outline beyond the frontiers of Russia. The implications of his studies of the function of the cerebral hemispheres are immense and far-reaching in psychology and in sociology. His demonstration that intelligent behaviour is built up of conditioned reflexes, based on simpler reflexes of living material, confirms the importance of environment in social behaviour. After the revolution in Russia the circumstance that his conclusions were in harmony with part of the Bolshevik doctrines gave him a unique position among intellectuals in the eyes of the Soviet authority.

A lecture on inhibition hypnosis in sleep by Professor Pavlov was read for him by his son at the International Physiological Congress held in Edinburgh in 1923. It was not until then that his observations on conditioned reflexes, begun more than twenty years earlier, received general attention abroad. The reason for this was his reluctance to submit for publication any work that did not seem to him to be completely or thoroughly verified. A first-hand account of the work of Pavlov and his collaborators, by Dr. W. Horsley Gantt, appeared in the *British Medical Journal* of 30 September, 1924, and a further paper by Dr. Gantt on the same subject (11 June, 1927) described the elaborate and ingenious apparatus for eliminating adventitious stimuli when studying conditioned reflexes. Pavlov's researches in this field went on until his death, and on his eighty-fifth birthday in 1934 the Soviet

Government gave him a million roubles for the extension of his laboratories and an annual pension of 20,000 roubles. Until well over the age of eighty he was daily at work directing the researches of fifty collaborators in three different laboratories, and on six days in the week was present himself from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. coming and leaving with military punctuality, and when necessary walking through the snow and ice.

In 1927 a translation into English of Pavlov's book on *Conditioned Reflexes* was carried out by Dr. G. V. Anrep, who combines the advantages of being a Russian-born subject naturalised in Britain and a former pupil and collaborator of Pavlov's in these investigations. With the aid of the Royal Society this translation was published by the Oxford University Press. At one step, never to be forgotten in the history of physiology and psychology, this book carried us from a period of introspective observation and impotent speculation into a period of direct experimental inquiry, which will extend far into the future.

Professor Pavlov was elected a foreign member of the Royal Society in 1907 and an honorary member of the Physiological Society in 1909; the Royal Society awarded him the Copley medal in 1915. In 1928, when he visited this country for the Harvey tercentenary celebrations, he gave a Croonian Lecture before the Royal Society on certain problems of the physiology of the cerebral hemispheres. In that year the Royal College of Physicians of London elected him an Honorary Fellow. His last honour from this country was Foreign Corresponding Membership of the British Medical Association. Seven months ago he attended the International Neurological Congress in London, and gave an address on the types of higher nerve function and their connection with the neuroses and psychoses. The aged professor, who spoke in rather halting German, had a great ovation, the members standing and applauding, and again when he resumed his seat. A few weeks later he presided over the International Physiological Congress held in Russia, and received again the homage of fellow workers from every civilised country.

MICHAŁ BOBRZYŃSKI

FIVE losses in a twelvemonth—such is the toll taken in 1935 of Polish history. Limanowski, Sobieski, Askenazy, Bobrzyński, and Zakrzewski—what a list! If the first-named lived out a century, Michał Bobrzyński was not so much younger; he reached

the ripe age of eighty-seven. Among the five he might claim the special distinction of having not only written history, but also of having helped to make it.

As a boy he could remember the stirring years of the Crimean war, and was already growing up when the insurrection of 1863-64 cast its shadow over Poland. He shared all the trying years that followed, knew well what Sedan meant for the prospects of his country; but saw, too, the better conditions that came in the seventies in what was known as Galicia, as distinguished from the harder lot of the Russian and Prussian provinces. He was, as we shall see, himself a part of the mighty reaction that came in the national thinking, a trend toward realism and away from all romanticism, during those decades. As an Austrian official he watched the hopes that rose and fell on the Vistula in the troubled years of the Russo-Japanese war, and at sixty-five saw the World War break over the nation. Then came liberation, and leisure for himself; which made possible a fourth edition of his *Outlines of Polish History*, a book that had first seen the light of day fifty years before. Surely an uncommon record of action and experience, parallel in time with that of Masaryk, though different in content. Only a brief survey of certain phases of it is possible here: and more with reference to the man of letters than to the man of affairs.

Bobrzyński entered the University of Cracow to study the humanities in 1867. It was a stirring time. The very next year saw the restoration of Polish as the medium of teaching—instead of German, in the Faculty of Law; and to this the young student transferred. In 1869 there appeared in the Faculty of History a new professor, the brilliant Joseph Szujski. His charm and his powers captured Bobrzyński for good, and he has been called Szujski's most distinguished pupil. The prospects for eager students were certainly alluring; and the Faculty of Law, which had 120 candidates in 1867, had double that number four years later. This growth was due in part to the fine abilities of the Dean, Julian Dunajewski, afterwards Rector of the University. It was to these two men that Bobrzyński owed most, whether of knowledge acquired or of inspiration experienced during formative days.

Nevertheless his first concrete piece of research grew out of his study of Helcel's work on the now obsolete *Volumina Legum*: the compendium of Polish legislation begun by Konarski in 1731 and carried on for a century by the Piarist Fathers. In any case the main direction of a long life interest was now being settled;

inquiry into the past of the Polish nation and state, with special emphasis on legislation and government. Bobrzyński was to be an historian, but the history he would write was to be shot through and through with political and social science.

Europe had just received a double shock, and was trying to adjust herself to the new situation. The age-old Temporal Power of the Papacy had been dissolved, and the upstart Prussia had smashed in a few weeks the ancient might of France. Times were changing indeed, and people's thinking with them. Technical and biological sciences were forcing their way into the forefront of human attention, and in addition there were folk appearing who propounded a science of society. In particular, they rejected the "great man" notion of history, rightly or wrongly associated with the name of Carlyle, and emphasised the supreme part played in man's long march toward civilisation by impersonal, social and cultural forces. Some of them went so far as to put economic forces before all others, and make man wholly creature and not creator at all.

The impact of all this on Poland was almost cruel in its results. It meant an end to all romanticism, even idealism, and a reversion to the kind of thing Kołłątaj and Staszic had stood for nearly a century earlier. Rebuilding was not despaired of, but it would come through work alone, and the organised work of one and all. For the intelligentsia it meant an even crueller shock. The insurrections of 1830-31 and 1863-64 were subjected to scrutiny, and found to be rather blunders than divine leadings, rather harmful to the national cause than helpful. What is more, the younger generation began to inquire about the whole past of Poland. Could one any more believe in the "myth" of a martyr nation, of an innocent victim of outside aggression? Was it not time to do two things: (a) take stock of the past, and see how far misfortunes had not, perhaps, been due to one's own sins and weaknesses; and (b) set about reconstruction as grown-up men and women, by organised, scientific processes, rather than by poetry or mystical quietism?

Around this great issue waged a fierce controversy, with the "Cracow School" of historians, the Stanczyks, as the storm centre. It shook the whole nation; and even if it went too far in taking the blame for the Partitions from the shoulders of the predatory empires and laying it on those of the Polish nobility of that time, it did an enormous amount of good. In Darwinian terms, it raised the whole question as to "fitness to survive," and as a corollary

suggested the recovery of former status if and when due fitness was achieved.

Bobrzyński's mind and spirit were wide awake to the whole issue. Even while still a student he entered the lists, reading a paper to his colleagues in which he condemned out of hand the whole plan and idea of the insurrection of '63. More than most he was already coming to see that the *szlachta*—the gentry, was not the nation; and that so long as the masses in town and country were living below the margin of decency they could never play a worthy part in national affairs. As the French proverb has it, "Empty stomachs have no ears!" While material well-being was not the soul of national rehabilitation, it was as essential to a new Poland as a foundation to a house. *Enrichissez vous!* was the reply of a realist Frenchman to the request for counsel of a despairing Polish patriot after 1870.

Only mention can be made of Bobrzyński's admission to the university in 1873 as Dozent, or of his studies abroad, chiefly with Sohni at Strassbourg. A number of significant contributions to the history of medieval institutions showed promise of greater things to come: and this was fulfilled before the author was thirty, when in 1877 there appeared *Outlines of Polish History* in two stout volumes. In order not to conflict openly with the Russian censorship, the story was brought down only to 1773. Written under high pressure and completed in a few months, it was certainly not a mere record of facts. It was history "with a purpose," meant to serve as *magistra vitæ*. The mastery in respect to earlier centuries was unquestioned, but the touch was less sure and happy from the Renaissance onwards. Underlying it was a distinct thesis, and it got the author into hot water at once. This thesis, in the words of Professor Estreicher, was as follows:—

"The condition of growth for nations is their capacity for organising themselves into strong states. A state is then strong, when at its head stands an administration, equipped with authority to govern, able to realise the aims of the common life, to combat the selfishness of groups or individuals, and to gather around it the forces of society. A nation so organised will deal with every peril, will prevail over every assault of its neighbours. If Poland fell, it was because in the last two centuries of independance the groups that ruled the land had lost the instinct for the collective life, and of themselves did not produce a strong government. That was the *causa efficiens* of the downfall of Poland."

The *Outlines* laid the blame, as well as the credit, for what

happened squarely on the shoulders of the whole social order, saying what men like Modrzewski and Staszic had said before. But by ending his work at the first partition, he left an impression of the deepest pessimism. He was at once set upon by his fellows as a defeatist. He struck back stoutly at his critics, enlarging the work in a second edition in 1880, and a third a few years later. Szujski took the ground against him, that the nation is prior to State and that it is the end of all striving. Others attacked on different grounds, some quite unfairly.

Without being a perfect piece of writing, the *Outlines* do deserve the epithet "epoch-making." True, the nation without a State was not disposed to like Bobrzyński's approach; but the historian had his satisfaction fifty years later. In a free Poland he could sit down quietly and write Volume Three, covering the 19th century, and when he published the whole work again in 1927 it brought just the message the nation and State needed. Taken with his *Restoration of the Polish State* (two vols. 1920 and 1925), it represents a single whole of which Polish historians may be proud.

Space does not permit here any account of Bobrzyński the politician and statesman. During twenty years before the war broke out, he was in the fore-front of Polish-Austrian public life; and his contribution to educational life in Galicia as well as his strivings to make peace between Poles and Ukrainians made him a name to be remembered. Here, as in his writing, Bobrzyński was a realist; but he was never pessimistic. His emphasis on society as a State pointed the way to what we see going too far in our newer day, but it was needed. To him the science of history was the collecting of materials for the study of the State; and the science of the State was the only safe guide for discovering the laws of the common life. Time will tell how far he was right. In any case his strictures on the exuberant individualism that had been so hurtful to Polish national life of old were plain if unpleasant truth. For this the younger generation is grateful; as also for the fact that in writing the history of the Polish *people*, and being the first man to write it, he blazed out a new trail which others are glad to follow.

W. J. ROSE.

ALEXANDER GLAZUNOV

ALTHOUGH Glazunov was never reckoned as a member of that group of five Russian composers, known from the 'sixties onward as "the mighty band," yet his intimate association with Balakirev's

circle linked him with the national movement they inaugurated. To one who can look back over fifty years of Russian musical history, Glazunov's death in Paris, on 22 March, 1936, appears as at the retarded close of that glorious period which produced Balakirev, Cui, Borodin, Mussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov.

Born at St. Petersburg on 10 August, 1865, Glazunov showed great musical talent at nine, and composed his first symphony at 16. Balakirev, recognising his abilities, advised him to study under Rimsky-Korsakov, and further showed his interest in the young composer by giving this symphony, after drastic revision, at one of the concerts of the Free School in 1882.

Glazunov was brought up in a musical atmosphere and was endowed with a prodigious memory; all that he heard during a musical *soirée* at home remained so firmly fixed in his mind that, waking later in the night, he could reconstruct it in detail.

As Balakirev was Glazunov's earliest friend in Russia, so Franz Liszt was his first sponsor abroad—producing his First Symphony at Weimar in 1884; therefore it is not surprising that these two leaders of musical thought should have influenced the young composer in the direction of “programme” music: “Stenka Razin,” “The Forest,” “The Sea,” and “The Kremlin” are early works conceived in the descriptive style. Later his preference for classical forms asserted itself most decisively and continued to the end of his career. He has written eight symphonies; chamber music, including five string quartets; and some effective overtures. He wrote also one Violin and two Pianoforte Concertos. Opera never attracted him, but he showed special gifts for the ballet: “Raymonda,” “Ruses d'Amour,” and “The Seasons” were among his best known works. Nor did he escape the lure of the eastern spirit, as for instance in his glowing “Oriental Rhapsody” for orchestra.

In 1903 he was appointed Professor at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire and assistant director with Rimsky-Korsakov, whom he succeeded as director in 1906. Owing to his peaceful and tactful nature he kept the post until after the revolution, retiring ostensibly for reasons of health. He settled in Paris and married rather late in life. His last visit to England was in the autumn of 1931, when he conducted his seventh Symphony and his second Piano Concerto, played by his step-daughter, Elena Glazunov, at the Eastbourne Festival.

ROSA NEWMARCH.

SOVIET LEGISLATION (XVI)

(Selection of Decrees and Documents)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On the Manner in which Accounts Concerning Foreign Trade and other Foreign Currency Transactions should be Regulated.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decrees.—

1. To instruct the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade and the People's Commissariat of Finances of the USSR to apply, as from 1 April, 1936, the following rate of exchange—1 rouble to equal 3 francs—in all the calculations of the export and import organisations and in all other foreign currency transactions.

2. To instruct the State Bank of the USSR to apply to the purchase and sale of foreign currency from exporting and importing organisations, as well as in respect of all other foreign currency transactions, the same rate of exchange, i.e. 1 rouble to equal 3 francs.

3. In correspondence with clauses 1 and 2 of the present decree, to give permission to the State Bank to revalue all foreign currency and gold reserves in its Balance Sheet of 1 April, 1936.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR

V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR

I. MIRISHNIKOV.

Moscow, Kremlin.

29 February, 1936.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 1 March, 1936, No. 52-5909.)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On the Labour Participation of the Village Population in the Construction and Repair of Highways and Secondary Roads.

In order to improve the organisation of labour participation of the village population in the construction and repair of highways and secondary roads and to amend the existing regulations thereof, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decree—

1. To charge the Main Board of Highways of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs of the USSR and its republican, area and provincial organs with the task of assuming the direction in regard to the organisation of work concerning the construction and repair of highways and secondary roads with the labour participation of the village population and with responsibility for the proper organisation of this work in correspondence with the established programmes.

2. The working programmes in respect of roads of national (Federal and Republican) significance and of roads of area and provincial significance (according to specially prepared lists) are to be drawn up by the Main Board of Highways on the basis of programmes prepared by

the republican, area and provincial organs, these programmes are to be presented by the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs for confirmation by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

Working programmes regarding all other roads (not enumerated in the first paragraph of the present clause) are to be prepared by the republican, area and provincial organs of the Main Board of Highways and, after having been confirmed by the Board, to be presented for confirmation to the Councils of People's Commissaries of the allied and autonomous republics or to the area and provincial executive committees respectively.

When drawing up working programmes with labour participation of the population, the local organs of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs must take into consideration :—

(a) that the village population is to be engaged twice a year, in spring and in autumn (when free of seasonal agricultural work);

(b) that each conscript is obliged to work for the whole period fixed in clause 3 of the present decree.

3. The labour participation of individual peasants and members of kolhozy in road construction is to be as follows —

(a) personal actual work for six days a year without remuneration;

(b) surrendering to the road authorities their draft animals, means of transport, instruments and machinery for the same period without remuneration.

NOTE.—Citizens who are assessed for the individual agricultural tax or for the income tax, schedule No. 3, are conscripted for road-making, together with their working animals, means of transport, instruments and machinery, for a period of 12 days a year.

Individual peasants and members of kolhozy are to be engaged in road-making in accordance with the following provision: men aged from 18 to 45 years, women aged from 18 to 40 years.

4. Labour participation of kolhozy in road-making is to express itself as follows: kolhozy must place at the disposal of the road authorities their draft animals, means of transport, lorries, instruments and machinery, together with the labour personnel; the work done by members of kolhozy is to be considered as their labour participation in road-making.

5. To state that it is to the advantage of a kolhoz as well as of the State, that not all the members should take part in road-making, but that kolhozy should appoint special gangs who are to work for the kolhoz and whose labour is to be considered as a substitute for the labour participation in road-making of all members of the given kolhoz.

6. The usual habitation of individual peasants and members of kolhozy conscripted for road-making is to be not more than 7.5 kilometres distant from each side of the road under construction; the distance limit for draft animals is 15 kilometres, and for lorries 30 kilometres, from each side of the road.

7. In order to carry out the programmes of compulsory road construction, special funds representing not less than 10 per cent. of the

estimated value of the work to be done by the conscripts, must be provided annually in the corresponding republican and local budgets; the money is to be used for the purchase of equipment and machinery, for maintenance of technical personnel, etc.

8. Members of kolhozy, individual peasants and kolhozy who evade labour participation in road-making, are liable to a fine amounting to double the value of the work which should have been done by them; fines are imposed by order of a corresponding road authority. The money accumulated from fines must be used exclusively for the construction and repair of roads in the confines of the corresponding republic, area or province.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,

M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,

V. MOLOTOV.

Temporary Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,

I. UNSCHLICHT.

Moscow, Kremlin.

3 March, 1936.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 4 March, 1936, No. 54-5911.)

On the Abolition of State Subsidies and on Selling Prices in Heavy and Timber Industries.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR have abolished, as from 1 April, 1936, State subsidies to many branches of the heavy and timber industries. This decree affects such branches of industry as produce coal, peat, iron ore, black and coloured metals, many chemical products, some kinds of machinery, cement, timber, sawn timber.

The necessity of State subsidies to the coal industry, iron, timber, chemical and some other kinds of industry during the last years is explained by the fact that during a long period, at some times during the last seven or eight years and more, the selling prices of coal, pig-iron, steel, timber and chemical products remained the same, while the production cost of these products, during the last few years, has increased. The increase of the production cost in the heavy and timber industries must be explained by the fact that during this period the wages have considerably increased (in coal, metallurgical, oil and timber industries during the first and the second Five Year Periods the wages have been nearly trebled), which was caused by the increase in prices for agricultural products. Apart from that, the increase of the production cost was connected with the fact that, during the last few years, industrial undertakings were burdened with heavy expenses for training the personnel necessary for many new factories. The cost of transport, forage, etc., has also gone up. The result of all this was that the Plan for 1935 foreshadowed State subsidies, for instance, to the extent of 10·32 roubles per one ton of coal and of 20·26 roubles per one ton of pig-iron.

The Council of People's Commissaries have decided that such a state

of affairs is not to be maintained in future, inasmuch as in the heavy industry and also, to some extent, in the timber industry, since last year and as a result of better utilisation of new technique, the production cost not only has not increased, but has even considerably decreased. The Plan of 1936 foreshadows a further decrease of production cost in all branches of heavy and light industries. In correspondence with this, the Council of People's Commissaries have abolished, as from 1 April, the subsidies to the above-enumerated branches of heavy and timber industries and have somewhat increased the selling prices for the products of these industries, after taking into consideration the prescribed decrease in production cost during 1936.

In connection with the execution of this measure, those industrial State undertakings which are consumers of the corresponding raw materials, fuel and equipment, the prices for which have been increased, have received additional credits. Those branches of industry (light industry) in which the increase of the selling prices would result in an increase of production cost and which cannot lower this cost by means of improvement of their work, will be assisted, even during the present year, by means of reduction of the turnover tax, in such a manner as to leave the retail prices at which the population buys the goods, on the same level.

As a result of these measures, more favourable conditions will be created for the future development of the heavy and timber industries on the basis of introduction of the principle of economic self-support and securing economic soundness for all, efficiently worked industrial undertakings.

Apart from this, new railway tariffs have been introduced as from 1 April for many kinds of goods; these new tariffs will help to dispense with the losses which the railways have suffered in the past.

(Official Communication of the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union.)

(Published in *Izvestia*, 11 April, 1936, No. 86-5943.)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On the Personal Status of the Teachers in Elementary and Secondary Schools.

The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decree:—

1. To establish the following personal grades for the teachers in elementary and secondary schools:—

- (a) Teacher of elementary school;
- (b) Teacher of secondary school;
- (c) Distinguished school-teacher.

The personal grades of teachers, which are granted to them in accordance with the law, are to be for life, and the holders can be deprived of their rank only by sentence of a court.

Teachers who receive personal grades are to be given duly confirmed

certificates signed by the People's Commissary for Public Instruction of an allied republic.

2. To establish that personal grades are granted to the teachers by the People's Commissaries of the allied republics upon the representation of the People's Commissaries of autonomous republics and of the directors of provincial (area) departments of Public Instruction and, in those localities where there are no provincial divisions, upon the representation of the directors of town or district departments of Public Instruction; certificates are to be granted to the following persons :—

(a) the rank of elementary school teacher—to persons who have graduated from pedagogical seminaries (or schools of equal grade) and who have been found qualified for pedagogical work;

(b) the rank of secondary school teacher—to persons who have graduated from pedagogical institutes or universities and who have been found qualified for pedagogical work.

Persons who have graduated from the institutes for teachers who have been found qualified for pedagogical work are to be given the rank of secondary school teacher, with the right to teach in the first seven forms of a secondary school.

Persons who are at present engaged in pedagogical work in elementary and secondary schools but who have not graduated from the corresponding institutes for teachers, are to be granted the right to continue their work on the condition that within the next two years (up to 1 August, 1938) they should pass the necessary examinations and obtain the corresponding degrees.

The personal rank is to be granted to the above persons only after one year's actual pedagogical work in a school. Pedagogical work done by a teacher before he had entered an institute for teachers, may be considered as a qualification for personal rank.

To instruct the People's Commissaries of the allied republics to publish the orders with regard to the granting of personal rank in the official journals of the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction.

3. To establish that the rank of distinguished school-teacher is to be granted, in correspondence with special regulations, by the Councils of People's Commissaries of the allied republics upon the representation of the People's Commissaries for Public Instruction, to those elementary and secondary school teachers who may especially distinguish themselves in their teaching and educational work.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,

M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,

V. MOLOTOV.

Temporary Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,

I. UNSCHLICHT.

Moscow, Kremlin.

10 April, 1936.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 11 April, 1936, No. 86-5943.)

Programme of the All-Union Lenin's Own Communist League of Youth.

(Adopted by the X Congress of the League held on 11-21 April, 1936.)

(The Programme is preceded by a preamble which contains a brief historical sketch of the Communist revolution in Russia and a short account of the achievements claimed to have been attained by the Russian Communist Party since 1917. Owing to the pressure on our space we have had to omit this portion of the document. Below we reproduce the translation of the text of the actual Programme.—EDITORS.)

The All-Union Lenin's Own Communist League of Youth is a mass non-partisan organisation allied to the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki), and unites in its ranks broad masses of advanced and politically conscious young persons living in towns and villages. The Communist League of Youth pursues the aim of assisting the Communist Party (Bolsheviki) in the education of youth and children in the spirit of Communism. Being in sympathy with the programme of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki), the Communist League of Youth assists the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government in the fulfilment of a great historical task—the building up of a Communist Society. The Communist League of Youth is auxiliary to the All-Union Communist Party and is its reserve.

The Communist League of Youth, guided by the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki), by all its work educates young workers, peasants, clerks and intellectuals and forms them into men and women devoted to the Soviet Government, well instructed, bold and determined, who are not afraid of hardships and difficulties, who hate the enemies of the working classes, and for whom "clarity of purpose, persistence in the attainment of aims and firmness of character which break through all barriers" (Stalin) are the main features of their character.

In order to educate the toiling youth of towns and villages and to organise them around the Soviet Government, the All-Union Lenin's Own Communist League of Youth is to pursue the following aims:—

I. Political Education of Youth

1. While following the directions of Lenin who said that the formation of true Communist mentality—the thorough knowledge of the scientific and revolutionary theory of Marxism—is the principal condition for the education of youth in the spirit of Communism, the Communist League of Youth thinks it necessary for each member of the League to obtain political education. With this aim in view the League organises schools and circles and carries on other measures which will help the youth in mastering political principles, in studying the principal historical events in general and the history of the USSR and of the All-Union Communist Party in particular, organises study by young persons of the principal theories propounded by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

2. The Communist League of Youth is engaged in the work of political

education of young workers, peasants, clerks, students and intellectuals; informs them by means of meetings, talks and lectures about current political events, measures passed by the Soviet Government and by the All-Union Communist Party, conditions of the life of workers and peasants in the past and in capitalist countries, the history of the Civil War in the USSR, and educates the youth demonstrating to them the examples of heroic struggle of workers and toiling peasants against capitalists and landowners. The Communist League of Youth publishes its own papers, periodicals, political and artistic literature, organises clubs for young people and conducts propaganda work in workers' and kolhoz clubs, libraries and reading rooms.

3. The Communist League of Youth patiently explains to the young people the harm done by superstitions and religious prejudices and organises special circles and lectures for anti-religious propaganda.

4. The Communist League of Youth conducts educational work against past reactionary traditions of national inequality, against any demonstration of chauvinism and nationalism and educates the young people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The local branches of the League conduct educational and political work among the young people, using the native languages of the peoples of the USSR and taking into consideration the peculiar conditions and circumstances of each of these peoples.

5. The Communist League of Youth organises various courses and schools for training and re-training propagandists and organisers of different branches of the League activities.

II. *Education of Young People*

1. The Communist League of Youth, in all its work, is guided by the words of Stalin: "to master knowledge, to forge new cadres of Bolsheviks—specialists in all branches of knowledge—to study, study, study in the most persistent way." The League strives to raise the cultural and technical standard of the working classes to the level of fully qualified engineers.

2. With this aim in view the branches of the League:—

(a) assist the Government institutions in the strengthening and development of the Soviet schools and in the realisation of universal compulsory education, at first for seven years and then for ten years;

(b) organise, together with the Government and public bodies, training centres where young people may receive secondary education and technical training without interruption of their occupation in industry;

(c) render every kind of assistance to the development of university education in the USSR (training of engineers, doctors, agronomists, pedagogues, etc.);

(d) conduct an active struggle for the liquidation of illiteracy and insufficient literacy among young people;

(e) organise various circles, schools and courses for raising the standard of technical and general knowledge and for the study of foreign languages;

(f) conduct a struggle against "I-know-all-about-it" and a superficial attitude towards study, and strive that each member of the League may thoroughly know some speciality and be absolutely proficient in this speciality.

III. *Work in Schools and among Children*

1. The Communist League of Youth assists the State institutions and teachers in strengthening the school discipline and in organisation of work in the schools.

2. Conducts a struggle against penetration into the schools of anti-popular tendencies and fights hooliganism and bad behaviour.

3. Systematically informs school children about the most important daily events and organises various circles, lectures and talks.

4. In order to satisfy different requirements of the school children the League organises, on the principle of self-activity, circles of physical culture, musical, dramatic, photographic, radio, model-making, young inventors' societies, etc.

5. Organises rest and cultural entertainment of the school children (evenings of self-activity, visits to cinemas, theatres, museums and picture galleries, excursions, tourist travels, etc.).

6. Participates actively in the training of teachers and recruits its best elements for pedagogical work.

7. Organises Pioneers' detachments and groups of "October-cubs" in the schools.

8. Recruits the best members of the League for work in the Pioneers' detachments and posts, or as leaders of various circles which are attached to the detachments and posts, and renders every kind of assistance in the work of these detachments and posts.

9. Organises, together with trade unions and government institutions, Pioneers' camps, childrens' clubs, people's palaces, playing fields, sanatoria, technical stations for children, etc.

10. Publishes artistic and popular technical literature for children and takes care of the production of equipment for Pioneers' detachments and of good toys, etc.

IV. *Physical Training of Youth*

1. Organises physical training for young people and strives to attain the best sporting records for the USSR.

2. Actively participates in the work of State and public bodies engaged in the promotion of physical culture, organising various sporting societies and circles.

3. Actively participates in the construction of sporting establishment (sporting fields, stadiums, sport halls, open-air baths, aviation clubs, etc. and assists in the production of sports equipment.

4. Recruits among its members instructors and organisers of sport and physical culture.

V. Participation in Socialist Reconstruction

1. While following the directions of the All-Union Communist Party regarding the Communist education of young people (each stage of instruction and education must be connected with the struggle for the creation of a Communist society), the Communist League of Youth strives to include all toiling young people in participation in the socialist reconstruction. The League branches are to explain to the young people the aims of socialist reconstruction, inform them about the programmes of economic development in the USSR, take part in all political campaigns conducted by the All-Union Communist Party and by the Soviet Government, mobilise, as the need arises, their members for the most important tasks of socialist reconstruction, take part in the daily activities of Soviet institutions, assist the Soviet Government in its fight against bureaucratic perversions in the work of Soviet and economic institutions.

2. The Communist League of Youth assists the Bolshevik Party in the organisation of socialist competition and takes an initiative in this competition. The League members must show an example by their conscientious work and lead other young people. The League strives to ingrain into the minds of young people a Communist attitude towards labour, a conscientious attitude towards their duties to the Soviet Government; it demands of each male and female member that they should render labour services according to their abilities. The League informs young people of examples of labour heroism and labour feats achieved by the older comrades, male and female shock workers. The League is engaged in the fight for the increase of the productivity of labour and for the strengthening of labour discipline in factories, transport, kolhozy, sovkhozy and offices.

3. The Communist League of Youth conducts work in educating all young people in the spirit of the safeguarding and preservation of socialist property, which is the foundation of the Soviet régime.

4. The Communist League of Youth assists the Soviet Government in strengthening the family and in the care of children and mothers. The League fights reactionary capitalist traditions as to women and educates the young people in the feeling of respect for women, who are equal participants in the socialist reconstruction.

VI. Defence of the Socialist Fatherland

1. The young generation of the Soviet Union must prepare themselves to defend their fatherland against any dangers and attacks on it by enemies. "Since 7 November (25 October) we are patriots. We are for the 'defence of the fatherland,' but the patriotic war towards which we strive is the war for the socialist fatherland, for socialism which is our fatherland, for the Soviet Republic which is a detachment of the international army of Socialism" (Lenin). While persistently following this testament of the great Lenin, the Communist League of Youth educates the young generation in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and of boundless

and unlimited love towards the USSR, our fatherland. Unqualified defence of the socialist fatherland, strengthening of its power, prosperity and glory is the most sacred and glorious duty of every member of the Communist League of Youth. The League educates young people in the spirit of readiness, upon the first call of the Soviet Government, to fight the enemies of the socialist fatherland.

2. The Communist League of Youth educates young people in bravery and courage, ingrains contempt for cowardice and fear of Soviet enemies and a spirit of strictest discipline; the League educates young people in the spirit of hatred for desertion, treachery and treason, which it considers to be the greatest and most abominable crime against the interests of the socialist fatherland. The members of the Communist League and all young people must show up and prosecute before the courts of the workers' and peasants' State all those who betray the interests of the fatherland.

3. In its work for the strengthening of the defence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Communist League of Youth is guided by the policy pursued by the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and by the Soviet Government, as formulated by Stalin: "We stand for peace and defend the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are ready to reply with blow for blow to those who start war." Active assistance to the Soviet State in strengthening and developing the armed forces is the most important duty of the Lenin's Own Communist League of Youth. Having these aims in view, the Communist League of Youth assumes the colonelship-in-chief of the Soviet Navy and Air Force, and supplies the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army with soldiers devoted to the Soviet Government, whose hands and eyes will not fail them in the fight with the enemies of the revolutionary people. The Communist League of Youth conducts among young people propaganda of military science, actively participates in the work of public defence organisations and strives to achieve that each member of the League, before joining the ranks of the army or navy, may know the art of musketry and may have thoroughly studied one of the military specialities.

(Published in *Pravda*, 23 April, 1936, No. 113-6719.)

CHRONICLE

RUSSIA. (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.)

Foreign Affairs.

ON the initiative of the British Government, Anglo-Soviet naval talks with the object of associating the Soviet Union in the execution of the recently concluded London Naval Treaty, were opened at the London Foreign Office in May. The Soviet delegation was led by M. Maisky, Soviet Ambassador in London, and included the Soviet Naval Attaché and other officials. Several meetings took place, the contents of which were not divulged to the public.

The Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance was approved by the French Senate by a large majority on 12 March, and the exchange of the ratified copies of the Treaty took place in Paris on 27 March between M. Litvinov and M. Flandin.

The Soviet Government's attitude towards Germany's military reoccupation of the Rhineland was expressed by M. Litvinov in strong terms in his speech at the League of Nations's session in London in March. Germany's violation of both the League Covenant and the Locarno Treaty, he said, was flagrant and perfectly open, and the reference to the Franco-Soviet Pact a mere pretence. Her aim was to paralyse collective security by a system of bi-lateral pacts which precluded any intervention against the aggressor by any third party. The USSR unequivocally condemned Germany's act and would co-operate in all the most effective measures for preventing such violations in the future, and was ready to join in any measures proposed by the Council or the Locarno Powers to that effect. The Soviet Government was in favour of a settlement, which, however, should not take the form of surrender to the violator's demands. A League incapable of enforcing its regulations would become not only useless but detrimental.

On 11 April the Turkish Government addressed a circular Note to the signatory Powers of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, asking for its revision, in view of changed political circumstances and the fact that the demilitarised Straits now constituted a menace to the safety of Turkey. The Turkish Government, the Note said, laid their case before the Powers and requested that a conference should be called to work out a new Agreement. The Soviet Government, in their reply, stated that it had always been their definite conviction that the régime of the Straits was a matter of Turkey's absolute sovereignty, and this principle had always formed the basis of all the Soviet's treaties with that country. They therefore considered Turkey's present claim as entirely justifiable, and were ready to take part in any negotiations to that effect.

There has been little change in the situation in the Far East. The armed clashes, with increasing casualties, between Soviet and Manchukuo-Japanese troops along the frontier continued sporadically, each side accusing the other of violation of territory, and each presenting protests to the other. After lengthy negotiations the Soviet Government informed the Japanese of their consent to the Japanese proposals concerning the two joint commissions to be established, one for the redemarcation of the frontier from Lake Khanka to the Korean border, and the second for dealing with frontier incidents, Moscow agreeing to forego its previous insistence that the first commission should deal with the whole Siberian-Manchukuo frontier. At a dinner given in honour of the retiring Japanese Military Attaché in Moscow, speeches were exchanged between Marshal Voroshilov and the Japanese Ambassador, in which both affirmed their respective governments' desire to live in peace and expressed the view that there existed no differences between them which could not be amicably settled. Marshal Voroshilov, however, pointed out that his

own government's will to peace had been repeatedly proved by the offer of a Non-Aggression Pact between the USSR and Japan, which so far had not been accepted. He added that the increasing frequency and severity of the frontier clashes were becoming a menace to Soviet-Japanese relations. The Soviet Government had a right to expect that a stop should be put to the activities of irresponsible elements in Manchukuo. The Soviet's persistent policy of peace was in some quarters mistaken for weakness, but such was far from being the case.

A Military Pact of Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic was signed in Ulan-Bator (capital of Outer Mongolia) by the Soviet Minister, M. Tairov, and representatives of the Mongolian Government, for a term of ten years. This Pact confirmed in writing the verbal agreement existing since 1934, and was concluded at the request of the Mongolian delegation which visited Moscow in December last. Although nominally independent, Outer Mongolia's status with regard to the USSR is virtually on the same lines as that of Manchukuo with regard to Japan.

Internal Affairs.

In connection with the stabilisation of the rouble, an important decree for the regulation of all foreign trade payments and transactions was published on 1 March. According to this decree, the State Bank was to proceed to the revaluation of its gold and foreign currency holdings according to the new rate of exchange, fixed at 1 rouble=3 French francs (about 25 roubles to the £ sterling), and all foreign transactions from 1 April are to be henceforth based on the new rate.¹ How far this devaluation affects internal prices is so far unknown, as no figures are published in the Soviet current press, but according to private information and the customs duty levied on foodstuffs and all goods sent from abroad, these appear to be very high.

Spring sowing, which began very early, was checked by a return of the cold weather, and for a long time the discrepancy between this year's figures and the corresponding ones for last year, was very great. Apparently the weather was not alone to blame, as articles frequently appeared in the Soviet press, severely criticising the inefficient use of machinery, a tendency to "Let things slide" and not make use of the available horses, etc. By the end of May, the delinquents caught up the arrears, and sowing was practically finished.

The plan for the first quarter of the year was considerably exceeded in heavy industries—the mining, metallurgic, tractor and railway stock building industries and some branches of the chemical industry heading the list. But the output in coal and oil fell below the plan.

A plenary meeting was held on 15 May, under M. Stalin's chairmanship, of the Constitutional Commission elected by the Central Executive Committee for drawing up the new Soviet Constitution. The final text was approved, and a resolution carried for laying it before the next

¹ The text is given on p. 216.

session of the TSIK (Central Executive Committee). The draft of the Constitution is divided into 13 headings, viz.: Social Order, State Order, Higher Organs of State Authority of the USSR, Higher Organs of State Authority of the Component Republics of the Union; Organs of Government of the USSR., Organs of Government of the Component Union Republics of the Union; Higher Organs of State Authority of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; Local Government Bodies; Justice and Judicature, Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens; Electoral System; The State Arms, Flag and capital; The Order of the Change of the Constitution. According to later information, the decision to place the draft of the new Constitution before the next session of the TSIK was revoked, and it will be submitted to an All-Union Congress of Soviets. This means a considerable postponement, and the elections to the next Congress of Soviets, the date of which is not fixed, will take place under the old electoral law.

The draft of a decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries on prohibiting abortions, increased grants to prospective mothers, state assistance to large families, opening of large numbers of maternity and children's homes and crèches together with increased penalties for non-payment of alimony, and certain modifications in the divorce laws, has been published in the official press and submitted by the government for public discussion on 26 May.

The project to pronounce abortion to be a crime, in direct contradiction to the law passed in November, 1920, is explained by the high standard of welfare reached in the socialist state, where every prospective mother may be assured of the future of her progeny: whereas in the earlier days of the Soviet republic "the accursed heritage" of the capitalist régime had rendered the existence of children so precarious as to justify abortion. The tightening up of the divorce law consists chiefly in raising the divorce fees, in rising proportion to the number of divorces, and the presence of both parties in the divorce court. The alimony paid by the guilty party for the children is fixed at $\frac{1}{3}$ of his or her wages in the case of one child, 50 per cent. for two, and 60 per cent. for three or over.

Judging by the resolutions and letters published in the Soviet press, this draft bill is meeting with a mixed reception from the public. The question of abortion in particular raises numerous protests and criticisms, particularly from young women students and workers. Often the argument in favour of abortion is the absence of even one room for the married couple to live in, and consequently the impossibility of having a family.

Death sentences have been passed on several officials and employees on the Siberian railways, accused of sabotage and counter-revolution on behalf of a "foreign power." Also on the Governor and a minor employee of the Soviet colony on Wrangel island in the Arctic for organising and executing the murder of the physician of the colony, Dr. Wulfson.

REVIEWS

The Russian Revolution. By W. H. Chamberlin. 2 volumes. (Macmillan, New York.) 42s.

The Christian Science Monitor sent Mr. Chamberlin in 1922 to Moscow, where he remained for 12 years. He arrived soon after the inception of the NEP and left at the conclusion of the first Five Year Plan. Despite his arduous duties—the *Christian Science Monitor* is one of the best informed papers of modern times—over this period Mr. Chamberlin was able to collect enough data to produce, in 18 months, this most comprehensive history of an era of unexampled turmoil in Russia, 1917-21. The result is, beyond all shadow of doubt, the fullest and best documented chronicle of events so far produced. The only adverse comments the most captious critic can level are, first, that Mr. Chamberlin relies almost exclusively upon the written word, no doubt during the years since 1921 the stage has been cleared of many of the principal actors, particularly on the losing sides. Further, it is arguable how far Mr. Chamberlin might have gone in guiding the student (as opposed to the initiate) to interpret the significance of the facts so painstakingly set out; but on Mr. Chamberlin's side it is also arguable that an historian does better service to posterity by confining his records to facts. And, judging by the biased participants who now pass as historians, Mr. Chamberlin would undoubtedly be justified.

However, since it would be idle to attempt the summary of those momentous years in a short space for the readers of the *Slavonic Review*, some appreciation of the world effect of the upheaval chronicled by Mr. Chamberlin may be permissible. The Bolshevik leaders, until the final breakdown of what Mr. Chamberlin calls "war communism," believed that Governments on their model would emerge throughout war-weary Europe. Here they undoubtedly over-estimated the militancy of the Western proletariat. The discovery, if one may so term it, of the Russian Revolution, was the dictatorship of a class or party supposedly within the form of a democracy, even Lenin would probably be surprised at the number of nations who have adapted this principle to their own circumstances. The Bolshevik leaders failed to understand when they raised the cry of "equal opportunity for all" that in Europe, with the exception of Russia, there was already equal opportunity for the *few* (whatever their class origin) to attain the highest positions in the State and elsewhere. Also, at the Congresses of the Third International and of the Peoples of the East, the influence claimed by the foreign delegates among their own countrymen was vastly exaggerated. In fact, these Congresses, during which such high-flown resolutions were unanimously carried, were attended (with the exception of some of the Russians) by cranks or visionaries. The lessons of the Revolution could not be learned by such as these delegates, whose phobias were already fixed.

Subsequent events in Europe have shown what any objective thinker could even then have foreseen: that slavish following of Bolshevik dogma, which membership of the Comintern entailed, led nowhere. The lessons lie in critical deduction which can logically be made from Mr. Chamberlin's volumes by a reader of flexible outlook who can change his course (as Lenin did) without losing sight of the objective. While the leaders of the ruling parties today in Italy and Germany (for example) would probably resent a suggestion that they were Leninist disciples, the parallel certainly exists. Any man who aspires to mastery of his country should give profound attention to the course of Russian history during those four terror-ridden years. Trotsky's chapters in his own history of the same period on the "Art of Insurrection" may be cited as an example of reasoning based on partisan study of the same events. Trotsky's judgment cannot, however, be relied upon, because self-justification is one of the objects implied by the very title of these chapters. It is here that Mr. Chamberlin, had he wished, might have been of great assistance to the ardent, but not necessarily idealistic, revolutionaries throughout the world.

In a society so confused as that of a so-called democratic country of the West, the class lines, as defined by the Bolshevik credo, are extremely indistinct. It behoves the student, therefore, to make his own frontier. In democracies it can safely be said that the non-thinking classes are, in the main, ruled by the thinking classes, who are in fact paid by the masses to think for them. These thinking classes, if the Russian lesson is learned, must be confined to a single line of development, once the minority (of the thinking classes) rule is established. So far as Great Britain is concerned, the thinking classes can be divided (by no means equally) among the three main political parties; but there is in addition a substantial proportion which is not prepared to submit to toeing any party line.

Political extremism, whether in Russia or elsewhere, must always be distasteful to many; unfortunately the remainder are in general characterised by what Mr. Chamberlin calls an "irresolute softness," which he maintains is the distinguishing mark of the pre-war (or, for that matter, post-war) Liberal intellectual.

So far as Russia was concerned, it was necessary to cope with the unprecedented collapse of tradition in its broadest sense. Elsewhere, as in Russia, any party aspiring to power must possess a certain ruthlessness. In Europe then, the executive of all parties must, if their future is to be assured, contemplate a hitherto unrealised degree of discipline. This tenet had been appreciated by the Russian Communist Party leaders even before 1905, and was in fact, during 1920-1 responsible for a most curious divergence of viewpoint between the ranks of the Russian Communist Party and its leaders. The members of the Communist Party, though inured to its discipline, were unable to understand the privileges assumed by the leaders. In this connection it must be

appreciated that after the November Revolution of 1917 the members of the Communist Party had to be satisfied not by the improvement in their own condition but by the deterioration in that of their former rulers.

The main strategy of all the so-called bourgeois parties in democratic Europe should be based on two factors. First, the ability to spread apathy among the adherents of potentially rival parties. Secondly, the ability to understand the outlook of their own adherents, coupled with the fact that at least they themselves live no better than the general standard of living. No observer, however temperamentally favourably disposed to the present British economic system, could deny that there is a place for this theory within present political practice.

Several examples of the efficacy of this doctrine, Leninist in principle but modified to meet local conditions, can be adduced. The most pertinent at the moment of writing is, of course, France. Here is a country, admittedly Socialist in majority, where the majority of voters have been excluded from political power by a minority, whose only argument has been that a Socialist Government would produce a share and exchange slump. Yet, when faced with the fact of Socialist rule, these parties are able to settle such essentially capitalist differences by a series of organised but apparently spontaneous strikes; here is party discipline enforced against the majority. To follow Bolshevik theory would entail revocation of foreign indebtedness of all kinds and a dissipation of the gold "war chest" of which Frenchmen of all parties are somewhat incongruously proud. Such action would probably be of ultimate benefit to the non-thinking classes, but the thinking minority have been able to enforce the present compromise.

In Spain, where Communism on the Russian model is perhaps more rapidly approaching, the principal *bloc* supporting the new Radical régime has been the peasantry. Indeed, Spain was (and still is) the only country with an acute land problem in any way parallel to the pre-war situation in Russia. Here again the lesson of spreading apathy, rather than actively canvassing one's own cause, seems to have been effective. Lastly, in Chinese Turkestan, where Bolshevik "hot-gospellers" have had a free run since 1928, there is an exact illustration. As Mr. Owen Lattimore says: "For generations the importunate Oross ('Rus') have harried them (the peasants) now with troops, now with proclamations and incomprehensible licences. No matter. Rulers must be soothed and cajoled while a man gets on as best he can with his business." Here in a paragraph is the kernel of the Russian Revolution. This doctrine—creating and taking advantage of mass apathy—is the fundamental lesson which the twentieth century Revolution can learn from Mr. Chamberlin's facts.

BOSWORTH GOLDMAN.

U istokov tvorчества Dostoevskago (At the source of Dostoyevsky's art).

By A. L. Bem. 214 pp. Prague, 1936.

THE new work of A. Bem, a well-known writer on the history of Russian literature, is an inquiry into the influence of Griboyedov, Pushkin, Gogol and Tolstoy upon Dostoyevsky. As Bem points out, it was a striking feature of Dostoyevsky's art that he took from his predecessors the ideal basis of an artistic image and creatively transformed and deepened it, bringing out clearly its inner content. Thus Bem indicates the influence of Chatsky upon the image of Myshkin in the *Idiot* and Versilov in the *Raw Youth*. With particular attention he traces the influence of Pushkin's *Queen of Spades* and its hero, Herman, upon *Crime and Punishment*, *The Gambler* and *The Possessed*; and also of Pushkin's *Miserly Knight* upon *The Raw Youth*.

Dostoyevsky's images differ profoundly from their prototypes; hence, in order to show the connection, Bem does not confine himself to the analysis of the ideas they stand for, but uses "the method of detailed observation"; and he takes into account, "to a certain extent, the discoveries of the Freudian school in the domain of the subconscious" (p. 2). He traces similarities of names and coincidences in the details which prove that Dostoyevsky's mind was unconsciously influenced by the work of his predecessors. Thus, for instance, in the *Queen of Spades* Herman causes the death of the old Countess and morally destroys her ward Lizaveta Ivanovna; while in *Crime and Punishment* Raskolnikov kills the old pawnbroker and her sister Lizaveta Ivanovna.

Sometimes a type created by another writer is used by Dostoyevsky, not for further elaboration but for artistic polemics. Such is the relation of Dostoyevsky's *Poor Folk* to Gogol's *Overcoat* or of the *Raw Youth* to Tolstoy's *Childhood and Youth*. The study of the secret rivalry between Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky is highly instructive.

Bem's book brings to light facts that are extremely interesting and valuable for the understanding of creative art, and also for showing the super-human unity of national literature. It may well suggest to its readers the presence of analogous features in other European literatures. The body of facts which could be discovered in this way would be helpful for the solution of many problems of creative art, and would throw light on the interconnection between European literatures and the unity of the objective spirit.

N. LOSSKY.

Etienne Bathory, Roi de Pologne, Prince de Transylvanie. Cracow, 1935. Pp. viii and 589. (Published jointly by the Hungarian and Polish Academies.)

WHEN Stephen Bathory accepted in 1576 the call to the throne of Poland, he knew he had no sinecure ahead of him. After a few months

as King, Henry of Valois had taken French leave from Cracow and returned to Paris two years before. It was then fortunate that Stephen could succeed to a difficult task with thorough fitness to perform it.

He was already past forty, and he had grown to manhood during almost the hardest years of Hungarian history. His country had been torn as a tempting morsel between Habsburgs as champions of the Cross and Turks in the name of the Crescent. As a boy he had loved history, and in particular had been attracted by the figure of Julius Cæsar. He had been at the University of Padua, had then served apprenticeship at the Court in Vienna, and knew both Italian and German well. He could therefore take his place among the polite folk of his age without fear of disgracing his name or his line. He knew the profession of ruling, and was equally at home on the battlefield or in the council.

From 1571 onwards he was Lord of Transylvania, where a balance of interests had to be struck so that neither Vienna nor Constantinople might visit their wrath on his people. His call to rule Poland was known by all to amount to an open rejection of the Habsburg candidate. In a word, the National Party in that country had triumphed over the ultra-Catholics, fearing as they well might the too ambitious schemes of the Imperial House.

His coming to the land of the north was acclaimed, both for his name as a soldier and as a national leader. He was one of the leading strategists of his time, keen on the improvements being won with artillery. He knew no Polish, but thanks to Humanism all educated people spoke Latin everywhere. In any case he achieved the hoped for, and is always thought of as one of the ablest men who ever wore the Polish crown. It is thus fitting that the 400th anniversary of his birth (1533) should be marked by a fresh study of his career, following on the fine beginnings made in the eighties by Zakrzewski and others.

I have said that the new King's task was no sinecure. Nor did he wish it to be. His famous remark in a sort of "inaugural" showed that clearly: *sum rex vester, sed non fictus nec pictus!* The legacy of the Jagiellons was no easy one to inherit. The Polish people had stepped into an enviable place in the concert of Europe; but they had not yet made up their minds whether to be Protestant or to stand by the Mother Church. (Actually there was already no doubt as to what would happen after 1572, though symptoms of the struggle still remained.) And when, under the leading of Chancellor Zamojski, what looked like a settlement was attained, it satisfied neither the out and out Reformers nor the extreme Catholics—the Bishops and some of the laymen, at whose disposal the zeal and ability of the Order of Jesus was already placed by Rome.

The Bathory family, by contrast with their neighbours, were soundly Catholic in their loyalties; but there was one thing none of them could admit. They would not be drawn by the Holy See into a general League

against Islam, of which the Habsburg Emperor would be the virtual Head. Hence another source of complications.

King Stephen was nothing if not ambitious, which fact goes far to explain his acceptance of the call to Poland. He lived to reign only ten years, but into that decade he packed enough action to fill a generation. There was work to do abroad and at home. He had to deal with those who resented his coming: the rebel Dantzic where he should have done better; the envious Ivan the Terrible in Moscow, against whom he won three campaigns; and, finally, the Swedes, who were threatening the east coast of the Baltic.

"Son domaine préféré était ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui la grande politique et son dernier instrument—la guerre." So we read on page 268. The worst of it was that he had the greatest difficulty in getting backing for all this—money and men. The story of how he achieved it is well told by Dr. Siemenski, but more attention to the Zborowski defection would have been helpful.

The new volume is a beautiful production, with some thirty illustrations, and generous addenda to the biography proper. Of these the longest is an account of over a hundred portraits of Bathory, together with notes as to their history. This reduces the story itself to 425 pages, and just here a criticism should be made. Only one-fifth of this is devoted to what is more than three-quarters of Bathory's life. Indeed, the situation is worse, for only one chapter, "*La Jeunesse d' E.B.*," is actually biographical; and can one speak of forty-three years of life as "youth"? The two essays on national education and on music are good, but throw little light on the man. From the former we learn a lot about the Jesuits in Transylvania, but not much about the Prince. In general, it might be said that the Hungarian contributions to the volume are too modest.

By contrast the first of the Polish essays (eighty pages) is done in masterly fashion. It treats the central theme of the relations of Bathory and Poland with the Holy See. We see the conflicting interests, and the confusion arising from them when states and churches are involved, and behind them all is Rome's fear of Islam. Two things stand out, namely, the importance attached by all to the powers of King Stephen, and the extraordinary activity of Churchmen in politics. Chief among these, of course, the Jesuits. A later chapter pictures well the actual state of Catholicism in Poland; but here again we have a lot of history, with the minimum of biography.

Bathory's important reforms, for instance, of the administration of justice, get full attention. Everywhere one senses the opposition he met with from the nobility, notably in respect to the campaigns he sought to complete and in levying the necessary taxation. The greatly ambitious King had nearly as many enemies in the land as abroad. Yet he won through, and only failed to achieve still greater things because death took him so suddenly. We might have been told more about his

plans for organising what later became the Cossacks, as a corps of defence towards the east. Further, there remains as before the baffling problem of his relations with the distinguished Chancellor John Zamojski, who had really set him on the throne.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

Pedalling Poland. By Bernard Newman. London (Herbert Jenkins). 1935. Pp. 308 Illustrated.

A Wayfarer in Poland. By Moray McLaren. London (Methuen). 1934. Pp. 202.

It is an axiom that travellers in a, to them, new country, interest themselves in places, in people, and in movements, that is, ideas. The tourist usually gets hardly beyond the first of these; the longer one stays in a land, the more important do the others become. Mr. Newman was a tourist, and that of the good old-fashioned sort, a cycling one. But he has done the miracle of seeing and revealing all three things mentioned, in *Pedalling Poland*.

The book is a glad one from start to finish. By all accounts his *The Blue Danube* has been a great success. The newer volume deserves to be one too. Next time the author is setting off on such a tour, I hope he'll let me go with him. Considering that the land and people of the Vistula were totally unknown to him, and that he spent a relatively short time completing a round trip of a big country—close on two thousand miles over mostly bad roads, is my guess—he learned very much of interest, and in passing it on he has shown both wit and judgment. What he manages to see and hear, where ordinary mortals go about half blind, is astonishing.

Of course he makes slips in fact. Paderewski gave no "order" to disarm the Germans—it just happened, because the time was ripe. The Lowicz world is not the scene of Reymont's peasant epic tale. Pilsudski did not "march" on Warsaw after getting out of Magdeburg. These are only slight errors in fact, but they do not in any way hurt the story. Many folk will not accept some of Mr. Newman's suggestions in regard to this or that issue or problem, though I have found him uncannily right in his findings. His genius for seeing

"Sermons in stones, and good in everything"

is what wins the reader.

Mr. McLaren's book is less pretentious, but has a few chapters on specific questions: "The Jews," "The Minorities," "The Salt Mines," etc. He sees Poland's greatest problem in the presence of a million Germans in the country. This is not the case, but the author's reasons are interesting. His illustrations are first-rate, even better than Mr. Newman's.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

Black Angels of Athos. By Michael Choukas. With a Foreword by Robert M. MacIver. Illustrated. Stephen Daye Press, Brattleboro, Vt., 1934. English Edition, Constable, June, 1935. 12s.

LET no one be deceived by the bizarre title of this useful and timely study. It is a serious piece of work, being a Thesis for the Ph.D. degree at Columbia University in the Department of Sociology. So well was it received both by reviewers and by the general public that a second printing and an English edition were called for within a short year of its appearance. The present writer is not competent to assay the work as a picture of life in the Eastern Church, but he welcomes it as a sociological monograph.

What we have here, is above all a study in the conflict of forces: the march of change and resistance to that change—something that is thrust on our attention today as never before in history. For a good reason, says the Preface, this piece of work was long overdue; “for the disintegrating forces that play upon the Athonite community get stronger and stronger,” making it increasingly difficult with every decade for “medieval men” to live in a modern world. Dr. Choukas was the right man to undertake the task. Born in Samos, he had a good part of his education in his mother tongue, the rest in the New World. He could thus make himself quickly at home, both in the materials already written about Athos and among the monks themselves in the isolated republic.

Of special interest to readers of *The Slavonic Review* will be the parts dealing with the connections of Athos with the various peoples and lands of Eastern Europe. First, of course, with the invading Turks, then with the reawakening world of Greece a century ago, again with the growing influence of Russian elements in the peninsula, and finally with the claims of Slavonic “imperialism” that became articulate during the Balkan wars; resulting in a straight issue as to whether Athos was to remain Greek or become an international, orthodox society. As is pointed out, the Republic rendered signal service to the cause of Greece in its darkest hours, and figured at times as a home of something very like nationalism. Had the monks not shown their spirit in the first fight for independence, the whole history of the 19th century might have been different.

To many the chief attraction of the volume will be its treatment in a concrete situation of the age-old problem: why men and women elect for a life of “retreat”; whether, as a form of godliness, it is profitable or not. The monk cuts himself off from the true world; and while remaining curious about it and about those who come from it, he is highly distrustful of them and what they tell. Hence the inference that the whole enterprise is doomed, and even that it is well that this is so. Someone should take up the challenge.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

The Monks of Athos. By R. M. Dawkins, F.B.A. (Allen and Unwin) 1926.
Illustrations and Maps. 15s. net.

THIS book is a most happy combination of learning, sympathy and reminiscence, and will be found to be a veritable mine of legendary lore. Indeed, while it includes much historical information as to the foundation of all the more important monasteries on the Holy Mountain, its main purpose is to bring together from many sources the legends that have gathered round it, and so to illustrate both the mentality of the monks and the altogether unique part which Athos plays in the life of the Orthodox Church. Athos "has been preserved throughout the ages, by the piety of monks and hermits and of their noble protectors, against all enemies; against iconoclasts and heretics, against Saracens and Turks from the East, against pirates and Catalan raiders from the West, and against the dreaded and detested Latins, the successors of its old enemies the Crusaders, who would throw upon orthodoxy the shadow of the Pope, and bring with them the innovations of the Western Church. In these last days also have not the Powers above protected Athos from the terrors and devastations of the Great War?"

There is a discerning chapter on the main types of monks and hermits, the varying motives which still bring them to Athos; and the distinction between the twenty ruling monasteries and the numerous crop of Sketes—mainly Slav—which have sprung up during the last century on stricter and more ascetic lines, is brought out very clearly. The book is full of urbane and kindly touches, and many figures, lay and monastic, are vividly depicted for us, from the 18th century Greek diplomat Daponte, who ended his days on Athos, to "Old Man Khristos," the ex-bookmaker and emigrant, or the Chicago fruit-hawker who sold all that he had and buried himself in this still untouched fastness of an older world. Of very special interest is the account of St. Athanasios the Athonite and his foundation of the original monastery of the Great Lavra in 963, of the founder's Well and Cave, and the legends that cluster round them. But perhaps the most valuable and original part of the book is that which deals with "Icons in General," "Icons 'not made with Hands,'" and "The Polystavriion and the Angelic Habit."

Most of the foundations which Professor Dawkins has visited are Greek, but he has also a good deal to tell us of the Serbian monastery of Hilandar (famed for its connection with St. Sava and his father Stephen Nemanja), the Bulgarian monastery of Zographou, and the early Roumanian foundations, into one of which no foreigner is now allowed to penetrate, owing to the feud which has resulted from its inmates' disapproval of the change in the Calendar. At Hilandar is the icon of "the Virgin with the three Hands," which originally came from Palestine. There are various stories of "monkish sea-faring" and monastic methods of agriculture.

We owe a real debt of gratitude to Professor Dawkins for his

presentation—restrained, scholarly, critical, but always human and attractive—of “a way of looking at the world which has come down to us straight from the Byzantine age.”

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

The Daina : An Anthology of Lithuanian and Latvian Folk-songs. With a critical study and preface. By Uriah Katzenelenbogen. With an introduction by Clarence A. Manning. Chicago, Lithuanian News Publishing Company, 1935. Pp. xii, 165.

THE author is the son of a father born in Lithuania and a mother born in Latvia, a fortunate combination for this study of a genre of lyric poetry that at its best ranks with any other in the world's literature. The dainas are sometimes uncouth, but they are always simple and natural, reflecting peasant life, and they have a charm and a distinction of their own. Some go back, not only to medieval times, but also, in mythology, to prehistoric Indo-European. They are often plaintive, in words and music, a product of the history of the Lithuanians and the Letts. It is not surprising that both Mr. Katzenelenbogen and Professor Manning over-emphasise the national and political aspects of the dainas. Countries, nations and races are confused with peoples, cultures and languages.

But it is certainly true that these Baltic songs have not been adequately known and appreciated either in Western Europe or in America. The Germans, or German-speaking persons, were the pioneers in the study of the Lithuanian folk song: in literature, Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Chamisso, Sudermann; in collections, Ruhig, Nesselmann, Rhesa, Bartsch; in music, Schumann, Chopin, Schubert; in language, scholars (recorders also) like Schleicher, Bezzenberger, Leskien, Brugmann, who laid the foundations for the modern scientific and comparative study of the most archaic Indo-European tongue spoken today. The peasant singers of these Lithuanian songs still use seven cases, three numbers, and many words and forms that cannot be paralleled this side of ancient Greek and Sanskrit.

The present account of the daina is historical, interesting and important; it is rich in bibliography and in social and political background. The book is divided into two parts: The Lithuanian Daina and The Latvian (Lettish) Daina. The Lithuanian section is preceded by chapters on mythology, effects of history, customs, lyric and diction, early collections and translations, spreading of the dainas, publications; and the Lettish section by chapters on mythology, subjugation of the Latvians, peasantry and serfdom, customs and superstitions, singing the dainas, the four-lined daina, early collections, publications. Each part is followed by a section of translations into English verse, classified into such headings as mythological, historical, war, love, dirges, work and the like. For these translations there can be little but praise. They preserve

the spirit and atmosphere of the originals, and they are themselves often genuine poetry.

The introductory matter includes a statement on the relationship of the Baltic *daina*, its languages and its mythology, to Indo-European, but this is inadequate, obscure, and misinformed. Witness the following (p. 3): "When savants constructed sentences of Sanskrit words, the peasants about the Nieman and the Baltic Sea easily understood these sentences. Philologists had concluded that Lithuanian was an offspring of Sanskrit, but now it is clear that Lithuanian is the older, and it can only be surmised that Lithuanian is a distant aunt of Sanskrit." The note on the origin of the word *daina* is hopelessly confused. Although the equation has not yet found its way into the etymological dictionaries, there can be no doubt that Lithuanian and Lettish *daina*, in the sense of (primarily religious) song, or folk song, is the same word as Sanskrit *dhenā*, prayer, song, Vedic hymn, Avestan *daēnā*, religion, spiritual ego, and related to Sanskrit *dhi*, mind, thought, meditation, devotion, prayer, and the root *dhi*, think. See S. G. Olphand, *JAOS* 32. 393 ff; Maurice Bloomfield, *JAOS* 46. 303 ff. Katzenelenbogen himself says (p. 90): "Some [dainas] were undoubtedly once sung by the priests at their heathen rites, and were highly valued in remote antiquity, as Latvian legends and dainas show. They were perhaps composed by the priests themselves." As indeed were composed, or revised, the Vedic hymns of India.

The book is uneven, at times a bit naive, but it gives the English reader an excellent picture of Baltic folk poetry.

Princeton University.

HAROLD H. BENDER.

Aspects of Modernism. From Wilde to Pirandello. By Janko Lavrin. London (Stanley Nott), 1936. 247 pp.

THE author of this book begins by admitting in his "Prefatory Note" that nothing is more hackneyed and yet more vague than the word "modernism." He goes on to say that in his book it stands for "the advanced type of consciousness and sensibility" as reflected in literature and, tracing back its origins to the Romantic movement, gives the following definition of it:

"Utter atomisation of the individual, and parallel with this a passionate though impotent will to achieve at least some balance and harmony in spite of all—such are the two polar trends reflected in European modernism as a whole."

It embraces "a countless variety of writings illustrating our contemporary restlessness, social and individual disintegration, lack of faith, anxious quest, hope, despair, or else compromise and evasion." Obviously no generalisation is possible on this ground, and Mr. Lavrin

chooses the method of selective and representative portraits—"from Wilde to Pirandello" His portrait gallery of moderns includes four Slavs—and with these we shall be chiefly concerned here. Three of them are Russians (the poets Blok and Esenin and the thinker Rozanov) and one a Slovene (Ivan Cankar); one rather feels that a Pole—e.g. Przybyszewski—might have been added.

The essay on Blok, illustrated by translations from his poems, gives a good idea of the main trends in the poetry of that "incurable dreamer" and "Romantic," as Lavrin describes him, but Blok's personality fails to emerge from it. The question of Blok's attitude to the Revolution seems to me more complicated than the author makes it out. In any case, it is incorrect to say that Blok "joined the most radical revolutionary group—the Bolsheviks": during the period of his enthusiastic acceptance of the October Revolution he was nearest to the party of Social-Revolutionaries of the Left, whose unpractically maximalistic tendencies he shared. From his notebooks we know that in the municipal elections in Petrograd he did not vote for the Bolsheviks.

It seems to me also an exaggeration to say that Blok was "as uncompromising as the most ruthless Marxians." On Blok's disillusionment, on the "damping" of his revolutionary enthusiasm, Lavrin remarks only in passing, without illustrating his thesis. It is true that we do not dispose as yet of enough material to go upon in our judgment. Blok's latest diaries and notebooks have been published with considerable cuts. But there is his remarkable speech on Pushkin, one of his last utterances (delivered on 11 February, 1921), containing many topical allusions.

Lavrin's essay on Esenin, "the last poet of the village" as he called himself, is one of the best in the book. A poet of genuine accents, though limited power; a "suppressed idealist" who found temporary refuge in cynicism and ended inevitably with suicide; a real peasant in outlook and inspiration, who hailed the Revolution as "a Russian mutiny, meaningless and ruthless," but was soon disenchanted with its realities—the figure of Esenin emerges clear-cut from these pages.

The study of Rozanov does not, perhaps, do complete justice to this original and wayward genius, but then it is included in a general essay entitled "Sex and Eros," where Rozanov's attitude to sex is discussed in relation to Weininger and D. H. Lawrence.

The portrait of Cankar has for title "The Conscience of a Small Nation," and Cankar's art is treated as one of the manifestations of the cultural self-assertion of small nations in contemporary Europe. Cankar's masterpiece is *Hlapec Jernej in njegova Pravica* (translated into English in 1933 as *Barluff Yerney*). As Lavrin says, "in this long story Ivan Cankar succeeded in raising the naïve Slovene peasant into a symbol, a pathetic Don Quixote of justice, whose importance is more than temporary or merely local."

The non-Slavonic authors studied by Lavrin as representative of different aspects of Modernism are: Oscar Wilde, Anatole France, d'Annunzio, Rimbaud, Hamsun, Rilke and Pirandello. Of these the essay on Pirandello is perhaps the best. It sums up fittingly certain tendencies of modern individualism. As the author of this stimulating book says, "One must pay for belonging to the twentieth century. Pirandello seems to have paid his price fully. But he has also avenged himself—through his art."

One of the remarkable features displayed by Lavrin in this as well as in his earlier books (especially in *Studies in European Literature*) is his wide acquaintance with different European literatures most of which, one suspects, he knows in their originals. A further volume dealing with post-War writers is promised.

GLEB STRUVE.

THE leading newspaper of Croatia has recently celebrated its 75th anniversary by a remarkable publication entitled *Obzor · Spomen-Knjiga 1860-1935* (Zagreb, 1936, 326 pages), edited by the two editors Dr. M. Dežman and Dr. Maisner. This book may be said to form a valuable compendium of Croat historical development in every field, during the two generations preceding the achievement of national unity. Apart from brief messages of greeting from President Beneš, Dr. Hodža, Count Sforza and Guglielmo Ferrero, the most notable essays are those by Dr. Rudolf Horvat and Josip Horvath on "Croat Policy from 1860 to 1895," "A Changed Generation 1895-1905," "The Croat Question in the Framework of European Policy," and "Croat Policy in the World War." The first Croat Foreign Minister, Dr. Ante Trumbić, tells in detail the story of the Fiume Resolution of 1905, in the conclusion of which he himself played a leading part, and which marks an epoch in the relations of the Croats with the Habsburg Monarchy. Modern Croat Literature is surveyed by MM. Maraković and Hergešić; the President of the Yugoslav Academy, Dr. Bazala, deals with philosophical tendencies, Dr. Livadić with the role of the theatre; and the well-known artist, Ljubo Babić, with Croat Art. The archaeologist Professor Szabo contributes an interesting article on "Zagreb since 1860," and there are excellent surveys of archaeological studies in Croatia and Dalmatia by MM. Hoffiller, Karaman and Katić. Special attention is justly paid to the noble figure of Bishop Strossmayer, the Maecenas of the Croat Renaissance and one of the chief founders of *Obzor*; and there are, of course, a series of articles describing the many vicissitudes which the paper underwent during the Khuen Era (1883-1903), in the decade preceding the War and under the military censorship of 1916-18. The book is copiously illustrated, and contains portraits of almost every Croat of any eminence during the last three generations.

R. W. S.-W.

Dziś i Wczoraj. By Dr. Wacław Borowy. Warsaw, 1934. 269 pp.

THE student of Polish literature will hail with gratitude another volume of Dr. Borowy's scholarly and illuminating studies. As indicated by the title—*Today and Yesterday*—the author includes contemporary writers in his collection of essays, but the greater part of his attention is devoted to those of a past generation. Among these Wyspiański, Żeromski, and Kasprówicz occupy the greatest space: the remaining chapters dealing with Antoni Lange, Słowski, Perzyński and Porębowicz. It is a matter for congratulation that Dr. Borowy has reprinted here his monograph on the Łazienki and Wyspiański's *November Night* which, published separately several years ago, has been unprocurable by the general reader. Those who wish to penetrate deeper into the symbolism of that noble tragedy of the November Rising will find an enlightening interpreter in our author. Dr. Borowy is in fact wont to emerge from whatever library or public building in which he may be pursuing his researches with some new discovery that either disentangles a literary problem or clears up some historical point. Thus, knowing how profoundly Wyspiański had been influenced by his visit to the Łazienki palace, Dr. Borowy trailed the poet's footsteps there, observing with Wyspiański's eyes. The result was that what he noted on the position of the statues led him to the solution of one of the most obscure scenes in the play. His insistence on the influence of such details on Wyspiański's writings is of itself a most valuable guide to the comprehension of that symbolical dramatist. The whole of this essay makes fascinating reading. The section that follows on Żeromski opens with a criticism on his play *The Escape of the Quail*, and ends with an admirable summary of a writer who affected the young generation of his day perhaps more profoundly than any other; but Dr. Borowy's chief contribution on this occasion to the study of Żeromski is a very interesting chapter on the novelist's knowledge of books, as illustrated in his writings. On the other hand he takes the reader through a comprehensive survey of the poetry of Kasprówicz, by no means an easy task in so limited a space. The greater portion of this chapter traces with great clarity Kasprówicz's spiritual and mental evolution, based on his poetical work—a theme attractive to all the lovers of Kasprówicz—followed by a short appreciation of the poet's style.

We should single out as second in interest to the Chapter on Wyspiański that on Antoni Lange. Lange's attraction to Death, as Dr. Borowy observes, is a characteristic feature of his poetry, and gives his lyrics their haunting beauty. Dr. Borowy illustrates his criticism with frequent excerpts, and gives in its entirety the beautiful poem written when the poet was walking in the shadows of his own approaching death: *Who's there?* Lange was the first Polish poet to employ assonants for his rhymes. The stanza from the poem in which he tries the experiment, which Dr. Borowy quotes, is a *tour de force* of considerable interest to the student of Polish. Lange, Dr. Borowy points out, unveiled secrets hitherto unknown of the rhythms and harmonies of which the Polish language is

capable. Yet he was no mere singer of words. His unsatisfied heart speaks even through the melodies he handled with such great effect. "The beauty of his poetry," Dr. Borowy concludes, "was indeed purchased with a lonely and obscure life."

Another essay on a minor poet that we particularly welcome is the chapter on Edward Słoński, the joint author with Zdzisław Dębicki of a series of poems written during the Great War from the standpoint of the nation whose life or death was bound up in a titanic conflict, in which she was helpless. This little volume was one of the few Polish books that found its way to our country during the war. Perhaps only those who read it at that time, while the soil of Poland was being ravaged by three armies and her sons compelled to fire upon each other, can fully realise the tragedy and heroism of such poems as Słoński's *She who has not perished*, which gives its title to the book.

To sum up: after reading *Today and Yesterday*, the lover of Polish literature will assuredly hasten to his bookshelves to refresh his memory of those authors he already knows, or to explore those who have hitherto been only names to him, under Dr. Borowy's stimulating guidance.

MONICA M. GARDNER.

THE JOURNAL OF MODERN HISTORY

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PUSHKIN

(Reproduced from the portrait painted by V. Tropinin in 1827, now in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.)

THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW.

VOL. XV. No. 44.

January, 1937

PUSHKIN¹

OF all Russian writers both of verse and prose Pushkin is the one whom the Russians admire most. V. Solovyev said he would give the whole of the works of Tolstoy for an unpublished poem of Pushkin. Turgenev said there were four lines of the *Conversation between the Bookseller and the Poet* he would gladly have burnt all his work to have written . . .

The fundamental moral characteristic of his genius, of the substance and groundwork of his genius, was his power of understanding. There was nothing which he could not understand. Dostoyevsky called him *πανάνθρωπος*, and it is this capacity for understanding everything and everybody, for being able to assimilate anything, however alien, that makes him so profoundly Russian. So much for his substance, "*pour le fond*."

As to his form, his qualities as an artist can be summed up in one word, he is classic. Classic in the same way that the Greeks are classic.

. . . In 1831 he finished the eighth and last canto of his *Evgeny Onegin*. This is his best-known and perhaps his most characteristic work, for, with the publication of *Onegin*, Pushkin conquered a new kingdom; so far he had written the best Russian verse and the best Russian prose; in writing *Onegin* he created the Russian novel. *Onegin* is a story of contemporary life told in verse, a novel in verse, the first Russian novel and the best. It has the ease of Byron's *Don Juan*, the reality of Fielding and Miss Austen, and nevertheless, when the situation demands it, it rises and takes on radiance and expresses poetry and passion. It contains one of the

¹ From the Hon. Maurice Baring's preface to *The Oxford Book of Russian Verse*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, by kind permission of the author and the publishers.

great confessions of love in poetry, a performance without parallel because only a Russian could have written it, and of Russians only Pushkin. It has the perspicuity of a crystal sphere, a liquid spontaneity, as of a blackbird's song. Pushkin in his *Onegin*, succeeded in doing what Shelley urged Byron to do, in creating, that is to say, something new, and in accordance with the spirit of the age. *Onegin* has been compared to Byron's *Don Juan*, but the only resemblance between the two poems is that they both deal with contemporary life, and in both poems there are rapid transitions from the grave to the gay and from the lively to the severe, and the author frequently breaks off the narrative to make digressions. *Onegin* is an organic whole with a well-constructed plot : a beginning, a middle and an end, so that it makes an admirable libretto for an opera. In the workmanship, the standard of *Onegin* is higher than that of *Don Juan*, for, although Pushkin is just as spontaneous a writer as Byron, he is at the same time an impeccable artist and cannot drop a stitch, strike a false note, or blur an outline. Later on, Pushkin sought the province of Russian folklore and wrote some admirable fairy tales which are as homely as those of Grimm. But throughout his whole career he continued to pour out a stream of lyrics and occasional pieces, many of which are among the most beautiful of his poems. The width of his range is astonishing. Pushkin will sometimes write lines which have the grace of a Greek epigram, at other times he will write a poem as bitter and as passionate as the most packed of Shakespeare's sonnets, or he will write you an ode blazing with indignant patriotism, or a description of a winter's drive or an autumn morning, or a lofty prayer, a playful or a tender love poem, a finished Horatian ode, or a lyric as galloping as any of those of Byron. He understood the hearts of all men, and because he understood the hearts of men, of whatever nation and of whatever race, he understood the Russian heart better than any of his countrymen. He loved his people for what they were, and as they were; and he told the story of the soul of his people in the cadence of his words and the lilt of his songs. In his verse you can hear the *troika* circling, blind and bewildered in the blizzard; you can feel the shadow of Peter the Great; you can peer into the crystal of the heart of the Russian woman; you can hear his old nurse crooning the fairy tales that were told when Rurik came over the sea. You can watch in the silence of the night the sleepless soul gazing at the blurred and blotched scroll, the smeared chronicle of its past deeds, powerless with all the tears in the world to wash away the written characters, and you can read in eight

short lines an expression of the inexpressible: the declaration of love of all the unhappy lovers in the world. But perhaps the greatest of his short poems is *The Prophet*.²

With fainting soul athirst for Grace,
I wandered in a desert place,
And at the crossing of the ways
I saw the sixfold Seraph blaze;
He touched mine eyes with fingers light
As sleep that cometh in the night:
And like a frightened eagle's eyes,
They opened wide with prophecies.
He touched mine ears, and they were drowned
With tumult and a roaring sound:
I heard convulsion in the sky,
And flights of angel hosts on high,
And beasts that move beneath the sea,
And the sap creeping in the tree.
And bending to my mouth he wrung
From out of it my sinful tongue,
And all its lies and idle rust,
And 'twixt my lips a-perishing
A subtle serpent's forked sting
With right hand wet with blood he thrust.
And with his sword my breast he cleft,
My quaking heart thereout he reft,
And in the yawning of my breast
A coal of living fire he pressed.
Then in the desert I lay dead,
And God called unto me and said:
"Arise, and let My voice be heard,
Charged with My Will go forth and span
The land and sea, and let My Word
Lay waste with fire the heart of man."

MAURICE BARING.

² Reprinted from *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. XII, No. 34.

EVGENY ONEGIN

Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN *by*
OLIVER ELTON

CANTO TWO

Canto I was printed in THE SLAVONIC REVIEW for January, 1936, Vol. XIV, No. 41, pp. 249-269. It describes the upbringing, the fopperies and flashy accomplishments, the amours and the premature disenchantment, of the young Evgeny Onegin; also his visit to the ballet. Weary of fashionable life, of women, and of books, he muses at night (in company with the poet) on the banks of Neva. The actual story begins with Onegin posting into the country to the bedside of an uncle, whom he finds dead, and of whom he is the heir. He is soon weary of the country and of his estate. The poet, in conclusion, speaks of his own loves and of his verses, and promises to write a work in twenty-five chapters. (Pushkin completed it, for publication, in eight.) The narrative is now resumed.

O rus! (Horace)
O Russia!

I

The country nook, that bored Evgeny,
Was just a thing of pure delight
We should thank Heaven for, as any
Lover of harmless pleasure might.
A hill from all the winds excluded
The master's house; it lay secluded
Above a stream, and far away
Stretcht flower-besprinkled meadows gay
With golden fields of harvest blended.
A village twinkled here and there;
Herds roamed the pastures everywhere;
A huge wild garden, too, extended
Its dense and canopying shades,
A haunt for musing Dryad maids.

II

And here a castle was erected
As castles should be: firmly based,
Quiet, a fabric much respected,
In the old, clever, charming taste.

The rooms were many and high ; brocaded
Silks on the parlour walls paraded,
Ancestral portraits also, while
The stoves were shot with many a tile.
Now all had long been antiquated,
I know not rightly why, indeed ;
My friend, however, had small need
Of this ; nor cared he if he waited
In ancient, or in modish hall ;
It mattered not—he yawned in all.

III

In that same room, his habitation,
With housekeeper had ancient laird
Been squabbling for a generation,
Squashed flies, and through the window stared.
All things were plain and serviceable :
Two cupboards—downy sofa—table—
No spot of ink—an oaken floor.
Onegin pulled each cupboard-door :
And one contained a memorandum
Of spendings ; one, liqueurs in rows ;
There, jars of apple-juice repose.
For books—(the old man never scanned 'em,
He was too busy)—mark the date !—
An almanac of Eighteen-Eight.

IV

Alone in his domain, and caring
Merely to pass the time, our friend
Evgeny was at first preparing
The ancient order to amend.
Our sage, remote in isolation,
Altered the yoke of old taxation
From toil exacted, for light rent ;
And the serfs blest what fate had sent.
But every thrifty neighbour wryly
Sulked in his nook, since he himself
Would suffer horribly—in pelf.
Another smiled upon them, slyly ;
Then, with one voice, they said they knew
That he was mad—and dangerous, too !

V

At first, they all drove in to greet him ;
But, since they mostly found that there
His Don-bred colt was brought to meet him
Up to the hinder entrance-stair,
When their own home-built carts, careering,
Upon the highway came in hearing,—
Such doings merely could offend ;
They ceased to treat him as a friend.
“ Our neighbour is a boor, and crazy ;
Freemason, too ! red wine, we think,
In glasses, is his only drink.
To kiss a lady's hand, too lazy !
He says plain *yes*, plain *no*—withal
Without the *sir* ! ” So cried they all.

VI

Just then, a landowner, a stranger,
Came flying down to his estate ;
From neighbours, equally in danger
Of the same rigid estimate :
Vladimir Lensky. He his spirit
Did straight from Göttingen inherit ;
Handsome and in his prime was he ;
Poet, and Kant's own devotee ;
And he brought solid fruits of learning
Away from cloudy Germany,
And dreamed when all men should be free.
An oddish soul—yet hotly burning ;
Enthusiast in talk ; and, set
Upon his neck, were curls of jet.

VII

For him the world had never blighted
With aught to chill him, or degrade ;
His soul could still be warmed and lighted
By welcoming friend, or kindly maid ;
His heart, so inexperienced, bless him !
That none but hopeful dreams caress him.
The new, bright, noisy world could blind
And captivate his youthful mind.
Sweet were his visions ; he kept under

All doubts that in his heart could rise ;
The goal of life was in his eyes
A lure, a riddle, and a wonder.
He vexed his head with questionings,
Surmised extraordinary things.

VIII

Some soul-mate, he believed, was fated
A fellow-soul in him to find ;
And inconsolably it waited
For him from day to day, and pined.
And then his friends—or so he read it—
Would go to gaol to save his credit,
And their strong arm would never fear
To pulverise the slanderer.
The destinies were consecrating . . .¹

IX

Pity, and righteous indignation,
And glory, with its sweets and pains,
And love, pure love, for his salvation,
Were throbbing early in his veins.
Schiller and Goethe had inspired him
And their poetic flame had fired him ;
Beneath their heaven, harp in hand,
He wandered over every land.
And he was happy, never shaming
His lofty and artistic strain ;
But, proudly singing, would sustain
The loftiest sentiments, acclaiming
The charm of simple dignity
And passionate, virgin reverie.

X

And still his song with love was laden
And love's allegiance,—clear and fair
As musings of an artless maiden
Or a child's dream, or moon that bare
In the calm, empty heaven is lying,
Goddess of secrets and soft sighing.
He sang of parting, and of pain ;
Of dim horizons,—and again

¹ The rest of the stanza was discarded by Pushkin

Of what?—romance, and roses blowing?
 He sang far lands, where on the breast
 Of peace, of old, he long would rest
 While, fountain-like, his tears were flowing;
 And how life's flower had blanched unseen;
 —This, when he had not turned eighteen.

XI

Here, in the wilds, Evgeny rated
 His gifts aright; none other could;
 And most of all the feasts he hated
 Of households in the neighbourhood.
 He shunned their loud confabulation;
 For their judicious conversation
 About the brandy, and the hay,
 Their kennels, and their kindred,—nay,
 'Tis not conspicuous for feeling,
 Nor for intelligence, nor wit
 (Poetic fire is far from it),
 Nor yet for skill in social dealing!
 'Tis not so clever, but far worse,
 When their belovèd wives converse.

XII

Lensky was welcome in all quarters,
 Rich, handsome, and a bachelor;
 And all the dames designed their daughters
 (Our country custom this, of yore)
 For him—"quite *half* a Russian, truly!"
 He enters—and the talk shifts duly
 Aside, upon the weary life
 That a man lives without a wife.
 Then to the tea-urn in the middle
 They call him. Dunya, pouring, hears
 The whisper, "Notice!", in her ears;
 And next she fetches out her fiddle,
 And—O, good Lord!—is squealing now
Come to my golden chamber, thou!

XIII

But no desire for wedlock's fetter,
 Be sure, had stirred in Lensky yet.
 He longed to be acquainted better

Now with Onegin ; they had met ;
 But each from other more diverse is
 Than fire from ice, or prose from verse is,
 Or rock from billow, than these two.
 At first they bored each other, true,
 And incompatibly were mated ;
 But then came liking ; then would they
 Ride out together every day ;
 And soon could not be separated.
 Thus (I too hasten to confess)
 Men become friends—through *idleness*.

XIV

Such friendships now have wholly vanisht.
 All men we count as *noughts*, you see,
 (Having all prejudices banisht) ;
 We are the *units*, only we.
 Napoleon is our ideal ;
 Feelings are wild, absurd, unreal ;
 For us a million bipeds are
 Merely an instrument of war.
 Evgeny could be tolerated
 Better than most, although he knew
 Mankind, and chiefly scorned them, too.
 But some folk he discriminated
 (No rule is quite unqualified) ;
 He honoured feeling—from outside.

XV

He smiled at Lensky, but he listened.
 The poet's talk, its fire, its thrill,
 Eyes that with inspiration glistened,
 His brains, his judgments wavering still,
 Refresht Onegin, who each moment
 Checkt his refrigerating comment
 Upon his lips ; “ Why mar ” thought he,
 “ His moment of felicity ?
 No, that were stupid : on reflection,
 A time will come, whate'er I say ;
 So, let him go, meanwhile, his way,
 Believing in the world's perfection.
 Let us forgive the fever-heat
 Of youth, and youth's delirium sweet.”

XVI

And oft they fell to disputations
 That tempted them to think and brood :
 —On pacts of long past generations ;
 The fruits of science ; evil, good ;
 Old prejudices, still abiding ;
 The unknown doom the grave is hiding ;
 Fate, and the turns that life befall ;
 —They passed their judgment on them all.
 The poet, still with theories burning,
 Obliviously spouted forth
 Fragments of verses from the North ;
 Evgeny, lenient, though learning
 Little from what he heard, in truth,
 Gave all attention to the youth.

XVII

But still the passions interested
 Our hermits most. Onegin, now
 By their fierce empire unmolested,
 With sighs, that rose he knew not how,
 Discussed them, some compassion showing.
 And happy is the man who, knowing
 Their stir, now leaves them well alone.
 But happier he who has not known ;
 Who cools his love by separation,
 His hate with spiteful talk ; who ends
 By yawning amongst wife and friends,
 Unvext by jealous indignation ;
 Nor, to the tricky *deuce*, trusts all
 His grandsire's honest capital.

XVIII

When to the standard we are flying
 Of tranquil reason, and her rule,
 And when our passions' flame is dying
 And we begin to ridicule
 Their wilfulness and all their sallies
 And their belated after-rallies,
 Then, with a struggle, we are tame ;
 But sometimes like to hear the same
 Wild speech of passion, in a stranger ;
 It stirs our heartstrings. So, while penned

In his forgotten hut, may lend
An eager ear to tales of danger
Some crippled veteran,—when they're told
By young, moustachioed heroes bold.

XIX

Hot youth itself is never able
To hide a secret; for relief,
'Tis ever ready with its babble
Of love and hatred, joy and grief.
Onegin, thinking love was ended
For cripples like himself, attended
Gravely; the poet told the whole,
Rejoicing to confess his soul,
His every scruple frankly baring
In perfect trust. Evgeny knew
His young love-story through and through
Quickly enough, and now was sharing
A tale full-charged with feelings—known
To us long since—our very own!

XX

Ah, love like Lensky's! but we know it
No longer, we, in times of late;
And only some insensate poet
Will still love on; for such his fate—
One dream, that nowhere, never fails him;
One wish, that constantly assails him,
And one, too constant, grief that stings!
And not the chill that distance brings.
Nor long-drawn years of separation,
Nor yet the Muse, who steals our time,
Nor beauties of a foreign clime,
Learning, or noisy recreation,
Availed; his soul was still the same,
Warmed by a pure and maiden flame.

XXI^a

Charmed while a lad, without a notion
How hearts can suffer, he would gaze

^a This stanza, and the eight that succeed, were printed in this REVIEW, January, 1935; and in the translator's volume *Verse from Pushkin and Others* (Arnold, 1935).

On Olga with a new emotion,
And on her childish sports and ways.
Screened by a guardian oak, he shared them ;
Their fathers, friends and neighbours, paired them
And planned the children's wedding-wreath.
There, in her lone retreat, beneath
The humble shelter, overflowing
With charm and innocence for dower,
The parents saw their Olga flower
Just like a hidden lily blowing
Unnoticed, in the thickest grass,
By bees and butterflies that pass.

XXII

Our poet found that Olga fired him
With youth's first dream of ravishment.
The thought of Olga still inspired him
And drew his lute's first low lament.
Gone, golden dreams of recreation !
He fell in love with isolation,
And with tranquillity, with night,
With densest woodland, with starlight,
With the moon's lamp in heaven shining ;
To whom we oft would dedicate
Our stroll, on misty evenings late,
And weep, to ease our secret pining.
Now, a mere substitute she seems
For our dim, tarnished lantern-gleams.

XXIII

Always so modest, acquiescent,
And cheerful as the morning skies ;
Frank as a poet's life :—and pleasant
As lovers' kisses ; and with eyes
Of azure like the heavens, and tender ;
And smile, and flaxen hair, and slender
Figure, sweet voice, and movements free,
—All this was Olga ; you may see,
No doubt, her traits in what romantic
Story you will ; I vow to you,
I loved them once myself, 'tis true,
Yet soon they nearly bored me frantic ;

Bear, reader, with my taking next
The elder sister for my text.

XXIV

Her name, Tatyana,³ be it noted,
Is by our will, and not by chance,
By us for the first time devoted
To usage in a soft romance.
Well, 'tis a pleasant name, and ringing,
Although inevitably bringing
The times of old to memory
Or the maids' attic. And yet we
Must own that little taste has brightened
Our choice of names (and as for verse,
I hold my peace, for there 'tis worse).
Skin-deep, no more, are we "enlightened";
And what is left us of it all
Is merely—to be finical.

XXV

Tatyana was her name—so be it;
She had not Olga's pretty face,
So taking, that all men could see it,
Nor her fresh colouring and grace.
She was mute, shy, and melancholy,
Timid as woodland hind; and wholly
A stranger lass she seemed to be
In her own house and family.
And never could her sire, or mother,
Win her caress; she did not care
To join the children's mob, or share
Their sports and gambols like another;
But often by the window lay
And said no word, the livelong day.

XXVI

And Reverie, her playmate daily
From infancy, brought many a dream
That tinted, to her eyes, more gaily
The country life's too leisured stream.

³ " Sweet-sounding Greek names, for instance Agathon, Thilat, Thedora, Thekla, etc., are only in use with us among the common people " (*Pushkin's note*).

The needle, her unhardened finger
Knew not ; and never would she linger
Bent o'er her frame, with some design
Of silk, to make bare linen fine.
A child betrays our love of ruling :
With her obedient doll will she
Prepare to play propriety
—The world's great law—in jest and fooling ;
To dolly, gravely will repeat
The lessons learned at mammy's feet :

XXVII

But Tanya did not care for nursing,
Young as she was, her doll, or choose
With dolly to be found conversing
On fashions, or the town's last news.
All childish pranks were foreign to her ;
Rather would tales of horror woo her
And on her spirit lay their spell
When the dark nights of winter fell.
And when the nurse collected for her
Her little friends, she never ran
To play at " catch-me-if-you-can "
In the big meadow. It would bore her
To hear the ringing mirth, the noise
Of giddy, romping girls and boys.

XXVIII

She loved the first anticipations,
Seen from the balcony, of day.
The choral dance of constellations
On the horizon pales away,
And the world's rim grows softly clearer
And wafts announce that morn is nearer
And the day slowly comes to birth.
In winter-time, when half the earth
Under the realm of night is shrouded,
Longer and longer sleeps the dawn
In sluggard idleness withdrawn,
In presence of a moon beclouded.
Aroused at the same hour of night,
Tatyana rose by candle-light.

XXIX

Romances were her early passion,
And all the world to her; and so
She fell in love, the dupe of fashion,
With Richardson, and with Rousseau.
Quite a good fellow was her father,
Of the last age, belated rather;
He saw no mischief in a book,
Though in one he would never look;
Thought it a toy, and held it lightly,
And cared not what his daughter did
When she a private volume hid
Beneath her pillow, slumbering nightly.
His lady wife was mad upon
The tales of Samuel Richardson.

XXX

Her Richardson she did not care for,
To read him; no, nor yet because
She judged that Grandison was therefore
A better man than Lovelace was;
But, long ago, a Moscow cousin
Alina, a princess, a dozen
Times had been harping on them both.
Her present lord then held her troth
Perforce—but she, meanwhile, was sighing
For one to whom, in heart and mind,
She felt her greatly more inclined:
Sergeant of Guards, a buck well known,
A gambler, was this Grandison!

XXXI

Like him, she was herself attiring
Becomingly and in the mode;
—They took her, though, without inquiring
Her will,—in wedlock her bestowed.
And then, to give her grief diversion,
Her canny husband made excursion
Post-haste, unto his country place.
Lord knows how many a stranger face
Begirt her there! She first lamented,
Writhed, with her husband all but broke;

But then assumed the housewife's yoke,
 And habit left her well contented.
 Heaven's gift is habit, let us bless
 That substitute for happiness !⁴

XXXII

Her sorrow none the less persisted,
 But yet by habit was beguiled.
 One great discovery assisted ;
 Soon she was wholly reconciled.
 Amidst her labours and her leisure
 She found the secret, at her pleasure
 To steer her husband as she would.
 Then all things went—as go they should.
 She drove about, on business faring ;
 In winter, salted mushrooms ; went,
 Shaved peasants' brows ; her money spent,
 On Saturdays to bath repairing ;
 And beat the maids (nor cared to seek
 Her husband's leave) when in a pique.

XXXIII

And tender girls, her albums gracing,
 Of old she limned in gory red ;
 Praskovya's vulgar name replacing,
 She drawled " Polina, ma'am," instead.
 She laced her corsets over-tightly ;
 Our Russian *n* she said, not rightly,
 But like the French one, through her nose.
 But swiftly all was changed, and those
 Stays, album, and " princess Polina,"
 And quires of soulful poetry,
 Were all forgot. Hereafter she
 Would say " Akulka," not " Selina " ;
 Her wadded dressing-gown she wore
 At last, and night-cap, as before.

XXXIV

Her husband gave her warm affection ;
 With her concerns he would not deal ;

⁴ " Si j'avois la folie de croire encore au bonheur, je le chercherai dans l'habitude (Chateaubriand) " (*Pushkin's note*).

He trusted her, without reflection,
And ate and drank in dishabille ;
And so his life slid on, quiescent.
Sometimes, at evening, there were present
Some friendly neighbours, not inclined
To stand on forms, and nice, and kind.
Some small regrets, a little laughter,
Of sorts, a little scandal—well,
So the time goes. Meanwhile they tell
Olga to make the tea ; thereafter
Is supper ; and then bedtime's come,
And all the visitors go home.

XXXV

And, in this peaceful life, preserving
The kind old customs, one and all,
And many a Russian pancake serving
In the fat week of carnival,
Twice they devoutly fasted yearly.
Round swings, round dances, loved they dearly ;
Carols at Yule ; at Whitsuntide,
When all the populace gaped wide
Hearing the service, with emotion
They just would let a tear or so
Down on a tuft of lovage flow.
Nor could they breathe without their potion
Of kvass ; and every dish was prest,
By rank and order, on the guest.

XXXVI

So both grew old, like other mortals ;
And then, at last, the grave before
The husband must throw wide its portals ;
And now, no marriage crown he wore.
An hour before his dinner dying,
He was bewailed by neighbours sighing,
And faithful wife and children, far
More honestly than most men are.
Plain gentleman was he, good-hearted ;
And, where his ashes now were laid,
The monument above him said :
—" An humble sinner, now departed,

One Dmitri Larin, brigadier,
God's bondsman, tasting peace, lies here."

XXXVII

And Lensky, back again and staying
Amidst his household gods hard by,
Went to that peaceful tombstone, paying
His neighbour's dust a votive sigh.
His heart was deeply, long, affected;
" *Poor Yorick !* " he exclaimed, dejected ;
" He bore me in his arms, and I
So often played, in infancy,
With his Ochakov decoration !
He planned that Olga I should wed ;
' Could I but see the day ! . . . ' he said."
So, full of honest lamentation,
Vladimir, for memorial,
Wrote, on the spot, a madrigal.

XXXVIII

Here, too, he wept and venerated
His parents' patriarchal dust ;
And his sad legend dedicated.
Ah, in life's furrowed fields, we must
Hourly see reapt the generations,
By heaven's secret dispensations.
They rise, they ripen, and they fail,
And others follow on their trail ;
And even thus our race, light-minded,
Grows and is troubled, seethes and raves,
And crowds its forbears in their graves.
And our time, ours, will come ; we'll find it
Fitting when our grandchildren too
Out of the world crowd me and you !

XXXIX

Meanwhile, my friends, drink deep, or rue it,
Of this our life, so fragile ; yes,
I am not greatly bounden to it,
I know too well its nothingness.
I shut my eyes to all illusion ;
And yet my heart is in confusion

At times, with far-off hopes; and I
 Should think it sad to quit and die
 And leave no faintest mark in story.
 I live, nor write, for praise, be sure;
 Yet I would fain, it seems, secure
 For my sad fate some share of glory.
 One ringing word, befriending me,
 Would keep my name in memory,

XL

And stir the heartstrings of some stranger.
 Perchance some stanza I have penned,
 By fate or luck preserved from danger,
 May into Lethe not descend.
 Perchance, one day, some ignoramus
 —A flattering outlook!—at my famous
 Portrait may point, and may declare,
 “A *poet*—was that fellow there!”
 So, take my thanks and gratulations,
 Disciple of the peaceful Muse,
 Thou who in memory dost choose
 To keep my fugitive creations;
 Whose hand, in pure goodwill, is led
 To pat the old man’s laurelled head!

CANTO THREE

“*Elle étoit fille, elle étoit amoureuse.*”—MALFILÂTRE.

I

“But oh, these poets!—Whither wending?”
 “Good-bye, Onegin, I must go.”
 “I keep thee not; but where art spending
 Thy evenings?” “With the Larins.” “So?
 How wonderful! not truly? dost thou
 Not find it heavy work, and must thou
 Kill time, each evening, in this way?”
 “By no means!” “How should that be? nay,
 I see the scene, from where I’m sitting:
 And first—attend: dost thou agree?
 A plain good Russian family;
 Immense attention, as is fitting,

To guests ; much jam ; eternal talk
Of cowsheds, rain, and flax in stalk."

II

" Still, I see nothing yet that harms one."
" The harm, my friend, is just—ennui."
" I loathe your modish world ; what charms one
Is a home circle ; there I'm free . . ."
" What now, another pastoral ditty ?
Good Lord, dear man, hold hard, have pity !
—Well, must thou go, to my regret ?
Yet listen : wilt thou never let
Me look upon thy Phyllis, newly
The object of thy pondering,
Thy tears, rhymes, pen,—of everything ?
Present me ! " " Dost thou joke ? " " No, truly."
" Delighted."—" When ? "—" This minute ; why,
We shall be welcome, thou and I."

III

" Let's go." And off they gallop quickly ;
Make their appearance ; and they see
Loaded and lavished on them thickly
That old-time hospitality.
The well-known entertainment meets them ;
Jam, handed round in saucers, greets them ;
And bilberry-decoctions are
On the waxt table, in a jar . . .¹

IV

And now they are again careering
Homeward, and by the shortest way ;
And we, by stealth, are overhearing
Our gallants' conversation.—" Say,
Onegin, why these yawns ? what takes thee ? "
" My habit, Lensky." " Something makes thee
More bored than ever." " No, not *more* !
But look, the plain is darkening o'er ;
Andryushka, hurry, hurry quicker !
This place is stupid. By the way,
Old Larina is nice ; she may

¹ Stanza imperfect in the original.

Be simple, yes. But ah, that liquor
From bilberries—I fear it will
Do me no good, but make me ill.

V

—Which, tell me now, might be Tatyana? ”
“ Why, she who with so sad an air,
So taciturn (just like Svetlana),²
Came in, sat near the window there.”
“ What can that younger one allure thee? ”
“ Well? ” “ Were I poet, I assure thee
I’d pick the other. Olga’s like
That young Madonna of Vandyke;
Her features I’d call lifeless, even.
Her face is just as round and red
As yonder stupid moon o’erhead
Up in that no less stupid heaven.”
Vladimir answered drily, nor
Upon that journey, spake he more.

VI

Meantime, a notable sensation
’Twas for the Larins, one and all,
To see Onegin. Recreation
It gave the neighbour-folk withal:
Guess followed guess; and every moment
Was heard a furtive, whispered comment,
A spiteful judgment, or a scoff.
Tatyana soon they married off;
And some were even heard descanting,
“ That wedding had been well in train
And only was delayed again
Since fashionable *rings* were wanting.
And Lensky’s wedding—why, we know,
That they had settled long ago.”

VII

Tatyana listened with vexation
To all such gossip; and yet she

² Svetlana, heroine of the poem of that name, by Pushkin’s friend Zhukovsky.

With inexpressible elation
 Must muse upon it secretly.
 She was in love : that thought was grounded
 Deep in her heart ; her hour had sounded !
 So drops a grain in earth ; in spring
 To life enkindled, quickening.
 Long since, her fancy had been burning
 In sadness and in languishment,
 And craved the fatal aliment.
 Long had heart-weariness and yearning
 Pent her young bosom ; her soul pined
 For someone—who was undefined.

VIII

Now he had come. Her gaze was clearer ;
 “ ’Tis he ! ” she told herself at last.
 Alas, one image, ever near her
 Daily and nightly, overcast
 Each fevered dream, and all things told her
 Of *him* ; dear maid, some spell controlled her!
 And wearisome the very sound
 Of an endearing speech she found,
 And all the sedulous servants, staring.
 Sunk in dejection, not a word
 Spoken by visitors she heard.
 She cursed their leisured ways and bearing,
 And their arrivals unforeseen,
 And thought, “ How long that call has been ! ”

IX

But now behold with what devotion
 She reads each sugary romance
 And quaffs the false beguiling potion
 Whose lively charms her heart entrance !
 Creatures who win their inspiration
 By force of happy meditation,
 Like Julie’s favourite, Wollmar,
 Malek-Adel and De Linar,
 And martyred Werther, the defiant,
 And Grandison beyond compare,
 Who makes *us* slumber in our chair :
 —All, for our dreamer soft and pliant,

Assume one vesture in the end
And in Onegin's image blend.³

X

A heroine in imagination,
—Julie, Clarissa, or Delphine,
Of some loved author the creation—
She roams the quiet woods unseen,
Alone, the perilous volume bearing;
And pores therein, and finds it sharing
Her visions, and her secret fire,
Fruition of her heart's desire.
She sighs, she whispers, swift to borrow
—By rote—a letter that will do
For her belovèd hero too :
Another's joy, another's sorrow !
—Whatso our hero you may call,
He was no Grandison at all.

XI

Of old the fiery author, pitching
His language in the loftiest key,
Showed you his hero, still enriching
Him with each perfect quality ;
And this loved object was unfairly
And always harried, and most rarely
Gifted with sentiment, and mind,
And looks of an attractive kind,
And with the purest passion glowing,
Ever in raptures : his one quest,
To sacrifice his interest :
The final chapter always showing
How vice was punished, and the good
Wearing the garland, as it should.

XII

Our wits are all befogged at present ;
A moral makes us sleepy ; nay,
Even in a story, vice is pleasant
And likeable, and wins the day.

* " Julie's Wollmar—*La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Malek-Adel, hero of a mediocre romance by Mme Cottin. Gustave de Linar, hero of a charming story by Baroness Krudener " (*Pushkin's note*).

The British Muse with any fable
 To vex a damsel's dreams is able ;
 And see, she idolises now
 The Vampire with the pensive brow,
 Or prowling Melmoth, glum, distressful,
 The Corsair, or the Wandering Jew,
 Or else Sbogar, mysterious too.
 Lord Byron's whim was too successful :
 He clothed his self-absorbed despair
 With a romantic, weary air.⁴

XIII

All senseless stuff, my friends ; we know it :
 And now perhaps, by heaven's decree,
 I shall no longer be a poet ;
 Some other fiend will enter me.
 I will scorn Phœbus' frowns, and wholly
 Descend to prose, however lowly ;
 Then some old-fashioned tale shall still
 Engross, and cheer, my path downhill.
 Not there shall grimly be invented
 A villain's secret pangs of soul,
 But just a Russian house's whole
 Annals shall simply be presented,
 With love's alluring visions, and
 The antique manners of our land.

XIV

I'll tell the father's simple greetings,
 Or the old uncle's, and their talk ;
 The trysts of children, and their meetings
 By stream or ancient limetree walk ;
 Sad jealousy, its fierce vexation ;
 The tears that heal a separation ;
 Will set them quarrelling anew,
 And, in the end, will wed the two.
 The words of longing, love, and rapture

⁴ " *Vampire*, a tale wrongly attributed to Lord Byron. *Melmoth*, a production of genius by Maturin. *Jean Sbogar*, a well-known romance by Charles Nodier " (*Pushkin's note*). [*The Vampire* (1819), by John William Polidori, was based on a sketch by Byron. *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820), by Charles Robert Maturin, had much influence in France. Charles Nodier's tale *Jean Sbogar* appeared in 1818.]

And passion, uttered on my knees
To some beloved mistress—these
Words of old days, I will recapture ;
My tongue shall learn again at last
The disused language of the past.

XV

Tatyana, dear one, in compassion
I mingle now my tears with thine,
Since to that tyrant man of fashion
Thy destiny thou dost resign.
Dear, it will spell thy ruin, surely :
Craving some bliss beheld obscurely,
Dazzled by hope, thou well shalt know
What 'tis to live and languish so,
Of that enchanting poison drinking.
Thy dreams pursue thee still, and thou
Art of some happy refuge now,
Some rendezvous, for ever thinking ;
And everywhere thou dost await
Thy tempter, master of thy fate. . .

XVI⁵

So she, love's quarry, sick and dreary,
Goes in the garden to lament,
And lowers her fixt gaze, too weary
For walking, and too indolent ;
When, suddenly, her bosom rises,
A flying flame her cheek surprises ;
Breathless, with dazzled eyes, she hears
A noise of thunder in her ears.
Night is at hand ; the moon patrolling
Circles the skiey arch remote,
And through the misty skies is rolling
The nightingale's sonorous note.
Tatyana, wakeful, and her nurse
There in the quiet gloom converse.

XVII

“ Oh, I am sleepless ; nurse, sit near me ;
Open a window, or I choke ! ”

⁵ Stanzas XVI-XIX were printed in this *Review*, Jan. 1935.

—“ What ails thee, Tanya ? ”—“ Tired ! ’twould cheer me
If of the good old times we spoke.”

—“ What should we speak of ? I was able
Once to remember many a fable
And deed of long ago ; I had
Stories of maids, of spirits bad ;
But all things now before me darken ;
I have forgotten what I knew.
My turn has come ; ’tis bad, but true ;
And I am stricken now.”—“ But hearken !
Nurse, of thy youth I would be told ;
Wert thou in love, in days of old ? ”

XVIII

“ Stay, child ; folk then were never given
To hearing about love, you see ;
Why, my man’s mother, now in heaven,
Would just have been the death of me.”
—“ But then thy marriage, nurse, how came it ? ”
—“ Why, God’s plain will it was to frame it.
Vanya was younger ; I, my dear,
Was only in my fourteenth year.
For two whole weeks the dame⁶ was calling
Upon us, to arrange the troth.
At last, my father blest us both,
And I cried sadly—’twas appalling ;
They wept as they undid my hair,
Took me to church, and sang me there.

XIX

“ To a strange household I departed
They took me—but thou dost not hear . . . ”
—“ I am so weary and sore-hearted,
I feel so sick—and nurse, my dear,
I’m fit to sob, I’m near to wailing . . . ”
—“ My child, my child, thou must be ailing.
God save thee now and pity thee !
What wilt thou that I do for thee ?
I’ll sprinkle thee with holy water ;
Thou burnest ! ”—“ Not with illness, no !
Nurse dear, I am in love—’tis so ! ”

⁶ The professional matchmaker, who went between the families.

—" Now may the Lord be with thee, daughter ! "
And with frail fingers, as she prayed,
She signed the cross above the maid.

XX

" In love "—the murmur was repeated
All sadly, to the nurse. " My own,
Thou art not well ! " But she entreated,
" In love ! so leave me here alone."
And while they talked, the moon was raying
Her languid lustre down, and playing
Upon Tatyana, pale and fair,
Her tears, her stream of loosened hair,
And on the dame's gray head, well-snooded,
And on her woman's jacket neat
While she, reposing on the seat,
Faced our young heroine ; all things brooded
And drowsed as in a tranquil dream,
Under the moon's inspiring beam.

XXI

But far Tatyana's heart had wandered
And farther, as she watched the moon.
A sudden thought was born ; she pondered,
And cried, " Nurse, leave me ; I am soon
For bed ; but first, I pray thee get me
Paper and pen, and also set me
The table nearer ; so, good-bye."
Alone—all still—the moon shines high !
She on her elbow leans, inditing ;
Dreams of Evgeny all the while ;
Her innocent, unstudied style
Breathes of a maiden's love. The writing
Is done, is folded up. But stay :
All this, for *whom* ? My Tanya, say !

XXII

I have known beauties quite unreachable,
As wintry, cold, and pure as ice,
Inscrutable and unbeseechable,
Unbuyable at any price,

Stylish, and haughty; 'twas astounding;
 Born virtuous, too—still more confounding!
 I own, away from them I fled,
 Thinking in horror that I read
 Upon their brows the legend hellish,
Abandon hope for ever, you!
 To kindle love annoys them, too;
 To scare you stiff, is what *they* relish.
 You friends, perhaps have seen before
 Such ladies, upon Neva's shore.

XXIII

With tame adorers round them thronging
 Some other freakish dames I've known,
 Indifferent to sighs, or longing,
 Or praises—selfish to the bone.
 One thing I found, amazed me sheerly:
 —They, with their bearing, so austere
 Would frighten a shy love, and then
 Contrive to lure it back again,
 At least by signals of compassion;
 At least, the language that they found
 Had now and then a softer sound,
 Whereon, in the old credulous fashion,
 The blind young lover would pursue
 His cherished, idle quest anew.

XXIV

Is Tanya worse than these? you blame her
 That in her dear simplicity
 She knows of no deceit to shame her,
 Believing in her dream? that she
 Loves, with no thought of artful dealing?
 Is swept along, obeys her feeling,
 And all too easily confides?
 And has some gifts of heaven, besides,
 —A fancy, soon tumultuous turning,
 A living will, a living wit,
 A stubborn headpiece guiding it,
 A tender heart, and hotly burning?
 And can you no forgiveness find
 For all these passions, rash and blind?

XXV

No flirt's cold-blooded calculation,
No jest, is Tanya's love, but true ;
She yields, without one reservation,
To love, as a dear child may do.
She says not, " Hold him off ! so shall you
Of love enhance the market value,
And lure him safer in the net.
Sting first his vanity, and let
Him hope ; then rack him beyond measure,
Bewilder him ; and then, you see,
You fan the fires of jealousy.
For else, when he has had his pleasure,
Your artful slave is bored, and fain
To choose his hour to snap the chain."

XXVI

Another problem looms : I'd better,
Indeed I must, beyond dispute,
Translate for you Tatyana's letter,
To save my country's good repute.
In Russian she was poorly grounded ;
She never read our journals ; found it
Too great a toil to speak her mind
In her own language ; was inclined,
Therefore, to write in French. Despairing
Again I ask you, what to do ?
Our ladies have not, hitherto,
Their loves in Russian been declaring.
Our lordly tongue cannot compose
As yet, epistolary prose.

XXVII

The ladies—yes, they would constrain them
To read in Russian ; but I think
Of that with horror ; and to feign them
Handling *The Well-Disposed*,⁷ I shrink.
Now, I appeal to every poet :
When those dear objects (well you know it)
To whom in private, many times,

⁷ The *Blagonamerenny*, a journal (1818-26), chiefly literary, conducted by A. E. Izmailov.

You all have penned so many rhymes,
 To whom your heart is consecrated,
 —So feebly, with such heavy toil,
 Learned Russian,—was it not to spoil
 And, oh, so sweetly mutilate it,
 That on their lips that alien tongue,
 Transformed, like native Russian rung?

XXVIII

Heaven save me, when I leave, from meeting
 Upon the stairs, or at the ball,
 Some capped academican's greeting,
 Or student in a yellow shawl!
 I hate that Russian talk should err not
 In grammar, just as I prefer not
 The rosiest lips that never smile.
 But, to my grief, perhaps meanwhile
 The beauties of our generation
 (Because the papers so implore)
 Will teach us grammar and its lore
 And will put rhymes in circulation.
 But what care I? for I shall be
 Still faithful to antiquity.

XXIX

Their faulty speech, their careless babble,
 Their mispronunciations bold,
 Still in my bosom will be able
 To stir a tremor, as of old.
 I can't feel penitent; at present
 I find their gallicisms pleasant,
 Like sins of youth that we rehearse,
 Or Bogdanovich⁸ making verse.
 Enough: my own young beauty's letter
 Is now my business. Did I give
 My promise? Nay, but as I live,
 I think to take it back were better.
 I know that Parny's tender style
 Has been outmoded, this long while.

⁸ Hippolit Fedorovich Bogdanovich (1743-1802), soldier and poet of the previous age, chiefly remembered for his story in verse, *Dushenka*.

XXX

Wert thou still here, who singest⁹ sweetly
Of *Banquets*, and of woes that pine,
I should disturb thee, indiscreetly,
And beg of thee, dear friend of mine :—
“ Translate my passion-ridden maiden’s
Words to thine own enchanting cadence,
For foreign are those words.” But thou,
Where art thou ? come, for I do now
Salute thee, all my rights conveying . . .
But no : beneath those Finnish skies,
Where cheerless rocks around him rise,
With heart disused to praises, straying
In solitary banishment,
His spirit hears not my lament.

XXXI

Tatyana’s letter¹⁰ never tires me
To read ; and when I read it now,
I hold it sacred ; it inspires me
With a sad, private pang, I vow.
Who taught her in soft words to render
Her love, so heedless and so tender ?
Such touching nonsense—to impart
All the wild language of her heart,
So baneful in its fascination.
I know not—a pale copy give,
No more—the picture does not live—
A feeble, incomplete translation ;
Just so a schoolgirl’s finger may,
All timidly, the *Freischütz* play . . .

“ That I am writing you this letter
Will tell you all ; and you are free
Now to despise me ; and how better,
I wonder, could you punish me ?
But you, if you are sparing ever
One drop of pity for my fate,
Will not have left me desolate.

⁹ “ E. A. Baratynsky ” (*Pushkin’s note*).

¹⁰ Tatyana’s letter was printed in this *Review*, July, 1933.

I wished at first, believe me, never
To say a word, and then my shame
Had been unknown to you; small blame
Could I have hoped, but once a week
Here in our village, when you came,
To see you, and to hear you speak,
And pass a single word of greeting,
Think of you only, night and day,
And wait—until another meeting.
You are not sociable, they say;
The solitude, the country, bore you.
We are not smart in any way;
But always had a welcome for you.

“ Why came you? why to *us*? alone,
In this forgotten hamlet hidden,
I never should have known you, known
This bitterness of pangs unbidden.
And these emotions would have slept,
My soul its quiet ignorance kept :
—So, in due season, might I find,
Who knows? a husband to my mind;
Have been a true wife—to another,
A pious, honourable mother.

“ ‘ Another ’ ! . . . I would ne’er have given
To living man, this heart of mine !
This was the will of highest heaven,
This was appointed :—I am thine !
All my past life assurance gave
That we should meet—as though to bind me;
God sent thee here, I know, to find me,
And thou wilt guard me to my grave . . .

“ Thou camest oft in visions to me;
Wert dear, although I knew not thee;
Thy tones reverberated through me,
Thy gaze absorbed, enchanted me
Long since . . . But no, I was not dreaming !
Straight, when thou camest, not in seeming,
I knew thee, I took fire, stood numb,
And my heart told me, ‘ He is come ! ’

Is it not so ? Of old, believing
I heard thee speak, I listened there
To thee in quiet, giving care
To my poor folk, or while relieving
My sick and troubled soul in prayer.
Art thou, today, not he who came,
Flashed through the luminous darkness, nearing
My very pillow ? just the same
Belovèd vision, reappearing ?

“ Art thou a guardian angel to me,
Or crafty tempter, to undo me ?
Resolve my doubts and my confusion ;
It may be, this is all for nought
And an untutored soul’s illusion,
And fate quite otherwise has wrought.
But be it thus ; henceforth I yield me,
And all my fate, into thy hand ;
I weep, and here before thee stand,
Entreating only that thou shield me.

“ Conceive it : I am here, and lonely ;
None understands me ; and if only
My reason were not faint and weak !
But I am lost, unless I speak.
I wait on thee ; one look will waken
The hopes with which my heart is shaken ;
Or—the dream snap its heavy spell
At one reproach—deserved too well !

“ No more of this ; I dread to read it ;
Yet, though I sink with fear and shame,
Your honour keeps me safe ; I plead it,
And to it boldly trust my name.”

XXXII

Tatyana moaning sits, or sighing,
And grasps the quivering written sheet ;
The rosy wafer shrivels, drying
Upon her tongue at fever-heat ;
Upon her shoulder she is propping
Her head ; the thin light robe is dropping
Down from the charming shoulder.—See,
The radiance of the moon will be

Gone presently, the mists are breaking,
 The valley clears; and on the stream
 Yonder there steals a silver gleam.
 Morning! The shepherd's horn is waking
 The village; now the world's astir;
 But Tanya—all is one to her.

XXXIII

The day has dawned; she never knows it;
 She sits, head bowed upon her breast;
 The letter waits, she will not close it,
 Her graven seal is not imprest.
 But see, the door is softly swinging;
 Grizzled Philipjevna is bringing
 Her mistress' tea upon a tray.
 "Get up, my child, 'tis time, 'tis day!
 —Why, beauty, thou hast finished dressing!
 My little early bird, last night
 How nearly was I dead of fright!
 But thou art well, by heaven's blessing!
 Of the night's sadness, not a trace;
 Now thou art blooming, poppy-face!"

XXXIV

"One kindness, nurse!" "My own, my dearest,
 What is thy bidding, tell me, what?"
 "Now think not . . . truly . . . what thou fearest . . .
 But ah, thou seest . . . refuse me not!"
 "My love, by heaven—hear me swear it . . ."
 "This note, then—let thy grandson bear it
 Quite privately, to On . . . or, well,
 To *him*, our neighbour. Strictly tell
 The lad to take it, never saying
 One word; nor must he name me, no!"
 "But where, my love, is it to go?
 My senses, nowadays, seem straying.
 So many neighbours are in call,
 I cannot even count them all."

XXXV

"But, nurse, how slow thou art to take me!"
 "Well, Tanya, I am old, dear heart,
 Am old and dull; my wits forsake me;

There was a time when I was smart,
The master just would say, 'I want it' . . ."
"But what of that, good nurse? I grant it;
I do not need thy wits; the need
Is that the letter should make speed
Unto Onegin." "Well, so be it,
But be not cross, my heart's delight,
Thou know'st, I am not over-bright.
—What, pale again; thou art, I see it!"
"Nurse, truly, all is well with me;
But send thy grandson, instantly."

XXXVI

No answer yet, one day has fled.
Another comes, still nothing; why?
Full drest at dawn, she waits to meet it,
Pale, ghostlike, when will he reply?
—A caller!—Olga's sworn admirer,
And now the hostess was inquirer—
"But tell me, where's your friend? somehow
He has forgot us all, I vow."
Tatyana flushed and shivered, vainly.
"He promised he would come today,"
Said Lensky to the dame. "He may
Be kept by correspondence, plainly."
Tanya looked down, as though she heard
Reproach and malice in that word.

XXXVII

Upon the table sputtered, gleaming,
The samovar, as darkness fell;
Light wreaths of vapour up were steaming
To heat the china teapot well.
And next the fragrant tea was going
Into the cups, and darkly flowing,
By Olga's ministry poured out;
The page-lad served the cream about.
But Tanya by the window lingers;
Breathes on the icy glass; and she
(I love her!) lost in reverie
Is tracing, with her charming fingers,
Upon the misted pane, *E.O.*:
A sacred monogram, we know.

XXXVIII

Meanwhile, a pang her soul is gnawing,
 And her tired eyes are brimmed with tears.
 —Her blood runs cold : a sudden pawing,
 A tramp outside, a trot ! she hears
 Evgeny ! With an *oh !*, and springing
 Light as a shadow, Tanya, flinging
 Into the hall, down garden-stairs,
 Flies on, flies on, and never dares
 To look behind, but swiftly hurries
 Round bridge, parterre, and mead, and brake,
 And alley leading to the lake,
 Bursts through the shrubs and lilacs, scurries
 Through flower-beds to the brook. Dead beat
 And panting, now upon the seat

XXXIX

She drops . . . “ Evgeny here, great heaven
 He’s here—but what was in his mind ? ”
 Her heart, by many a torment riven,
 A hope still nurses, dim and blind.
 “ He comes not ? ”—Burning, trembling, fearing,
 She waits—his step she is not hearing !
 (The maids, among the bushy rows,
 Were gathering berries in the close,
 Singing in chorus. They were bidden
 Sing, for good cause : to see that they
 Should not on master’s berries prey
 With roguish lips, while safely hidden,
 But be kept busy with their song ;
 Such tricks to country wits belong).

Girls’ Song

Maidens, O you pretty things,
 Company of loving ones,
 Maidens, go ye frolicking,
 Darlings, in your revelry !
 Strike ye up your roundelay,
 Roundelay and ritual ;
 See ye lure the youth to us
 Where we circle round about !

When we lure the youth to us,
When we see him distantly,
Darlings, let us scatter then
And with cherries pelt at him,
Cherries, and with raspberries,
And with currants, ruddy ones !
Never come to listen at
Roundelays of ritual,
Never come to spy upon
This our maiden merriment !

XL

Tatyana heard them as they chanted,
But, heedless of the voices shrill,
Waited impatiently, and wanted
Her throbbing bosom to be still
And her flusht cheek to blaze no longer.
And yet her heart beat ever stronger ;
The blaze upon her cheek remained
Fiercer than ever, brighter stained.
So some poor butterfly will quiver
And flutter with its irised wing,
Caught by a schoolboy frolicking ;
So, in the winter corn, will shiver
A leveret, when far off he spies
The covert where the marksman lies.

XLI

But Tanya, with one sigh, departed
At last ; and rising from her seat
She went ; but presently she started
Into the alley—there to meet
Evgeny ! there he faced her, seeming
Like some grim ghost ; his eyes were gleaming ;
And she, as though a fiery flare
Scorcht her all over, halted there
Today, dear friends, I am not equal
(For I must take a walk, perforce,
And breathe after so long discourse)
To telling you, at length, the sequel
Of that unlookt-for meeting.—Nay,
I'll finish it, somehow, some day.

THE LITTLE HOUSE IN KOLOMNA

Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN by A. F. B. CLARK

I

Tetrameters iambic I abhor;
All poets use them. They're a children's sport,
And should be left to such. But I'd adore
To write in stanzas of the octave sort.
In fact, I'm sure I'd have success galore
With triple rhyme. I'll fame and glory court!
With rhymes I'm so familiar, it's absurd;
Two come unbidden, and invite a third.

2

To open them a path both broad and free
A licence over verbs I'll now bestow.
You're well aware that verbal rhyming we
Have always hated. Why? I'd like to know.
Shikhmatov rhymed (for all his piety),
And most of my own writing is done so.
Come, tell me why! The truth is we're benighted.
Henceforward verbs and rhymes shall be united.

3

I'll not reject them with vain glorious boast—
Like lamed recruits, whose legs no longer function,
Or horse that's scrapped because he looks a ghost—
Accepting only adverb and conjunction;
From wretched rabble I'll enlist a host.
I must have rhymes; I'm quite without compunction;
I'll take them all; each syllable will stand
In battle-line—we've no parade on hand!

4

We've War on hand! Your voices sounded hoarse,
My hearties (but we've much reduced the rattle).
Were you victorious where cannon roars?
Saw you in Persia the Shirvans¹ in battle?
What men! Poor creatures, bent and old, of course,

¹ One of the most famous regiments of the Russian Army. At the crossing of the Vistula in 1914 the command changed hands seven times.—B.P.

Yet each of them, a wolf among the cattle !
 With such a roar they rush into the fray :
 Like the Shirvans, my octaves are I say.

5

Ye Southern poets, fathers of the arts,
 What marvels with the octave you did fashion ;
 But we, we tardy poets, timid hearts,
 Have starved our rhyme upon a meagre ration.
 No mighty models have our men of parts.
 For conquest of new lands we have no passion.
 And the degenerate poet of our time
 Is but concerned to make his couplet rhyme.

6

And yet to you I never will return,
 Tetrameters iambic, shabby measure, . . .
 Hexameters ? . . . ah, them I'm forced to spurn :
 They're far beyond me. There remains a treasure,
 The Alexandrine, it might serve my turn.
 It winds and glides and slips and slinks at leisure,
 And has a sting too—'tis a very snake ;
 It seems to me, its measure I could take.

7

The nurse who brought it up was of the best ;
 The staid Boileau guided its youth ascetic.
 'Twas rigid with its fixed cæsural rest ;
 But in despite of periwigged poetic
 'Twas loosened by the free cæsural rest.
 To discipline 'twas ever antithetic,
 Now Hugo and his crowd, whom rules appal,
 Have let it go without a rest at all.

8

What would'st thou say, O poet-legislator,
 The terror of all minor bards forlorn,
 And thou, Racine, immortal imitator,
 Singer of women and of kings love-lorn !
 And thou, Voltaire, philosopher and hater,
 And thou, Delille, ant on Parnassus born,
 What would you say, if you beheld this shame ?
 Wronging your verse, our age has wronged your name.

9

'Tis but of late our critics fixed their eyes on
 This verse. Who first? Go ask "The Telegraph."
 A subject they can give you sound replies on
 They say it's fitting for an epitaph,
 Or maybe useful sometimes to bedizen
 The marble of a tomb or cenotaph.
 Such whimsies on the winds of fashion blown,
 Are nought to me; I'll make the verse my own.

10

Come, endings feminine and masculine!
 With Heaven's blessing, let us try: Attend!
 Take up your places, draw up close your line,
 In rows of three invade the verses' end!
 (We won't be too severe, so don't repine);
 Stand easy but avoid a shuffling trend,
 And soon we'll get the hang of it, forsooth,
 And enter on a road that's broad and smooth.

11

What joy it is one's verses forth to guide
 In numbered stanzas, all in order, row
 On row, and never let them stray aside
 Like armies that the guns to dust do blow!
 Each syllable is being watched and tried,
 Each line is with heroic zeal aglow.
 The poet's self . . . How should we style his part?
 He's Tamerlane or even Bonaparte.

12

Just at this point we'll take a little rest.
 What? Stop or sign my poem with a P? . . .
 Pentameters demand cæsural rest
 After the second foot, I do agree.
 If not, you oscillate 'twixt ditch and crest.
 Reclining on a sofa though I be,
 I feel as though a driver with a jag on
 Were jolting me o'er cornfields in a wagon.

13

Well, what of that? One can't be always tripping
 O'er Nevsky's granite, or in ball-rooms gliding

O'er polished floors, or else on horse-back skipping
 Across the Kirghiz steppes. So I'll go sliding
 By easy stages, stumbling on and slipping,
 Like that eccentric who, they say, came riding
 Without a stop upon a courser bold
 From Moscow town to where the Neva rolled.

14

A courser, mark ! Bellerophon's own hack
 Could not outride him. Pegasus but ambles,
 He's old and has no teeth. His well, alack !
 Is dry. Parnassus is o'ergrown with brambles.
 Apollo is retired. Nor can the pack
 Of senile muses lure us with their gambols.
 Their gypsy-camp from classic mountain-air
 We now have shifted to our own rag-fair.

15

And there we toss and wriggle in a pother,
 And haggle, yes, and quarrel without trouble,
 One by himself and one leagued with another,
 One lies a simple lie, and one a double.
 But, muse, a wish to threaten someone—smother !
 Or else with fury they will boil and bubble ;
 Instead of public eulogies, you'll see
 You'll get a slating in the " Northern Bee."

16

Or Moscow rags will fix an epithet
 Upon you like " immoral," " shallow," " rude."
 Or else you will be dragged by " The Gazette "
 To court, and for your independence sued.
 This is an age of strife and angry fret ;
 When men of letters are in constant feud.
 They tear and hack each other, and around
 They make their songs of victory resound.

17

Happy is he who from afar doth gaze
 Upon them all, and saying nought doth chortle
 At one, then t'other ; happy who surveys
 From coign of vantage every silly mortal—

But enter not their throng . . . or you will raise
 Malicious mirth ; to jests they will resort all,
 And, joining forces, friend and foe at once
 Will drive you out becapped like any dunce.

18

Then clear out quick. . . . For reasons of a sort
 I shall not sign my name here. Circumstances
 Occasionally pull my verse up short.
 This isn't the first time it sideways prances.
 How long is't since the last? I shan't retort.
 I'm hunting critics (Knight of old romances !)
 But s'pose I sight one, how to catch the sinner?
 Oh, well, I'll bow and ask him out to dinner

19

Meanwhile you must accept me for myself,
 An aged wolf who knows the feel of shot,
 Or else an unfledged sparrow, or an elf,
 Or sprite, or greenhorn simple at a sot.
 It may be, friends, that my own special shelf
 No longer in your library is sought—
 Or maybe this is just a novel sprint
 To get my copy quickly into print.

20

If I could wear an unobtrusive mask,
 So no one in the merry crowd would know me,
 I'd watch the bitter critics take to task
 Another by mistake, and try to show me !
 And then I'd unexpectedly unmask
 And knock the poor old journals in a row. Me
 Such merriment to look for is forbidden.
 We're all too few. The joker can't be hidden.

21

But, probably, they never even cared
 About my octaves' or my own existence ;
 But, now, the time has come. For I prepared
 A tale ; but I have joked with such persistence
 And kept you waiting while my wit I aired.
 My tongue's my enemy ; without resistance

It's used to babbling all the time ; now mark it !
A Phrygian slave once got a tongue at market !

22

He boiled it (though at Mr. Smoke's they smoke 'em)
Then Æsop brought it in to dinner . . . Why
This Æsop and his tongue, oh why invoke 'em ?
And weave them into my own poem ? I
Don't need to now revert (so let's revoke 'em)
To what all Europe's read. For time doth fly !
Imprudent rhymster, I . . . I'm feeling dizzy.
Really this thorny octave keeps me busy.

23

Sit down, O Muse, and tuck your hands within
Your sleeves ; beneath the bench your feet please stow
Don't twist, you fidget ! Now we shall begin
Well, once upon a time—eight years ago—
There lived a poor old widow without kin
Save one sole daughter. Near Pokroff their low
Poor cottage stood. In my mind's eye I see
The porch, the door, the room with windows three.

24

Three days ago, and just at even-tide,
With one companion I did thither pace.
The cottage is no longer there. A wide
Three-storied house now occupies its place.
The widow and the maiden at her side
Who used to sit here 'neath the window-space,
I called to mind—and days from which I'm sundered.
I thought : Can they be still alive ? I wondered.

25

A sadness seized me : and an angry glance
I cast upon the lofty house. A fire,
Encompassing just then its vast expanse,
Would so have softened my malignant ire,
The flame had been a boon to me. For man's
Poor heart is full of dreams and strange desire.
And queer ideas will plague us, when we roam
Alone, or with a comrade, far from home.

26

Then blessèd he who keeps his tongue from jangling,
 And holds his thought well tethered to its stake,
 Who silences by drugging or by strangling
 Within his heart the sudden hissing snake.
 But he who's talkative will soon be dangling,
 A monster guy—I'll drink of Lethe's lake.
 Despondency's against my doctor's order.
 We'll drop this subject—pardon my disorder !

27

Our ancient dame (a Rembrandt would have caught her ;
 His portraits often fit her like a glove)
 Wore spectacles and mob-cap. But her daughter
 Was verily a perfect queen of love.
 Her eyes and brows were dark as night on water.
 But she was white and tender as a dove.
 She had a cultivated taste and read
 The works of Emin while she lay in bed.

28

And she could also play on the guitar,
 And she could sing : " The dark blue dove is homing,"
 Or " Shall I go ? " or things e'en quainter far,
 Those things that by the fire in winter gloaming,
 Or in the fall beside the samovar,
 Or in the spring, amid the woods a-roaming,
 The Russian maiden dolefully doth sing.
 She's like our Muse, a bird with broken wing.

29

It's literal or figurative truth,
 From coachman to the greatest bard who's spoken,
 We all sing dolefully. A cry of ruth
 The Russian song is ; know it by this token—
 Beginning with a toast to you, in sooth,
 We end with prayers for your poor soul that's broken.
 With sadness is our nation's music warmed,
 Yet by its plaintive strains our hearts are charmed.

30

Parasha (such was our fair lady's name)
 Could wash and iron, sew, and even weave ;

The household under her direction came ;
 She handled the accounts (I do believe),
 She boiled the buckwheat " kasha " o'er the flame.
 (This heavy labour partly to relieve
 She had the help of Thecla, cook endearing,
 But destitute of sense of smell or hearing.)

31

Her mother sat beside the window ; all
 The live-long day she knitted at a stocking,
 But in the evening at a table small
 She spread the cards, the future thus unlocking.
 Her daughter flitted through the house and hall
 Now at the window, now outside (Oh, shocking !),
 And anyone who then was passing by
 You may be sure she saw (that maiden spry !).

32

In winter all the shutters were closed tight
 Quite early. But in summer (shine or rain),
 The house was open all. Diana bright
 Gazed long athwart the maiden's window-pane.
 (In no romance is it considered right
 To leave Diana out ; so much is plain !)
 For quite a time the mother had been snoring
 While daughter still Diana was adoring.

33

And she could hear the tabbies' caterwauling
 Along the eaves, frank token of their trysts,
 The clock-towers tolling, distant watchmen drawing—
 Naught else. Kolomna's peace at night persists
 Quiet as ever ! Seldom come a-crawling
 Two shadows from the houses. When she lists,
 The pining maid can hear the nervous beat
 Of her own heart against the yielding sheet.

34

On Sundays at all seasons of the year
 The widow took her daughter to Pokroff,
 And stood before the congregation, near
 The choir towards the left. I live far off

From that place now, yet often on the dear
 Sure wings of fancy, dreaming, to Pokroff,
 Kolomna-wards I fly—on Sundays fair
 To listen to the Russian service there.

35

There, I recall, there always came a-driving
 A countess—what her name was I can't say,
 But she was young and rich ; and her arriving
 In church was done in quite a haughty way.
 She prayed so proudly (pride in church still thriving !)
 And I, poor sinner, always watched her pray.
 Always at her I gazed. Beside her lure
 Demure Parasha seemed still more demure.

36

At times the countess with indifference
 Would cast her haughty eyes on her. But she
 Was praying God with quiet diligence
 And never did the glances even see.
 Her humbleness was quite without pretence ;
 Whereas the countess always seemed to be
 Buried within herself, in fashion's guiles,
 In her own beauty's proud and cruel wiles.

37

She seemed to be a bloodless paragon
 Of vanity. That's what you'd take her for :
 Yet back of all this pride I hit upon
 A different tale ; long sorrows and a store
 Of grievances repressed some years ago, . . .
 I fathomed them, attracted by their lore . . .
 But this the countess never, never knew
 And put me on her list, a victim new.

38

A sufferer she, albeit she was young
 And fair, albeit all her life did flow
 In lavish luxury ; albeit her tongue
 Commanded Fortune ; albeit the world did throw
 Incense before her—yet her heart was wrung.
 A happier person to depict we know,

O reader, though she cuts not such a dash—a
Demure and simple friend of yours—Parasha.

39

A braid in serpent-folds on horn-comb wound,
Behind the ears curl serpentine and flaxen,
A kerchief cross-wise worn or tied around,
Upon the slender neck some beadlets waxen—
A simple finery ; and yet it found,
Without expense, a way to make attacks on
The hearts of guardsmen with the black moustaches,
Who rode beneath the window at Parasha's.

40

Among them all, which nearest touched her heart,
Or whether she was equally to all
Indifferent, are questions we impart
No answer to at present. To the call
Of simple duty she was true ; her part,
'Twas not to think of Paris or masked ball
Or of the court (although her cousin Vere
Was married to a certain " Hof-Furier ").

41

But sudden grief made dame and daughter pine.
The faithful cook, from Russian bath returning,
Took to her bed. In vain with tea and wine
And vinegar and mintleaf-poultice burning,
They treated her ; she made her dying sign
On Christmas Eve. With sorrow and with yearning
They said good-bye to cook. That very day
They took and buried her out Okhta way.

42

They mourned her in the house ;—and that included
Vaska the cat. But then my widow dear,
Reflecting on a cookless life, concluded :
" Three days without a cook—no more ; it's clear,
Trusting to chance for dinner is excluded."
The widow calls : " Parasha ! "—" Yes, I'm here "—
" Where can we get a cook ? Go, ask our neighbour
About it. Finding cheap ones is a labour."

43

"I'll ask, mamma," she said, and out she went,
All muffled up (for now ruled winter keen;
Snow crunched, and from its cloudless, starry tent
The blue horizon sent a frosty sheen).
The widow waited her return, sleep bent
Her head; and so Parasha wasn't seen
Returning, till the widow's hand she took
And said: "O mother, see, I've brought a cook."

44

Behind her came a girl with timid stride,
Tall, not bad-looking, wearing a short skirt,
Who, bowing low, drew bashfully aside.
Her apron in a corner she ungirt.
"What wages do you want?" the widow cried,
And turned her eyes to her. No answer pert
Came from the girl. In humble tone she spake,
"Whatever may seem right to you, I'll take."

45

Her answer tickled much the widow's ear.
"And what's your name?" "It's Margaret." "Well said.
You stay with us, good Meg; you're young, my dear,
Beware the men. Our poor dear Thecla dead
Served me as cook for many a long year,
And never did besmirch her maidenhead.
Attend on me and on my daughter sweet;
Be diligent; and mind you do not cheat."

46

A day goes by, and then another; cook
Shows no great gumption; now she over-boils
The food, and now she over-roasts it; look!
She's dropped a tray with dishes. Then she spoils
With too much salt her cooking; in a nook
If she sits down to sew, the needle foils
Her plan; they scold her; mute does she remain.
Parasha strives to teach her, but in vain.

47

The mother and the daughter churchwards wound
Their way on Sunday morning. None remained

At home but Meg; for she was dragging round,
 You see, but half-alive; her teeth had pained
 All night; and then she's really got to pound
 Some cinnamon—a plan she entertained
 To bake some pastry; so she stayed, but right
 In church the widow had a sudden fright.

48

She thought: "How is it that the cunning Meg
 Conceives a sudden passion for a cake?
 A pastry-cook! More likely a bad egg!
 Perhaps she wants to plunder us and make
 A get-a-way? It's just to pull our leg,
 This pastry-business! For the dear Lord's sake!"
 At such a thought the widow nearly fainted;
 And with her plan Parasha she acquainted.

49

"I'm going home, Parasha. You may stay.
 I'm feeling scared." Her daughter never knew
 What she was scared about. But straight away
 From the church-porch the widow almost flew;
 Her heart was beating, to her dread a prey.
 She reached her cottage, in the kitchen threw
 A glance—no Meg is there—her bedroom entered—
 Good God! On what a sight here eyes were centered!

50

Before Parasha's mirror primly sitting,
 The cook was shaving. With a piercing shriek
 The widow fell, and swooned. The cook, omitting
 All decent forms, in haste, with lathered cheek,
 Jumped straight across the widow (thus, in fitting
 She wronged the honour of our widow meek),
 Flew to the passage—then the porch did gain,
 Covered her face and ran with might and main.

51

Mass ended; and Parasha homeward took
 Her way. "What's up, mamma?" "Alas! my daughter,
 Meg . . ." "Well, what's up with her?" "Alas! our
 cook . . .

I've only just recovered from . . . I caught her
 Behind the mirror . . . lathered . . ." "Mother, look,
 I can't make sense of all this teeter-lauter;
 Where *is* she;" "She's a rogue! I found her shaving! . . .
 Just like my poor late husband! How depraving!"

52

Whether Parasha blushed a little then,
 Or not, I cannot say; but from that hour
 No more was seen of Meg, from human ken
 She vanished quite; she left—nor took in dower
 A farthing—nor had wreaked great harm. But when
 Our heroine and mother in their bower
 Were left alone, who took Meg's place? Who knows?
 I vow *I* don't—and hasten to my close.

53

"That's all? You're joking!" "No, so help me God!"
 "So that's where all your octaves led us to!
 Was it for this you spread alarms abroad,
 And summoned armies and the trumpet blew?
 The road you chose was surely rather odd!
 Did better subjects never come in view?
 Hasn't your story even got a moral?"
 "No . . . yes, it has . . . so please don't let us quarrel . . .

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Now, here's your moral; dangerous 'tis, I wis,
 To hire a cook who cares not what you pay;
 To one who's born a male it comes amiss
 To try and dress himself in woman's way,
 Some time or other nature forces 'Miss'
 To shave 'herself,' a thing you cannot say
 A lady does . . . and nothing more, in fact,
 From this my narrative can you extract."

THE MONUMENT OF PETER THE GREAT

Translated from the Polish of ADAM MICKIEWICZ by
MARJORIE BEATRICE PEACOCK and GEORGE RAPALL NOYES

Note—The following poem is the fourth episode of the "Digression" at the close of *Forefathers' Eve, Part III*. (A translation of the first three episodes appeared in the *Slavonic Review*, vol. XIII, pp. 481-493.) The "two youths" are, of course, Pushkin and Mickiewicz.

The footnotes, except as indicated, are by Mickiewicz.

Two youths stood deep in talk one rainy night,
Beneath one cloak, hand closely clasped in hand :
One was that pilgrim from a western land,
An unknown victim of the Tsar's grim might,
The other was the famous Russian bard,
Beloved through all the northland for his song.
Although their friendship had not flourished long,
They were united by a great regard.
Their souls soared over earthly trials and woe,
Like twin crags jutting from an Alpine peak :
Though separated by a roaring creek,
They scarcely hear the tumult of their foe,
While each to each their towering summits lean.
The pilgrim mused on Peter's awesome mien,
While gently thus the bard explained the scene :
 "To the first Tsar, of mighty fame and deed,
Great Catherine here a monument decreed ¹
So this gigantic image of the Tsar
Bestrides the bronze back of a mettled steed
And waits for space where he may ride afar.
But Peter could not rest on Russian ground ;
His native land was small for such as he :
His pedestal they sought beyond the sea.
From Finland's shore they tore this granite mound,
Which, when the Empress speaks and waves her hand,
Floats o'er the sea and runs across the land,
And falls into its place at her command.²
The mound is ready now, and forth he goes,
A Roman-toga'd Tsar who rules by blows :

¹ The monument to Peter bears the inscription, *Petro primo Catharina secunda*.

² This verse is translated from a Russian poet whose name I have forgotten. [From Ruban, an obscure poet and journalist.—TR.]

His charger gallops up the granite steep,
Rearing its body for a mighty leap.

“ In ancient Rome there shines in different guise
Marcus Aurelius, the people’s pride,
Who first made his name famous far and wide
By banishing the nation’s crafty spies.
When he has shamed the plunderers at home
And on the Rhine and the Pactolus’ banks
Has overwhelmed the fierce invaders’ ranks,
Homeward he turns his steps to peaceful Rome.
Fair, calm, and noble is that brow, aglow
With thoughts of all his people’s happiness.
He lifts with dignity his hand, as though
His thronging subjects he were now to bless ;
And on his reins he drops his other hand,
To check the zeal that in his charger burns.
You guess that in his path the masses stand
And shout . ‘ Our father, Cæsar, now returns ! ’
Amid the throng he fain would slowly ride,
With a paternal glance on every side
The steed’s mane stands erect, its fierce eye rolls ;
But knowing that it bears a well-loved guest,
The father of unnumbered Roman souls,
It checks its ardent spirit’s fiery zest :
The children can approach their father’s knee.
Along the road the steed strides evenly—
It will advance to immortality ³

“ His charger’s reins Tsar Peter has released ;
He has been flying down the road, perchance,
And here the precipice checks his advance.
With hoofs aloft now stands the maddened beast,
Champing its bit unchecked, with slackened rein :
You guess that it will fall and be destroyed.
Thus it has galloped long, with tossing mane,
Like a cascade, leaping into the void,
That, fettered by the frost, hangs dizzily.
But soon will shine the sun of liberty,
And from the west a wind will warm this land.—
Will the cascade of tyranny then stand ? ”

³ The colossal equestrian statue of Peter, designed by Falconet, and the statue of Marcus Aurelius that now stands in Rome on the Capitoline Hill are here faithfully described.

MEMORIES

Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN *by*
R. M. HEWITT

When trade and traffic and all the noise of town
Is dimmed, and on the streets and squares
The filmy curtain of the night sinks down
With sleep, the recompense of cares,
To me the darkness brings nor sleep nor rest.
A pageant of the torturing hours
Drags its slow course, and, writhing in my breast,
A fangèd snake my heart devours.
My fears take form, and on the wearied brain
Grief comes in waves that overflow,
And Memory turns a scroll to tell again
A legend that too well I know.
Reading the past with horror, shame, and dread,
I tremble and I curse,
But the repentant tears, the bitter tears I shed
Will not wash out a single verse.

EX UNGUE LEONEM

Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN *by* PAUL SELVER

I, having piped some verse a short time back,
Without my signature sent forth the same;
It was discoursed on by a clownish hack,
And he,—the rogue,—like me, withheld his name.
What think ye? Nor the hireling hack, nor I,
Contrived to hide the trick that we had played.
It was my claws he quickly knew me by,
And him his ears at once to me betrayed.

A SPANISH ROMANCE

Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN by PAUL SELVER

A zephyr flies
Through evening skies.
And roars,
And pours,
Guadalquivir.
Lo, the golden moon is shining :
Hark, a soft guitar's refrain . . .
On her balcony reclining,
Lo, there leans a maid of Spain.
A zephyr flies
Through evening skies.
And roars,
And pours,
Guadalquivir.
Shed thy cloak, thy form displaying,
Like a radiant dawn, fair maid :
Let thy wondrous foot come straying,
Through the iron-wrought balustrade.
A zephyr flies
Through evening skies.
And roars,
And pours,
Guadalquivir.

PUSHKIN AND HIS PLACE IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE

REFERRING, in a letter to his Russian friend and correspondent Sobolevsky (who had also been one of Pushkin's closest friends), to the death of Gogol, Merimée said that a tragic fate seemed to be pursuing Russian writers. True, Gogol did not die a violent death. But he was inwardly "burnt to ashes" (to use Bryusov's phrase) and himself quickened his premature physical end. Eleven years earlier, Lermontov was killed in a duel at the age of twenty-seven. Four years before him, on 10 February, 1837, another duel cut short Pushkin's life at the age of thirty-seven. In 1829, Griboyedov, the author of *Gore ot Uma*, aged thirty-four, was murdered by the

Persian mob in the Russian Legation at Teheran. And, three years before him, Ryleyev, the Decembrist poet and a friend of Pushkin, ended his days on the gallows. In our days the names of the two greatest modern Russian poets can be added to this list: those of Alexander Blok, who died in 1921 as a result of under-nourishment and exhaustion at the age of forty-one, and Nicholas Gumilev, shot by the Revolutionary Government within a week or so of the death of his elder contemporary, at the age of thirty-three. A sad martyrology indeed! And of all these deaths the most tragic no doubt was the premature end of Russia's greatest poetical genius—Alexander Pushkin.

It has been more than once said that Russia's claim to rank Pushkin not only as her greatest poet, but also as a worthy companion of the great in world literature, had to be taken on trust. As distinct from Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, even Turgenev, Pushkin's name has not been commonly inscribed in the world pantheon of literature. There is, of course, one obvious reason for this: shorn of his poetry, Pushkin ceases to be Pushkin; and Pushkin the poet, it is urged, is eminently untranslatable into other languages. But then this applies in a greater or smaller measure, to all the writers who are poets *par excellence*. Divested of the array of their native tongue, neither Dante nor Goethe is the same. And it would not be wrong, perhaps, to assume that had there been no poets and critics, or even ordinary readers outside Italy and Germany able to read and appreciate Dante and Goethe in the original, their claims to greatness and their fame would not have been so easily established. The point is not, after all, that Pushkin is less translatable than Goethe or Dante, but that there are but few people, especially among the writers and critics of higher calibre, capable of reading and appraising him in the original. But we know that when a writer of Merimée's standing came to know Pushkin in the original he at once became his ardent admirer. One somehow feels that if an English poet, such as, say, T. S. Eliot, had been able to read Pushkin in Russian, as he reads Dante in Italian, he would become aware of the Russian poet's greatness. But even without it the day may not be far off when Pushkin's greatness—not only on the national but also on the world scale—will be impressed upon the literature of other countries. We know already of at least two writers—great in their own country and enjoying European fame—who, without knowing any Russian, have admitted Pushkin's right to take a high place in world literature. I mean Paul Valéry and André Gide.

But apart from Pushkin's alleged untranslatableness, it has always seemed to me that another and somewhat paradoxical reason of the general reluctance to give him official status outside Russian literature lay in the belief that his contribution to literature was not specifically Russian, not sufficiently "original" or "exotic," that in this respect he lacked the qualifications possessed by such writers as Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, or (in a minor degree) Chekhov. And yet there are but few Russians who will not admit that in Pushkin is to be found the fullest expression of Russian national literature. The famous formula of Apollon Grigoryev, the most gifted and original Russian critic of the nineteenth century—"Pushkin is our everything," repeated and expanded by Dostoyevsky in his famous Pushkin address in 1880, is not far off the mark. One may argue, and not without justice, that neither Grigoryev nor Dostoyevsky had an objective understanding of Pushkin, that they read into him their own meaning and their own ideas, that Pushkin's spirit was alien to them. But with equal justice it can be argued that Pushkin's fullness and many-sidedness allow of many meanings being read into him, that he will stand this operation and emerge unscathed and intact from it, rising above all those particular "inread" meanings—a thing of sheer beauty, allowing of and yet defying, all interpretations. Take Pushkin's *Tsygane* (The Gypsies), that poem of his (written in 1824) which marks the maturing of his genius. It lends itself very well to "interpretations" and has therefore been much "philosophised" about, as D. S. Mirsky says (most notably by Dostoyevsky in his famous address and by Vyacheslav Ivanov). But easily as it does lend itself to interpretations (on the strength of it Pushkin can be represented as a Tolstoyan anarchist, as a Byronic rebel against civilisation, as an advocate of free love, or as a preacher of the philosophy of humility), it ultimately defies them all and emerges as a piece of sheer unadulterated beauty, clear and simple in design, and perfect in its word-magic.

Take another poem, of still greater maturity and depth, one of Pushkin's masterpieces, if not *the* masterpiece (the trouble is he has no many of them)—his *Bronze Horseman*. It is perhaps the best example of Pushkin's creation on several planes; and here the main issue (if it is such)—the collision between individual existence and the course of history—is left deliberately open, in suspense, and the poem thus becomes liable to several, even contradictory, interpretations. But whatever construction we may be inclined to put on it, it remains, in all its great unequalled beauty,

a marvellously harmonious blend of multifarious elements: the noble historic vision of Russian Imperial expansion, with its architectural and symbolic embodiment in Peter's matchless city; the remarkably realistic description of the terrible flood of 1824; the sympathetic portrayal of poor and humble Evgeny, the future hero of Gogol's and Dostoyevsky's Petersburg tales, with his shattered dreams of personal happiness; and his tragic collision with the dreadful Bronze Rider, exemplifying the inexorable historical destiny and introducing so marvellously the element of fantasy. No, certainly you cannot put any limited construction on this poem, read any particular meaning into it. It is magnificent in its "multiplaneness" and complexity, and its complex beauty evades any such effort at simplification.

Take again *Mozart and Salieri*, another recognised masterpiece of Pushkin. Ask yourself whether Pushkin is entirely on the side of Mozart, the carefree spontaneous genius, so like himself in some respects; whether he has not some sympathy with Salieri, the "drudge" and the embodiment of envy; and you will see again that there is no simple answer to this question.

Take now *Evgeny Onegin*, Pushkin's "central" work from more than one point of view (including the chronological), the one on which his national Russian fame rests more than on anything else, and which is the most eminently "untranslatable." (I say this with all due regard to Professor Elton's admirable attempt at doing the "impossible," a specimen of which the reader will find in this number). Try to define it. What is it? A fine psychological study, a precursor of the Russian psychological novel? A picture of contemporary Russian *mœurs* with an element of satire in it? An autobiographical lyrical confession? It is any and all of these. And it is held together and given its unique charm and flavour by Pushkin's inimitable power over his instrument, the Russian verse. Without this power, however well done, it becomes but a pale replica, which fails to appeal to and impress non-Russian readers. This is just the opposite of what was sometimes said of Byron whose *Don Juan* served as a prototype of Pushkin's *Evgeny Onegin*, just as the form of his *Oriental Tales* inspired Pushkin to his Southern poems. Byron's vogue on the Continent (including Russia) is sometimes explained by the fact that in many a case his poems gained in translation. And here we come to the real clue to Pushkin's position in Russian literature—the perfection with which he wielded his instrument both in verse and prose, and the variety and richness of the uses to which he put it. It is true that Pushkin

did not write anything that in kind can be compared either with *War and Peace* or with *The Brothers Karamazov*. But let us not forget that Pushkin's life was cut short at the age of thirty-seven and that we never shall know of what more his many-sided and pliable genius was capable. Let us remember that Pushkin, as no one else, was alive to the literary evolution going on around him; that at the time of his death the European nineteenth-century novel was in its inception; that he himself was all the time evolving and in the last years of his life had taken to prose and had already produced a novel portraying eighteenth-century Russia (*The Captain's Daughter*), a perfect specimen of its kind, and was planning a vast picture of Russian life of his own time (the so-called *Russian Pelham* of which only the plan is known); that with his capacity for assimilating other writers' experience and turning it to account without imitating them, he could not have helped being affected by the work of such writers as Stendhal and Balzac (his knowledge of Balzac at the time of his death was scanty, and his opinion of him not too high; but he held Stendhal's *Rouge et Noir* in very great esteem).

Of course, even if Pushkin had had time to write his own *War and Peace*, it would have been quite different from Tolstoy's master-work. But who knows whether, as Leontyev has said in his remarkable analysis of Tolstoy's novels, Pushkin's *War and Peace* would not have been truer to the spirit of the times. Be that as it may and granted that Pushkin was incapable of creating anything like *The Brothers Karamazov*, what other writer could claim to have to his credit such varied creations? Some of the best lyrical poems in the language ranging over a great variety of forms; several narrative poems culminating in a work of such depth and complexity as *The Bronze Horseman*; a novel in verse which, alike for the beauty of its verbal texture and the richness of its psychological and social contents, hardly has any equal; a Shakespearean tragedy which, for all the debt it owes to Shakespeare in construction and the dependence of its historical conception on Karamzin, is a noble and original work which the non-Russian public has come to appreciate in Musorgsky's famous opera; a series of miniature plays, beautiful in the terseness of their diction and the concentrated force of their meaning; a novel of Russian 18th century life instinct with an exquisite sense of the period; a number of short stories, different in manner and all of them prefiguring some of the later developments of Russian prose (did not Apollon Grigoryev say that in Pushkin's *Stationmaster* was to be found the seed of

Gogol's *Overcoat* and all its progeny of "philanthropic" literature?); a prose tale in which the classical clearness of the outline and phrasing (which made Mérimée say that "la phrase de Pouchkine est toute française, j'entends française du dix-huitième siècle") is blended with the Hoffmannesque fantasy of the plot, and a psychological plot worthy of Dostoyevsky; a series of wonderfully told folk tales; a book of travel written in exquisitely limpid prose; a work of such historical merit as the *History of the Pugachev Rebellion*; several magazine articles revealing a keen critical insight; and, finally, a number of letters not easily matched in the epistolary literature of any nation; such are the main items in Pushkin's literary balance sheet. Taking his lyrics alone, what a variety of forms and subjects does one find in them. Witty and pointed epigrams; light occasional poems and epistles; love poems of exquisite grace and beauty; pieces of eloquent political rhetoric; poems of deep and lofty inspiration like *The Prophet* or *The Poet*; or such magic pieces defying all classification as *The Incantation* (*Zaklinanie*). And within them what a gamut of feelings and moods. It is all very well that joy of life was Pushkin's dominant mood, that his poetry was the sunniest, the most radiant in all Russian literature. How can one forget his *Recollection* with its note of despair; his *Dar naprasny, dar sluchayny* . . .; his extraordinary *Poem Written during Insomnia*; his *Brozhu-li ya vdol ulits shumnykh* with its meditations on death?

There are not many writers whose creative range—historical, geographic, social—is as wide as Pushkin's. Never having been outside Russia (if we discount his journey to Erzerum whither he accompanied the victorious Russian army, thus crossing the Turkish border) he felt at home in different countries, different epochs, and different social settings. He had an eager and absorbent mind which easily assimilated other nations' literatures and put them to account, producing new and original works (his adaptation of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* in the poem called *Angelo*; his translation of an act from John Wilson's *City of the Plague* to which, by a few masterly strokes, he gave the status of an original work of great beauty; his unfinished scene from *Faust*).

What links, however, all those multifarious creations together, what gives them unity, is once more the wonderful instrument so masterfully wielded by Pushkin, so docile, so flexible in his hands, so adequately rising to all occasions, whether tragic or gay, whether solemn or humorous. Pushkin, brought up on French classical

literature, matured very early as a poet. And he early acquired that absolute mastery over the logical element of his verbal material, that clearness of diction and outline which for ever made him a classicist and alienated him from all romantic confusion and impetuosity. With this mastery over the logical element of the words he combined a magical sound technique. D. S. Mirsky is quite right when he says in his book on Pushkin¹ that to every Russian Pushkin's verse has a taste of its own, that one can feel its sound on one's tongue. It is this perfect and equal mastery of sense and sound that makes Pushkin so unique in Russian literature.

The problem of the relation between Pushkin's life and work, of the extent to which his poetry can be treated in terms of autobiography, has occupied more than one Russian student of Pushkin and has been a matter of controversy. I have no room to dwell on it here. But even a superficial knowledge of the facts is sufficient to disclose a fundamental contrast between his personality—temperamental, impetuous, easily set ablaze—and his poetry with its predominant elements of order, measure, and clarity. For the psychology of Pushkin's creative work it is very important that this fiery and impetuous man was a great and assiduous worker who always wrote quill in hand, did not improvise but allowed his poetic fruit to mature, and took infinite pains over his writing—a look at his manuscripts is enough to convince anyone of the truth of this statement. Pushkin's interests—as evidenced by his readings, his notes, his letters, the reminiscences of his contemporaries—were many and avid. He was well read in the principal literatures of Europe, familiar with both Russian and European history, interested in the political and social problems of the day. This eager receptiveness of his mind which never attempted to shut itself off from the main currents of life and dwell in poetic isolation, accounts in no small measure for the variety of his literary output and for that quality of his which Dostoyevsky rightly described as pan-humanity (even though he may have attributed his own specific meaning to it).

GLEB STRUVE.

¹ *Pushkin*. London, Routledge, 1926. This book can be recommended to any English reader desirous of learning more about Pushkin. For the best appreciation of Pushkin from a non-Russian point of view I would refer, however, to Maurice Baring's *Outline of Russian Literature* and his Introduction to the *Oxford Book of Russian Verse*, part of which is reprinted with the author's and publishers' permission on pages 245–247 of this number of *The Slavonic Review*.

ON NEW TRANSLATIONS OF PUSHKIN

(HOW SHOULD PUSHKIN BE TRANSLATED?)

IN *The Slavonic Review* for January, 1936 (Vol. XIV, No. 41), there appeared Oliver Elton's translation of the first canto of *Eugeny Onegin*. Undoubtedly, apart from translations of *Eugeny Onegin* which have already been published, new translations in English and other languages will be brought out in view of the centenary, to be celebrated throughout the whole world in February, 1937.

We should like to put a question of the first importance to English readers, publishers, and translators of the works of Pushkin: How should Pushkin in general and *Eugeny Onegin* in particular be published in foreign editions? This question has already been raised by us some years ago in the Russian press. In 1934 appeared my pamphlet *How Pushkin wished to publish Eugeny Onegin and how it was published*, and this was followed later in 1936 by my book *A. S. Pushkin: the eighth, ninth, and tenth cantos of the novel Eugeny Onegin: the story of a mutilated novel: with an introduction, notes and an article by V. L. Burtsev on "The Fate of Eugeny Onegin."*

To this answer the reply seems quite obvious: Pushkin should be published in the way Pushkin would have wished. But after such a reply inevitably another question arises: how are we to understand the words "in the way Pushkin would have wished"? Many reply that to publish in the way Pushkin would have wished means to publish as Pushkin himself published his works, and in particular *Eugeny Onegin*. Pushkin published *Eugeny Onegin* twice—in 1833 and in 1837. Therefore many would say that Pushkin has left a sacred edition of *Eugeny Onegin*, and, consequently, it should be published as Pushkin himself published it, and it should be translated from an edition left us by Pushkin.

It is on these general lines that already for a hundred years past *Eugeny Onegin* has been published in Russia. These lines have also been followed in its translations into various languages, and this, too, was apparently how Oliver Elton has begun to translate it in *The Slavonic Review*. That is the accepted way of publishing *Eugeny Onegin*, and it is one which has hardly ever been rejected. Nevertheless, on the basis of very considerable evidence, I suggest to Russian and foreign readers and publishers of Pushkin a different attitude to any publication of *Eugeny Onegin*, and I should like *The Slavonic Review* and its readers also to accord my views some attention.

I assert that on both occasions (in 1833 and in 1837) Pushkin was compelled to publish his *Evgeny Onegin* not "as Pushkin wished," but "as Nicholas I wished," as the censor of the day and the political conditions, prevalent at the time in which he lived, insisted that he should publish it. We have definite evidence of the hard conditions under which Pushkin did much of his work, particularly *Evgeny Onegin*, and more especially his last three cantos—8, 9 and 10. There is no doubt whatever that Pushkin not only wished to write *Evgeny Onegin* quite differently than he was forced to write it, but that he actually did write it differently. Besides this, on several occasions he prepared different versions for the press. But, as I have already mentioned, both Pushkin's personal life and the political conditions of social life at that time were such that eventually he was compelled to give up this plan.

In 1831 Pushkin brought out the last canto of *Evgeny Onegin*; he called it the eighth, but said that originally it was to have been the ninth, but that important circumstances had forced him to cut out the eighth canto ("The travels of Onegin") and to leave a good deal out of the novel; it is this, he added, which robs the novel of clarity. In 1833 Pushkin published a separate edition of *Evgeny Onegin*, again with only eight cantos, but in the preface he again emphasised that there was much in the novel that he had to put aside—that is, that he had had to publish it not as he had prepared it and would have wished to publish it. Furthermore, in the preface to the separate 1833 edition of *Evgeny Onegin* he gave extracts from the missing eighth canto.

I do not know how Professor Elton will publish *Evgeny Onegin* in English, and whether he will include the extracts from "The Travels of Onegin." In Russian these extracts, even now, are usually printed as Pushkin himself printed them in 1833. But the most superficial reading of them shows that the author did not choose them from "The Travels of Evgeny Onegin" with any literary reason in view. At first glance it is impossible to decide why he made these extracts. The verses often begin and finish in the middle of a sentence. The omissions in the stanzas are also wholly unexplained; some stanzas are omitted, including the best in that canto and others of great importance. Russian publishers who have printed these extracts of Pushkin's from the eight cantos in a separate appendix give passages from the canto which are not to be found at all in Pushkin, though they occur in his manuscripts.

In this way, though practically the whole of the eighth canto has been preserved in Pushkin's handwriting, up till now it has been

printed in the mangled form in which Pushkin had to publish it owing to the censor of the Emperor Nicholas in the 1830's. It is quite impossible to approve of this.

In September, 1830, Pushkin unexpectedly realised that owing to material circumstances he had to finish his novel *Evgeny Onegin* immediately. He eliminated much of what he had prepared of Canto IX for the continuation of the novel after stanza 47, as well as all that he had written for Canto X, and ended Cantos VIII and IX with four stanzas of farewell to the readers (48-51). Here is stanza 48 as it was written at the time by Pushkin merely for the sake of finishing the novel.

Stanza 48.

Then she departed; and Evgeny,
Like a man thunderstruck he stood . . .
With stormy feelings, ah, too many!
His heart was overwhelmed, to brood.
Like sudden spur, a bell his hearing
Strikes—it is Tanya's lord, appearing!
And here, my reader, you and I,
When his worst moment now is nigh,
Today our hero must be leaving
For long . . . for ever. In his wake
We've roved the world, on our lone track
Enough. Hurrah! the shore achieving
At last, let us congratulate:
High time, I think, no more to wait? ¹

After this abrupt ending ("the sudden sound of spurs." Whose spurs? Was it Count Benckendorff's?) Pushkin then and there (26 September) decided on a complete edition of *Evgeny Onegin*. This draft has been preserved in his autobiography, and here it is:

ONEGIN.

Part One.—Introduction

Canto	I.—Hypochondria	...	...	Kishenev, Odessa.
Canto	II.—The Poet	...	...	Odessa, 1824.
Canto	III.—The Young Lady	...	Odessa, Mikhailovskoe,	1824.

Part Two.

Canto	IV.—The Country	...	...	Mikhailovskoe, 1825.
Canto	V.—The Birthday	...	...	Mikhailovskoe, 1825-26.
Canto	VI.—The Duel	...	...	Mikhailovskoe, 1826.

¹. Translated by Oliver Elton.

Part Three.

Canto VII.—Moscow	...	Moscow, Mikhaïlovskoe, St. Petersburg, Boldino, 1829.
Canto VIII.—Travels	...	Moscow, Pavlovsk, Boldino, 1829.
Canto IX.—High Society	... ..	Boldino.

Appendix.

9 May, 1823, Kishinev—25 September, 1830, Boldino. 26 September, A P., Hastening to live and hastening to feel.

From this autobiography of Pushkin's it is clear that the eighth canto of *Evgeny Onegin* was "Travels," that the original ninth canto is now the eighth, that for each chapter (or canto) Pushkin chose very characteristic sub-titles, and that even from 1830 onwards he had the intention of breaking up the whole novel into three parts. Opposite each heading Pushkin mentioned where and when each chapter was written.

In letters to friends at this time Pushkin spoke of the publication of *Evgeny Onegin* according to this settled plan. The papers of Pushkin contain two more plans of issuing *Evgeny Onegin* in nine cantos.

Pushkin drew up this plan in the country, far from the life of the capital, and he had to print the end of *Evgeny Onegin* in Moscow almost a year later. He then married and lived for a time with his young wife at Tsarskoe Selo and in close touch with the Emperor, Nicholas I, and his right hand, Count Benckendorff, who had been specially commissioned by the Emperor to keep a watch on him. During this time Pushkin felt unquestionably more dependent on the Government than he had done the year before. He saw that it was impossible to print the eighth canto, which contained some reference to the Decembrists, and he therefore abandoned the intention of doing so and set to work on the publication of the next canto of *Evgeny Onegin*, calling it Canto VIII. This was the end of *Evgeny Onegin*. It was only a year later, when citing fragments of the former eighth canto, "The Travels of Evgeny Onegin," that Pushkin could hint at the existence of this chapter.

Moreover, the existence of Pushkin's autobiography now proves beyond all doubt that before he had decided to limit himself to nine cantos of *Evgeny Onegin* in September, 1830, he had already composed a tenth canto, which has reached us in fragments. Canto X was intended to develop the story of Onegin's connection with the Decembrists, which had been begun in Canto VIII ("Travels"). Of course Pushkin not only made no attempt to print Canto X,

but he and his friends did all they could to keep the existence of the tenth canto a complete secret. The secret was so well kept by them, that it was only discovered almost a hundred years later—in 1910, and then almost by accident.

Thus we know: (1) that Pushkin wrote and prepared for the press not eight, but nine cantos of *Evgeny Onegin*; (2) that there was still a tenth canto; (3) Canto VIII, "Travels," has reached us in Pushkin's manuscript in an almost complete form. That is why we can definitely print an edition of *Evgeny Onegin* such as Pushkin himself prepared for the press, but which he could not publish owing to the censor and to police conditions. That is why we have the right (and the obligation) to publish *Evgeny Onegin* not only as Pushkin himself published it, but as he would have liked to publish it and as he prepared it for the press. Thus we can understand how two editions of *Evgeny Onegin* should exist: one of eight cantos, as Pushkin had to publish it, and the other of nine cantos, as he prepared it for the press. The first edition, containing eight chapters, with some variations, is really a second version of *Evgeny Onegin*, brought out by Pushkin in 1833 and 1837. Translations into foreign languages have been made up till now and can continue to be made from these editions. But both in Russian and in foreign translations an edition in nine chapters should be published in accordance with Pushkin's last will and testament. Canto X might perhaps be given as an appendix, both because it has been preserved in fragments, and because, apparently, the stanzas that linked it with the whole novel of *Evgeny Onegin* have been lost for ever. In any case two editions of *Evgeny Onegin* should be published, both in the original Russian and in foreign translations.

V. BURTSEV.

THE PUSHKIN CENTENARY

PREPARATIONS IN THE USSR¹

GREAT preparations are now being made in the USSR for the forthcoming celebrations in connection with the centenary of the death of the great Russian poet, Alexander Pushkin, which will take place in February, 1937.

By a decision of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR adopted on 16 December, 1935, an All-Union Pushkin Committee

¹ For this article we are indebted to the kindness of VOKS, the All-Union Institution for Cultural Relations with other countries.—Ed.

was set up consisting of forty-eight persons, including some members of the Soviet Government, representatives of State institutions, party and social organisations, together with scholars, writers, artists and musicians of the Soviet Union. A. M. Gorky was appointed chairman of the Committee, and A. S. Bubnov and A. S. Sherbakov vice-chairmen. The Pushkin Centenary Committee was given the task of devising measures for the perpetuation of Pushkin's memory among the peoples of the USSR and of popularising his works among the broad masses of the workers.

PUBLICATION OF PUSHKIN'S WORKS

The publishing house of the All-Union Academy of Sciences is issuing a complete academic jubilee edition of Pushkin's works in eighteen volumes. The seventh volume of this edition, containing the poet's dramatic works, including unfinished fragments and drafts, has already appeared. Before the Centenary four more volumes of this edition will be published, namely: Vol. I, School Poems; Vol. IV, Southern Poems; Vol. V, Poems; and Vol. XIV, Letters. It is proposed to complete the edition by 1938.

Recently there appeared the first issue of the *Pushkin Committee Messenger* under the title *Pushkin*. A little-known poem of Pushkin's, "The Shadow of Fon-Visin," written in the early school period of the poet, was for the first time published in this symposium. Among articles of great interest also included are "Pushkin in the unpublished materials of the Turgenev brothers" by A. Shebunin, "An unpublished letter of S. L. Pushkin to V. A. Zhukovsky" (relating to the history of Pushkin's exile from Petersburg in 1820) by Y. Oksman, and "Who was the censor of Boris Godunov?" by G. Vinokur. For the first time there were published also the reminiscences of Krylov, the fable writer, giving a description of the revolt of Pugachev, recorded by Pushkin who attached great importance to these reminiscences. At present the publishing house of the Academy of Sciences is preparing for publication a second number of the *Pushkin Committee Messenger*.

The Institute of Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences will be publishing in the near future an extensive work entitled *Pushkin Manuscripts*. The book is a scholarly collection compiled by the well-known Pushkin experts, L. B. Modzalevsky and B. V. Tomashevsky, assisted by K. K. Kozmin and D. P. Yakubovich, and covers all the periods of Pushkin's life as an author, beginning with the poet's early school poems of 1814 and finishing with the

letter to A. O. Ishemova, written on the day of the duel, 27 January, 1837. The Pushkin manuscripts are grouped together in the following sections: poems, prose, drafts of literary work, articles, autobiographical materials, letters, historical material, extracts, notes, miscellaneous.

The Pushkin committee of the USSR Academy of Sciences set itself the task of compiling an exhaustive biography of Pushkin. Part of this work has already been completed and sent to press. At present, work is in progress on Soviet *Pushkinalia*, which will form the most important section of the biography.

The Academy of Sciences of the USSR is also publishing a book by V. Z. Golubev on Repin's portraits of Pushkin. The book deals with Repin's four basic works: "Pushkin on the shore of the Black Sea" (this canvas was painted jointly by Repin and Aivasovsky), "Pushkin on the Bank of the Neva in 1835," "Pushkin at the Examination in 1815" and "Pushkin at Brullov's." The book contains numerous variants of these pictures and illustrations of Pushkin's works.

The State Literary Publishing House is issuing 8,180,000 copies of works devoted to Pushkin. The majority of these are books by him. A six-volume Pushkin is being issued in an edition of 100,000 (the first volume has already been published, four volumes are in the press and one is being compiled). A one-volume Pushkin of sixty pages, containing all the most important works of the great poet, is also being issued in an edition of 400,000 (60,000 copies have already come out, 235,000 have been printed, and the rest will probably be issued by the end of the year). The one-volume edition is annotated by B. Tomashevsky and contains an introduction by V. Desnitskov.

Enormous editions of the individual works of Pushkin are being issued: *Eugeny Onegin*, *Poems*, *Collected Lyrics*, *The Tales of Belkin*, 400,000; *Dubrovsky*, 300,000; *The Queen of Spades*, 100,000. A considerable part of these editions has already come out. Besides these, there are being issued elementary readers consisting of five little books of Pushkin in editions of 750,000 each, of which 150,000 are already out.

A number of illustrated editions of Pushkin are contemplated. There has already been issued an edition of 10,000 of *Eugeny Onegin* with illustrations by the artist Konashevich. Two series of illustrated editions are being prepared for publication. The first includes *The Miserly Knight*, *The Banquet during the Plague*, *Egyptian Nights*, *Mozart and Salieri* and *The Stone Guest*. The

second contains *Evgeny Onegin*, *The Queen of Spades*, *Dubrovsky*, *The Tales of Belkin*, Selected Poems, Poems and Dramas of Pushkin.

The Leningrad branch of the literary publishing house is issuing a seven-volume edition of the works of Pushkin, and the best Leningrad artists are assisting in its preparation. The artist Samokhvalov is illustrating *The Bronze Horseman*, *Count Nulin* and other poems. Kibrikh (who received a flattering tribute from Romain Rolland for his illustrations of the novel *Colas Breugnots*) is working on illustrations for Pushkin's fairy tales, while *Evgeny Onegin* will be illustrated by Rudakov, *The Queen of Spades* by Tyrsa, *Tales of Belkin* by an artist of Izhinsk, and *Dubrovsky* by Pakhomov.

An important section of the editions of the State Literary Publishing House consists of books on Pushkin by his contemporaries. Belinsky's articles, two symposiums of contemporary writings, articles by classic Russian critics, V. Kirpotin's new book *Pushkin and the Present Age*, L. Grossman's *The Enemies of Pushkin* and other works will all be published. A biography of Pushkin in several editions is also contemplated. An interesting work intended for publication is a literary guide-book to places connected with Pushkin. It consists of sketches specially executed by an artist of Izhinsk, in Mikhailovskoe and Trigorskoe. The text has been compiled by Yakubovich.

The State Literary Publishing House has announced a prize competition for a biography of Pushkin which should give a description of the life, work and historical significance of the great Russian poet, creator of the Russian literary language and father of modern Russian literature. There will be three prizes: 10,000, 5,000 and 3,000 roubles.

PUSHKIN'S WORKS AND WORKS ON PUSHKIN

The demand for Pushkin's works is growing every year. Although in 1935 Pushkin's works were published in 4,045,000 copies, only 30 per cent. of the demand was satisfied. It should be borne in mind that for the period of ten years preceding the October Revolution, 1907-1917, only 5,169,000 copies were published of Pushkin's works. The proletarian revolution has brought the treasures of Russian literature within the reach of the masses. In the hard years of the civil war, economic ruin, famine and scarcity of paper, Pushkin was published in large editions, unheard of in pre-revolutionary times. In 1918 twenty-one editions of Pushkin

were published with a total circulation of 212,000: in 1919 seventeen editions with a total of 725,000 copies. From October, 1917, to January, 1936, the Soviet publishing houses have issued 248 editions of Pushkin. The circulation of all these editions totalled 6,390,000 copies. In addition, more than thirty editions of translations of Pushkin's works into the various languages of the peoples of the USSR have been published, with a total circulation of 200,000. Pushkin has been published in White-Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Tyurk, Turkoman, German, Mari and other languages.

The "Academia" publishing house is preparing a magnificently illustrated edition of Pushkin's works for the centenary celebrations. Recently this publishing house issued unpublished texts from manuscripts in Pushkin's handwriting under the title *In Pushkin's Own Hand*. This publication was prepared for the press and supplied with commentaries by the well-known authorities on Pushkin, M. A. Tsyavlovsky, L. B. Modzalevsky and G. A. Zenger. The "Academia" publishing house has also issued the third volume of Pushkin's *Letters*, which was prepared for publication by the well-known Pushkin expert V. D. Modzalevsky. This volume has been edited by the son of the late L. B. Modzalevsky. It includes 169 letters covering the years 1831-1833, together with nine of their rough drafts.

The same publishing house is preparing a collection of documents under the title *Pushkin's Duel and Death in the Reminiscences of his Contemporaries* (edited by Tsyavlovsky). The "Academia" is also preparing *Pushkin's Notebook*, the first photo-typed edition of Pushkin's manuscripts showing how the poet worked on his poetry. Certain works of the poet will be published in separate editions, as, for instance, his *Fairy Tales* illustrated by the Palekh masters. *Stories* was illustrated by the painter Piskarev; *Boris Godunov* and *Short Tragedies* by Svitalsky.

At the request of the Pushkin Committee the Social-Economic Publishing House is preparing for print a Pushkin literary calendar which is edited by B. M. Volin. The calendar will contain a chronology of the life and work of Pushkin, pictures of the poet, his portraits and other illustrations, fragments from Pushkin's works, Pushkin's sayings and ideas, the opinions of great writers and critics of the 19th century on Pushkin, as well as brief notes devoted to particular problems connected with Pushkin's works, the stages of his life, etc.

The Publishing House of the Moscow Territorial Association

of Soviet Artists is getting ready for the Pushkin celebrations a monumental edition entitled *Pushkin in Pictorial Art*. This edition, which will be in three volumes, will include all Pushkin's portraits, those drawn by the poet himself, as well as those painted by various artists either in the poet's lifetime or after his death, also the illustrations of Pushkin's works drawn by the poet himself and by various painters.

The Pictorial Publishing House is issuing eleven albums of water-colours and drawings showing the places where the poet was born and where he lived and worked. The following artists are at work on these albums: P. Osipov (Boldino), B. Rybchenko (The Cloth Mill, Astafyev, etc.), P. Pastukhova (Mikhailovskoe), V. Bekhteyev (Transcaucasia-Erzerum), S. Gerasimov (Bedrykh, the locality described in *The Captain's Daughter*). The text of the album will be composed of fragments from the poet's works.

The Red Professorship Institute (Literature Section) is preparing for the centenary a symposium dealing with a number of basic problems of Pushkin's creative work. The plan of the symposium includes such subjects as "Pushkin and Modern Times" (by Kirpotin), "Pushkin's Æsthetic Views" (by Khrapchenko), "Pushkin and Shakespeare" (by Dinamov), "Pushkin's Lyrics" (by Mikhailov), "Pushkin's Prose" (by Yunovich), and "The Bronze Horseman" (by Brodsky).

In the course of 1936 the "Soviet Writer" publishing house is issuing Veresayev's books, *Pushkin in Life* and *Pushkin's Companion*, I. Novikov's novel, *Pushkin at Mikhailovskoe*, and a collection of Pushkin's selected poems.

The writer Tynyanov, author of the well-known historical novels *Kyukhlya* and *The Death of Vasir Mukhtar*, is writing a novel based on the poet's life under the title *Pushkin*. This novel is being published in instalments in the *Literary Contemporary*. So far only the first part, "Childhood," and a few chapters of the second part, "School," have appeared. The "Soviet Writer" publishing house intends to bring out this novel in a separate volume before the Pushkin centenary celebrations.

The Musical Publishing House is preparing certain books for the press: *Pushkin and Music* by Yakovlev, *Music in the Life and Works of Pushkin* by Eiges and *Mozart and Salieri* by Braudo. In addition, it is issuing for the centenary celebrations a collection of vocal music by Soviet composers to Pushkin's words, a collection of Pushkin's poems set to music in his life-time and a number of separate vocal settings of Pushkin's poems by various Soviet

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composers such as Koval, Shebalin, Shaporin, Jordansky, Kasyanov and Starokadomsky.

The first book of Pushkin manuscripts compiled from the collection in the State Literary Museum has come out. Of exceptional interest is the manuscript of Pushkin's first book of poems published in the symposium *The Notebook of Vsevolzhsky*. Moreover, the *Manuscripts* contain forty-three autographed poems by Pushkin, as well as facsimiles of the poet's famous letters to N. Gogol, N. Putyat, P. Vyazemsky and others. Besides these the book also contains sixteen drawings of Pushkin.

For the first time his sister's reminiscences of Pushkin's childhood days are being published.

The Moscow District Pushkin committee which is attached to the research bureau for local knowledge and has as Chairman Professor M. A. Tsyavlovsky, is preparing for press a guide book for tourists entitled *Pushkin in Moscow*, as well as a larger book, *Pushkin's Moscow*.

SOVIET POETS ON PUSHKIN

A pleiad of young poets, which includes V. Dergavin, N. Zheleznyov, S. Valiliev, A. Aniger, E. Dolmatovsky, S. Mikhalkov, P. Panchenko and others, have started work on a great collective poem, "Pushkin," which is the first attempt at a biography in verse of the poet. The poem is under the direction of P. Antokolsky, who will himself write a section dealing with Pushkin at the time when he wrote *The Bronze Horseman*; each of the other poets taking part in this work will take a different period in the life of Pushkin.

ADDITIONAL WORKS ON PUSHKIN

L. B. Modzalevsky and M. A. Tsyavlovsky are completing a book, *Contemporary Evidence of the Duel and Death of A. S. Pushkin*, which contains an extensive collection of documents, letters, diaries and articles showing the impression created by Pushkin's duel and death on the society of the time. The White-Russian academician Zhilunovich in a book he is preparing on the friendship of two great poets, *Pushkin and Mickiewicz*, gives an interesting account of Mickiewicz's reaction to the death of Pushkin. He discloses the fact that Mickiewicz sent Dantes a challenge to a duel which the latter evaded. Professor Kazensky has thrown a new light on Pushkin's end in a close examination, published in the symposium of the journal *Zvenya*, of Pushkin's famous letter of 27 January, 1837, to Gekkern, which indirectly

led to the duel, and also in a book on the events preceding the duel which show that Pushkin's death was the result of a secret intrigue.

PUSHKIN FOR CHILDREN

A great deal is being done to present Pushkin in the most attractive form to Soviet children. Illustrated editions both of his complete and selected works are being prepared, as well as books on his life and work. Particularly interesting will be a three-volume edition of the complete works together with a biography illustrated by the Palekh artists, "gift" editions of *Eugeny Onegin* and *The Captain's Daughter*, an illustrated kindergarten edition of *The Tale of the Fisherman and the Little Fish*, a twenty-two volume edition of the complete works, the first volume consisting of a biography written by V. Veresayev, a collection of critical essays by Chernyshevsky, Belinsky, Dobrolyubov, Lunacharsky, Plekhanov, Lesnitsky and others, edited by A. Tseitlin and specially designed for schoolchildren in the higher forms, and a book by S. Lunacharsky entitled *The Pushkin Centenary in Schools*, which gives a good deal of guidance on the study of Pushkin both in and out of school and introduces the reader to the Pushkin museums and places associated with his life and work.

The September number of the children's journal *Smena* is entirely devoted to Pushkin. It contains a little known article by Maxim Gorky, poems by two schoolchildren aged thirteen and eleven, a biographical story, a comparison of Pushkin and Mayakovsky, and a number of articles by Pushkin experts on such subjects as places associated with Pushkin, his creative work, in general his lyrics, *Eugeny Onegin*, his prose, and his rôle as the founder of Russian literature.

ART EDITIONS

The State Art Publishing House (IZOGIZ) is bringing out a series of art editions, among which are the following: *Pushkin as represented in Art*, an album of about two hundred reproductions of portraits, selected illustrations of the works of Pushkin, etc.; an album of the chief events of the life and work of Pushkin, containing over a hundred and twenty illustrations, among which are portraits of Pushkin and his contemporaries, photographs of pictures on Pushkin themes and Pushkin autographs; *Exhibition-Album*, a pictorial biography together with extracts from Pushkin, a short bibliography of his works, and appreciations of him by Russian

and foreign socialists, edited by M. A. Tsyavlovsky, B. V. Tomashovsky, P. I. Lebedev-Polyansky, I. E. Grabar and B. F. Malkin.

POSTERS, POSTCARDS AND REPRODUCTIONS

3,000 copies of the following Pushkin posters are being issued: "Honour to the great national poet Pushkin" by the artist Klutsis, a poster on the subject of a message from Pushkin to Chaadayev by the artist Knoblok, and a poster for children by Vuyev and Jordansky.

"IZOGIZ" is also issuing a series of postcards and reproductions of the famous portraits of Pushkin by Kiprensky and Tropinin, Serov's "Pushkin in the school garden," Repin's "Pushkin at a school examination," Ge's "Pushkin at Mikhailovskoe," Vryullov's "Fountain of Bakhchisarai," Kramskoy's "By the seashore stands a green oak" and other well-known pictures.

A big collection of Pushkin illustrations has been made by the photographic laboratory of the Academy of Sciences. It consists of more than 800 reproductions—engravings, pictures, manuscripts, facsimiles, places connected with Pushkin—which will be issued in a number of series in time for the Centenary.

The Art Publishing House is bringing out an album of children's drawings of Pushkin, consisting of a hundred coloured reproductions of drawings sent by the Central Department for Art Education, which held a competition for the best children's illustrations of Pushkin.

MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Music Publishing House is bringing out a whole number of operas, songs and symphonies based on Pushkin. For the first time there will be a complete edition of the twenty lyrics set to music by Rimsky-Korsakov, ten by Glinka, fifteen songs and duets by Dargomyzhsky, eight songs by Kiu, three by Glazunov, as well as compositions by Pyadov, Grechaninov, Borodin and Rubinstein. Besides this, there will be published a symposium of fifty-nine songs composed during Pushkin's lifetime by Vielgorsky, Verstovsky and others. M. Koval is preparing a symposium entitled *Pushkiniana* which consists of ten musical pieces for singing, declamation and the piano. And there will also be issued a collection of thirty pieces by Soviet composers to fit words by Pushkin.

For the first time the pianoforte score of Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *Mozart and Salieri* has been published; the pianoforte scores of Chaikovsky's *Queen of Spades* and *Evgeny Onegin*, Rimsky-Korsakov's *Golden Cockerel* and *Tsar Sultan*, and Dargomyzhsky's

Rusalka are being reprinted. Two books are also being published—*Music in the life and work of Pushkin* by I. Eiges and *Pushkin set to music* by V. Yakovlev—and the librettos of the operas *Evgeny Onegin*, *The Golden Cockerel*, *Tales of Tsar Sultan*, *The Queen of Spades* and *Ruslan and Lyudmila* are being re-issued.

NEW MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENTS TO PUSHKIN

V. Shevalin has written a cycle of lyrical songs (twelve romances) including the two songs of Laura for Meyerhold's wireless broadcasting production of Pushkin's *Stone Guest*. M. Koval's *Pushkiniana* contains ten songs to Pushkin's words. L. Knipper has completed a Pushkin cycle *On Love*, consisting of eight songs for vocal performance with accompaniment of a quartet for a wood, wind and string orchestra. A number of Pushkin's songs have been set to music by the composers Nechayev, Khrennikov, Volkov, Tsvetayev, Cheremukhin, Kompaneyets, Vlasov, Gayerova, Markov-Rakitin and Golubev. S. N. Vasilenko is writing a musical composition for the ballet *Gypsies*. M. Koval is at work on *The Country Seat*, an opera after Pushkin's *Count Nulin*. V. Kryukov is writing an opera *The Station Master*. V. Karagayev has written a vocal composition with accompaniment by symphonic orchestra to the words of the fairy tale, *The Priest and his Servant Balda*. K. Korchmarev is at work on a vocal suite of certain passages from *Evgeny Onegin* which were not included in the libretto of Chaikovsky's opera.

The Leningrad composers are also working on a number of instrumental, vocal and other compositions on themes from Pushkin. V. Strelnikov is completing an opera entitled *Count Nulin*. A. P. Gladkovsky is at work on a large-scale composition entitled, *Pushkin*, for orchestra, solo and chorus; Pushkin's poems, as well as Lermontov's poem *On the Poet's Death* are utilised in it. N. P. Solovyev-Sedoy is writing the music for a great cycle of Pushkin's poems. Y. N. Kachurov is also setting to music various poems of Pushkin.

PUSHKIN IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR

In the republics of the USSR special committees have been set up for the purpose of organising the Pushkin centenary celebrations.

During the last ten years of the Tsarist régime (1907–1916) there were five million copies of the works of Pushkin taken as a whole in circulation, while only thirteen books, amounting to no

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more than 35,000 copies, had been issued in translation into the languages of the national minorities. Between 1917 and 1935 the works of Pushkin, amounting to 300,000 copies, have been circulated in these languages, and by the end of 1936 more than a million copies have been issued. Almost complete editions of the works of Pushkin are being published in Ukrainian, White-Russian, Armenian, Georgian, Tartar, Uzbek and Tyurk. Among the poets taking part in the work of translation are Tychina, Rytsky and Bazhan into Ukrainian, G. Tabidze, T. Tabidze and Yashvili into Georgian, and Y. Kupala, Y. Kolas and Aleksandrovich into White-Russian. Translations of the works of Pushkin are being prepared in practically every language of the USSR, and already exist in Ingurian, Chichenian, Kabarian, Lesginian, Avar, Darginian, Karelian, Komi-Zyryanian, Tadzhikian, Kirghiz, Cossack, Kalmyk, Crimean Tartar, Yiddish, Greek, Mari, Kumyk, Pak, Chuvash, Bashkir, Yakut, Evenk, Buryat, Finnish and Turkoman. According to the reckoning of the Pushkin Committee the works of Pushkin are now being translated for the first time into more than fifty of the languages of the USSR.

The Georgian department of the All-Union Academy of Sciences is bringing out both in Georgian and in Russian an interesting historical and literary symposium, *Pushkin in Georgia*, and the articles, archive materials and letters from Pushkin's relatives and friends add considerably to what was already known of the poet's life in Tiflis.

An edition of the selected works of Pushkin translated into Esperanto is also being prepared, under the editorship of S. Bondi and G. Vinokur, members of the Pushkin Committee of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

PICTURES AND SCULPTURES OF PUSHKIN

The artists and sculptors of the Soviet Union are making extensive preparations for the Pushkin Centenary: they are working at new portraits of the great poet, at canvases depicting scenes from his life, and at pictures on subjects taken from his works. A monumental statue of Pushkin is to be erected in Leningrad. A special committee, composed of representatives of art and literary organisations and presided over by Professor Ilyin has been set up to deal with the plan of the statue. It will very probably be erected on the square in front of the Russian Museum. It has also been decided to erect a statue of Pushkin on the spot where his duel took place.

The national artist of Armenia, Saryan, is engaged on a large picture, "Pushkin's journey to Erzerum and his meeting with the body of Griboyedov." The painter Gerasimov, artist of honour of the Soviet Union, is working on a large portrait of Pushkin, in which it is his intention to show Pushkin in the atmosphere of the Petersburg of his time. The portrait will be completed in time for the celebrations. Shestopalov is preparing a series of studies from the life of the poet: the meeting of Pushkin with Küchelbecker, Pushkin and his nurse, Pushkin writing down folk tales, the poet resting in a wood, etc. S. Luchishkin is painting Pushkin's Tatyana, and the White-Russian artist, Davidovich is at work on a large picture of "Pushkin and his nurse in the country." The sculptors S. Z. Mograchev and N. V. Eisenstat have completed busts of the poet.

The Pushkin Commission of the Leningrad Union of Artists, presided over by K. Petrov-Vodkin, has instituted among the artists and sculptors of Leningrad a competition for the best work on Pushkin.

The distinguished artist, Petrov-Vodkin is working on a new picture "Pushkin in Boldino." This picture will represent one of the most fruitful periods of the poet's life. The artist N. P. Ulyanov is preparing several works on Pushkin themes. Among them are the charcoal sketches, "Pushkin with his wife," and "Gossip," and a pencil sketch, "Pushkin at the Fair." The artist Khvostenko is at work on a portrait of Pushkin, and Maximov, who is at present in the village of Mikhailovskoe, is painting a number of pictures on the theme "Places made famous by Pushkin."

PUSHKIN EXHIBITIONS

Museums, libraries and schools have been busy arranging Pushkin exhibitions. Among the most important of these is an All-Union Pushkin Exhibition in the halls of the Fine Arts Museum in Moscow. The best artists of the country are assisting in the work connected with this exhibition, and the material is being supplied mainly by the following institutions: the All-Union Lenin Library, the Leningrad Saltykov-Shchedrin Library, the Russian Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Pushkin House, the local history museums and the local archives. Considerable space will be reserved in the various sections of this exhibition for the following themes: "Pushkin in Music," "Pushkin on the Stage" and "Pushkin on the Screen." There will be an ample exhibition of Soviet editions of Pushkin's works.

The Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow has also arranged a Pushkin exhibition consisting of about two hundred and fifty of those of its works of art relating to the poet, while an exhibition of Pushkin's Moscow has been organised by the Moscow Communal Museum, which will contain sections depicting Moscow between 1799 and 1836, Pushkin in Moscow, Moscow in the writings of Pushkin and Pushkin's memory in Moscow. Another exhibition in Moscow will be an All-Union exhibition of children's pictures and sculptures illustrating Pushkin's works, to be held in the Central House of Art for Children during the Pushkin centenary celebrations.

Interesting exhibitions will also be held in Leningrad, Tiflis, Baku, Novosibirsk and Armenia. The Leningrad Exhibition will be opened on 15 January, 1937, and will consist chiefly of pictures by Petrov-Vodkin, Hızhinsky, Radlov, Osmerkin, Konoshevich, Shukhayev, Mitrokhin and others. The Pushkin Committee of Georgia is making preparations for the opening of a large Pushkin exhibition in Tiflis. In addition to the numerous materials and documents relating to the great poet's sojourn in Georgia, the exhibition will also include copies of some of the exhibits which will be shown in the exhibitions of Moscow and the other towns of the Union. The best artists of Azerbaidzhan have co-operated in the preparations for an exhibition in Baku; among the pictures being shown are a number on the death of Pushkin, his period of exile and his sojourn in Azerbaidzhan. The Library for Regional Study in Novosibirsk has organised two exhibitions (at both of which there were talks on the life and work of the poet) and a number of conferences on methods of studying Pushkin. The Armenian Exhibition consists of students' essays and illustrations.

PUSHKIN ON THE STAGE

The theatrical season in Moscow, Leningrad and the majority of towns in the Soviet Union will be strongly influenced by the Pushkin Centenary, and there will hardly be a theatre which will not present Pushkin either in a work of his own or in a play about him.

Apart from *Boris Godunov*, the Moscow Art Theatre will produce a play *Alexander Pushkin*, written by V. Veresayev and M. Bulgakov. The Grand Theatre will devote ten nights to Pushkin and will present four of his operas: *Queen of Spades*, *Evgeny Onegin*, *Boris Godunov* and *Ruslan and Lyudmila*. The last two operas will be presented in a new setting, on which the stage-managers N. Smolich and V. Lossky are now at work. The Stanislavsky Musical Theatre is going to re-stage *The Golden Cock* of Rimsky-Korsakov.

The Nemirovich-Danchenko Theatre will present the operas *The Stone Guest* of Dargomyzhsky, *Mozart and Salieri* by Rimsky-Korsakov, and *Mavra*, after Pushkin's *The Little House in Kolomna* by Stravinsky. The Little Theatre in Moscow is rehearsing *Boris Godunov*, and its off-shoot, the Safonov Theatre, will be presenting Pushkin's short tragedies, *The Stone Guest*, *Mozart and Salieri* and *The Miserly Knight*, of which the last two will also be produced by the Jewish Theatre. The shorter tragedies are also being given at the MOSPS Theatre, while the Meyerhold Theatre will present *Boris Godunov*. At the Theatre of the Revolution in Moscow will be seen a play in verse by the poet A. Globa, entitled *Pushkin*, which depicts Pushkin in his last, tragic years. The Vakhtangov Theatre is celebrating the Centenary by a great concert consisting of poems, prose and lyrics from Pushkin. The Gypsy Theatre is at work on Pushkin's *Gypsies*.

The Leningrad theatres are also at work preparing for the Centenary. The Kirov Opera House is presenting a number of Pushkin's operas—*Ruslan and Lyudmila*, *Boris Godunov*, *Rusalka*, *Evgeny Onegin*, *The Queen of Spades*, *Mazepa*—as well as the ballet *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai*. The Leningrad Children's Theatre is giving a performance of the Fairy Tales of Pushkin.

The Leningrad theatres will also mark the Centenary by exhibitions: the Kirov Opera House will have an exhibition of Pushkin in ballet; "Pushkin and Dramatic Art" is the subject of the exhibition at the State Theatre for Drama; and the Great Theatre for Drama is organising an exhibition of the life and work of Pushkin.

One of the most interesting performances in other towns of the Union will be a new play by the Georgian dramatist, Shalva Dadiahi, *Pushkin in Georgia*, to be produced at the Rustavelli Theatre in Tiflis.

PUSHKIN ON THE SCREEN

The cinema studios of the USSR are producing a number of films on themes from Pushkin. The Leningrad cinema studio, "Lenfilm," is producing three films: *Dubrovsky*,¹ *Pushkin at the Lycée* and *A Journey to Erzerum*. The scenario of *A Journey to Erzerum* is a development of the theme "Pushkin and the Decembrists." The cinema studio, "Mosfilm," is at work on a sound film, *The Queen of Spades*, and on a sound coloured three-dimensional cartoon film *The Fisherman and the Little Fish*.

¹ This film has already been completed and is being shown in the Moscow cinemas.

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PUSHKIN RECORDS

In connection with the Pushkin festivities, the Gramophone Record Trust is producing ninety duplex records devoted to the poet

A special commission presided over by B. B. Krasin and including M. Tsyavlovsky, Y. Oksman, V. Bonch-Bruyevich, A. Goldenweisser, V. Nemirovich-Danchenko, V. Shatskaya and V. Veresayev, has drawn up a programme of a hundred records on themes connected with Pushkin. Records are taken of recitations by well-known artists of Pushkin's letters, reminiscences, poetry, epigrams and fragments from the poet's works. A series of records is devoted to the subject "Pushkin in Music". Special albums of Pushkin records are being prepared for school-children, collective farmers and soldiers of the Red Army. Before records are taken, the text is carefully verified by authorities on Pushkin. In the near future the Gramophone Record Trust will produce records of Chaikovsky's opera *Evgeny Onegin*. The entire opera, produced by the orchestra and soloists of the Grand Theatre of Moscow will be recorded on both sides of twelve or fourteen discs.

PUSHKIN ON THE WIRELESS

A special broadcasting programme has been prepared, covering five months. It will enlist the services of writers, critics, producers, composers, singers and actors, and will fall into four parts: "On the work of Pushkin," "On the life of Pushkin," "The figure of Pushkin in literature," "On Pushkin's Death". In the first section there will be two talks by D. D. Blagov on "The course of Pushkin's creative work," and "Pushkin's realism," a talk by P. S. Ashykin on "How Pushkin worked," and one by L. Myshkovsky on "Belinsky and Pushkin." There will also be talks on Pushkin and nationality, Pushkin the founder of the Russian literary language, and Pushkin and Russian literature. A biographical sketch has been written by V. V. Veresayev for the second section, "On the life of Pushkin"; and the third, "The figure of Pushkin in literature," will consist of extracts from works on Pushkin both by his contemporaries and by later writers. The section on the death of Pushkin will contain an extract from Y. Tynyanov's novel, and verses on Pushkin by Soviet poets.

Meyerhold's production of *Rusalka* and *The Stone Guest* will be broadcast, and *Gypsies*, *Evgeny Onegin* and *Dubrovsky* will also be heard on the wireless.

RESTORATION OF PLACES CONNECTED WITH PUSHKIN

The Restoration and Memorial Commission of the All-Union Pushkin Committee has resolved to restore buildings connected with Pushkin and to erect monuments to his memory.

Pushkin was born in Moscow in Nemetsky Street, but the house, as is well known, no longer exists. Some years ago the Pushkin Commission of the Society of Lovers of Russian Literature took down an incorrect tablet, and at No. 10 of the present Baumann Street set up another tablet with the inscription "Here stood the house, where, on 26 May (6 June) 1799, Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin was born." In the courtyard of the house where Pushkin was born there now stands a beautiful new school, which will be called after Pushkin. The Restoration and Memorial Commission has decided to set up a monument to the poet in front of the school. This monument is to depict Pushkin as a child before his departure from Moscow, and around it flower beds will be laid out.

Preparations are well in hand for the establishment of a Pushkin Museum in Moscow at 56, Arbat, where he lived during the first years of his married life.

In Leningrad the local Pushkin Committee has been considering the restoration of places there which are associated with the poet; these include the spot where the duel took place and the square round his monument at Detskoe Selo. The redecoration of the house where Pushkin lived on the Moika was begun in December, 1936. In it is now being organised a Pushkin museum. The staircase in the poet's apartments, which was altered by the landlord in 1910, will be restored. The two rooms adjoining Pushkin's apartments in which lived the sisters Goncharov, Pushkin's sisters-in-law, will be restored too. The plan of the restoration of the house has been drawn up on the basis of documental data, and in particular on the guardianship inventory, Zhukovsky's drawings, etc. The restored house will contain a Pushkin library, a study room for historians and literary men to work in, a lecture hall accommodating 300 persons, and a museum. At the same time memorial tablets are being prepared for two houses on the Fontanka (the house where the society *Arzamas* met, and No. 185 where the poet lived), for No. 39 Ekateringofsky Pereulok, where the society of the "Green Lamp" used to meet, for the school building at Detskoe Selo, and for the house of Kitayev where Pushkin lived in 1831.

The region of Kalinin (Tver) particularly abounds in localities associated with the memory of the great poet. In this region are located the villages Mikhailovskoe and Trigorskoe, where the

poet spent two years in exile. In the Svyatogorsk Monastery (now the "Pushkin Hills") the poet lies buried. It is proposed to carry out a great deal of reconstruction and restoration work on the preserved estate of Pushkin. the house where Pushkin lived will be restored; a macadamised road will be built between the "Pushkin Hills," Mikhailovskoe and Trigorskoe; a new railway station will be built at Trigorskoe; a hotel for tourists on the "Pushkin Hills," an electric power station, a sound cinema, and a district House of Culture will also be built, and the museum as well as the district library will be enlarged. Some of these works are in construction already.

The Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences is proceeding with the reorganisation and enlargement of the museum on the Pushkin estate. The museum will be supplied with a number of new historical and social materials and objects of art. One of the rooms will be furnished in the feudal nobility style of the 19th century. To this room will be transferred the furniture which belonged to P. A. Osipova and A. N. Wulf, in particular the suite of furniture from Osipova's estate "Malinniki."³ The museum will contain all the reproductions of the manuscripts and archive materials connected with Pushkin's exile to Mikhailovskoe, and his life and work there. Orders have been placed with the artists Shvade-Radlova, Osmerkin and Hizhinsky for pictures on themes taken from the poet's biography and works of that period, as well as landscapes of the neighbourhood of Mikhailovskoe.

In addition it is proposed to restore the place of Pushkin's duel on the Kolomyazhsky highroad near Leningrad. Trees will be transplanted here, so that this place which is now bare will be surrounded by a country fence with entrances framed in stone.

A Tartar kolhoz in Gurzuf (Yalta region) has forwarded a request to the Crimean Central Executive Committee that the house in Gurzuf where the exiled Pushkin lived in 1820 might be converted into a Pushkin House and Museum, that it might be furnished in the style of the period, that a library in honour of the poet be opened in it, and that in front of the house a bust of Pushkin should be placed.

MASS PREPARATIONS FOR THE PUSHKIN CENTENARY

Preparations for the Pushkin Centenary among the great masses of the workers of the Soviet Union have proceeded apace, and the coming celebrations will take the form of a tremendous holiday

³ The home of the original of Tatyana in *Eugeny Onegin*.

throughout the Union. Party and Komsomol organisations, libraries, clubs, schools, children's institutions, factories and works, state and collective farms will all take part.

Six-months' courses for the study of Pushkin's works have been opened at the Moscow Institute for the Further Study of Teachers by the People's Commissariat of Education. The students who complete the courses are sent to various territories and regions in order to arrange evenings and lectures on Pushkin at the conferences of teachers at schools and institutes. Every student attending the courses must do some independent scientific research on one of the following subjects: "Pushkin's lyrics," "Southern Poems," "Evgeny Onegin," "Boris Godunov," "The Shorter Tragedies," "Pushkin's Prose," "Pushkin's Language," "Pushkin and Folklore," "Pushkin as Critic," etc. The best works will be issued in the form of a symposium

Libraries and other institutions in Moscow have organised meetings on the work of Pushkin, and at factories and works there are conferences, discussions, Pushkin readings and exhibitions.

A Pushkin conference was held at the workers' club of the Kirov Transport machine-building works in Leningrad. Rank-and-file workers from the works read papers on Pushkin's literary work. A workers' choir and an orchestra performed parts from operas composed on themes from Pushkin. The conference concluded with a masked ball, the participants of which wore costumes of Pushkin's time.

In the club attached to the "Red Proletariat" Machine-Building Works a conference on Pushkin was held by the workers, whose interest was very much stirred by it. It was attended by practically all the senior workers. Two addresses were given. A young woman Stakhanovite of the works, who is employed in the instrument store-room, told the audience of Pushkin's childhood days, while a Komsomol Stakhanovite gave a talk on the lycée period of the creative work of the great poet. To end the evening, there was a discussion, illustrated by music, on the subject of Pushkin and music. Artistes of the All-Union Broadcasting Committee read poems and extracts from the works of Pushkin. The conference was preceded by a considerable amount of preparatory work on the study and popularisation of Pushkin among the workers in the factory, and discussions were organised on *Evgeny Onegin* and *The Tales of Belkin*. *Evgeny Onegin*, *The Captain's Daughter*, *Dubrovsky*, *Ruslan and Lyudmila* and other works are read aloud during the dinner interval at the factory. The factory library—

and indeed all libraries—have difficulty in satisfying their readers' demands for the works of Pushkin.

The lecture and excursion bureau of MOSP is organising several excursions to the Pushkin country (that is, to Mikhailovskoe and Trigor'skoe). Excursions, planned for the near future, will be attended by about a hundred people—Moscow librarians, leaders of art groups, and a group of Stakhanovite workers from war-metal and aviation works, and others.

A questionnaire is being sent round to the Leningrad works "*Elektropribor*," where the nucleus of a Pushkin society has been established. The questionnaire, which is being filled in by 6,000 workers, will provide interesting material.

A Pushkin evening was held at the Kirov collective farm (Red Army region). Over a hundred and twenty kolhoz members were present. Extracts from the works of Pushkin were read and the kolhoz choir sang several songs from Pushkin.

The Vatisheev kolhoz library of the Ryazan region has organised a Pushkin corner, in which the works of Pushkin, with illustrations, are displayed. The library assistants are collecting readers' appreciations of the works of the poet.

At the collective farms and enterprises of the region of Kalinin (Tver), extensive preparations for the centenary celebrations are proceeding apace. In the last few months over 200 lectures on the life and literary work of Pushkin have been held on the collective farms of the Pushkin district. Papers were read by professors and scientific workers of the Russian Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences on the themes: "The Life and Work of Pushkin," "Pushkin at Mikhailovskoe," etc.

With the aim of popularising the works of Pushkin, the Literary Faculty of the Armenian State University is organising lectures on his life and work. The Armenian Union of Writers arranges Pushkin evenings in institutions, collective and state farms.

In Bashkiria, discussions and lectures on the life and work of Pushkin are organised at the kolhoz, factory and Party and Komsomol meetings; there are also Pushkin exhibitions.

Local papers, such as the *Beloret'sk Worker*, are devoting whole columns to Pushkin.

All schools are making thorough arrangements for the holding of Pushkin evenings. Pupils make collections of illustrations and write their own essays on separate works of Pushkin.

Intensive preparations are being made for the Pushkin Centenary in every corner of the Soviet Union.

THE LESSONS OF BREST LITOVSK

I

SOMETIMES even quite brief historical episodes provide useful lessons in political and international affairs. There is, for example, the period of the Brest Litovsk Peace Treaty which was concluded between Russia and the Central Powers, Bulgaria and Turkey on 3 March, 1918. Before, however, discussing the significance of this Peace Treaty in its bearings on the present day, let us recall the main outlines of its terms. By them Russia renounced the territory of Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia and Finland. As at that time the frontier between Russia and Ukraine had not yet been established, the former was exposed to the danger of losing further territory in the south. In actual fact, the organised anti-revolutionary Government of General Krasnov, supported by Germany, in the regions of the Don, Kuban and Terek, and the rise of a federation of Caucasian states, likewise organised under German auspices, deprived Russia of the whole of her southern territories and the Caucasus. Hence, this Peace Treaty denoted the complete dismemberment of European Russia, her complete detachment from the Black Sea and her almost complete detachment from the Baltic. It brought into existence a number of states which, though theoretically independent, were in actual fact altogether subject to German domination. This is clearly proved by the manner in which with German help their respective governments were set up, the manner in which these states were economically to be closely fettered to Germany, and lastly, the projected internal administration of these states in which a German police force was to remain until conditions in them had been stabilised.

The peace of Brest Litovsk did not transform these states alone into satellites of Germany. Russia herself, thus surrounded by minor states organised under German military leadership, was to become for all practical purposes a colony of Germany, as is shown by the far-reaching trade agreement. It should also be recalled that even before the War and particularly during the course of it Germany had succeeded very substantially in subordinating to her influence her allies and co-signatories at Brest Litovsk, namely, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, and that by the harsh Peace of Bucarest she held virtual sway over Roumania also.

We thus see that Germany had developed in South-Eastern and

Eastern Europe the structure of a system of foreign policy with a world-wide significance. Though it lasted only for a short time, it enabled Germany not only to secure adequate supplies for her armies, but also to prepare a formidable onslaught upon British rule in Asia. The Treaty of Brest Litovsk put the finishing touch to these efforts and made it possible for Germany to carry on an even more effective propaganda, the aim of which was to incite to revolution the nationalities of British India and to intensify the anti-British activities which Germany had been carrying on in Persia and Afghanistan. If this onslaught against the British Empire had been successful, it would have meant also a critical blow to the other Western Powers.

Fortunately for Europe and the world at large, Germany failed to utilise the vast possibilities which she had secured by her temporary domination of Eastern Europe, and accordingly the whole of this ingenious structure of a German political system in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe was soon overthrown. If this had not happened, Germany would have enjoyed, apart from all other advantages, a source of human material and possibilities for action the full scope of which can scarcely be estimated. The terms which, under such conditions, she would have imposed on Western Europe, had she been victorious, would certainly have been far more severe than those which Eastern Europe had to accept. The permanent hegemony of Germany over such a vast area would certainly have meant, not only the end of the sovereignty of the Western Powers, but an end also of their status as Colonial Powers. It would, in fact, have been the beginning of German world domination which no nation and no state would henceforward have been able to undermine.

II

Although the Treaty of Brest Litovsk provides so many lessons, it was entirely overlooked in the period immediately following the War, and even today it is not taken into account when the future of Europe is being discussed. The reason for this was the conviction that the defeat of Germany prevented her for many decades from pursuing the policy which she had adopted during the War, and from putting into effect the schemes of which Brest Litovsk was a plain indication. Thus it came about that the political scope of this Peace in its future bearings was realised better by Hitler and his associates than by the countries to which the Peace and its logical consequences formed such a menace. As a matter of

fact, today its political implications are more significant than ever before. In the first place this Peace Treaty is an official document which was dictated by Germany, and which confirms the fact that the craving for world domination, interpreted by numerous German political writers, was not a mere fanciful idea. In the second place, for the German generation now living this document has become an actual political programme, for the ideology which prepared this document has not only not been replaced by any other set of ideas in Germany, but has continued to be the conviction of a large part of the German people. This is corroborated by Hitler himself in *Mein Kampf*, where he says: "The best proof of this is the success of the propaganda initiated by me against the Versailles Peace Treaty, the ground for which I prepared by an account of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk. I placed the two Treaties side by side, compared them point by point, showed the positively boundless humanity of the one in contrast to the inhuman cruelty of the other. In those days I spoke on this subject before audiences of 2,000, at which I was often exposed to the gaze of 3,600 hostile eyes. And three hours later I had before me a surging mass full of sacred indignation and boundless wrath." (I. pp. 523-5.)

In the same way as the terms of Brest Litovsk have been entirely forgotten, so, too, the ideology which prepared it is now overlooked. Nevertheless, if we glance through the German political literature of the 19th and 20th centuries, we shall see that, in spite of all the varying shades of opinion, the bulk of it forms nothing else than a philosophical, political and economic justification of what was achieved by Brest Litovsk, and also of what was to follow it. There is no need to give a detailed account of what these German political writers demanded. It has been admirably dealt with by Andler in his work on Pan-Germanism, and also by Seillière and others. Here we need only consider two examples dating from the forties of last century which indicate the trend of these demands. The first example is the opinion of the famous German economist Friedrich List, who urged that the German Customs Union which had then recently come into existence should be extended so as to include Austria, Hungary and Turkey, thus enabling it to control the routes from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and to shatter British economic predominance.

The second example is Lagarde's programme, which, in order that we may not be charged with lack of detachment, we will here set forth in the extract presented by another "Great German,"

R. F. Kaindl.¹ The main features of his programme were as follows

"As early as 1853 Lagarde understood by 'Germany' all the territories included in the German Bund, but to this he added Hungary and Galicia. In those regions he wanted to carry out German colonisation on a large scale. A scheme of German emigration was to be carefully drawn up on lines which would take account also of strategic factors, the areas involved being Istria, the Slovak and Magyar portions of Hungary, Bohemia and Galicia, the Polish areas of Silesia and Poland proper. Lagarde placed special emphasis upon Istria and Trieste. To possess Trieste was, in his view, a vital matter to Germany. According to Lagarde, Germany was equivalent to Central Europe. The territorial groups would have to be linked together both for attack and defence by a Customs system, by a joint adjustment of colonisation and by military resources. By the establishment of Central Europe, which would have to be known as Germania, a power was to be created which with a slight effort could hold all Europe at bay. All Germans were to enter an organic union. The Bund was to become indissoluble, trade and development would increase at an unimaginable rate. Roumania, too, in spite of its independence, was to join the customs area." (Schutzzollgebiet)

These two examples demonstrate the connection between the ideas of German political writers and the practical policy of the German Empire. This connection is demonstrated even more plainly by the post-War activity of Hitler himself, who was at first the apparently insignificant advocate of this ideology, but then became the leader of a movement the range of which is affecting the destinies of the German Empire.

III

It is, of course, true that German political theory when postulating its demands did not always proceed on uniform lines. It would, however, be wrong to attribute any considerable importance to these divergencies, which can be understood only by those familiar with the history of Germany and Central and Eastern Europe, and capable of grasping the differences between programmes labelled "Gross-Deutsch," "Klein-Deutsch," "alldeutsch," "ganzdeutsch," "federalistisch-deutsch," "centralistisch-Deutsch," and so on.

¹ R. F. Kaindl: *Oesterreich, Preussen, Deutschland: Deutsche Geschichte in grossdeutscher Beleuchtung*. P. 253 (Vienna (Braumuller), 1926)

It is also a matter of indifference whether any given authority attaches considerable or decisive importance to the territorial or to the colonial expansion of Germany. The fundamental point at issue is that the ideologists of all these tendencies (including even many Marxists) were thoroughly convinced not only of the cultural superiority of the German nation to all others, but also of the messianic mission for world-rule which is, shall and must be the prerogative of the German nation. The diagnosis that Germany after the War had renounced these dreams of her messianic mission was wrong, and these dreams were shared not only by Hitler and his associates. The pre-Hitler political literature of Germany and the pre-Hitler official Germany systematically and repeatedly prepared the way for their successive fulfilment. These aims were formulated and prepared in a more guarded manner than at the time when Germany could still lean on Austria-Hungary. The fundamentals of these aims did not change, and the authors themselves made no secret of the fact. Thus, for example, Dr. Höper, in his book *Oesterreichs Weg zum Anschluss* (Berlin, 1928), says: "The German-Austrian Customs Union would mark considerable progress on the road towards a Pan-German economic system combining all those of German race in Central Europe who live on a continuous linguistic territory." To this Dr. Hoper adds: "Thus Switzerland and the German areas of Czechoslovakia would form part of the future Pan-German economic system."

Similar ideas are enunciated even more plainly by Dr. E. Scheffer in his *Oesterreichs wirtschaftliche Sendung: Grundlagen einer gesamt-deutschen Volkswirtschaft* (Vienna, 1927), as follows: Not until the years 1915 to 1917 did the idea of a Central-European economic system in its pure and vital form come into existence. It was a large economic area which at that time began to take shape. "That was the period when the idea of a new axis for Europe emerged, and it then seemed that what was being created was the political union of Northern Germany, embracing Austria and the Balkans up to the Far East with all its hopeful economic perspectives." The idea was not to exhaust the agricultural capital reserves of the Monarchy for Germany with her shortage of grain, nor did the idea involve the co-operation of the great industries of the two countries, in particular the iron and coal industries, and the economic perspectives arising from this. What first and foremost influenced economic-political thought was the idea of a large-scale political combination, for which an economic basis had to be found at all costs, if it was to achieve its real significance.

Just as the talk of the economic recovery of Europe was intended merely to win Europe over to the old schemes which had failed, so, too, the right of self-determination assumed an extremely strange aspect in this literature. It was made the starting-point for the formulation of a theory labelled "Angleichung an ureigenste Lebensräume."² There seems some doubt as to the authorship of this phrase, which Dr. Egon Scheffer explains as being a practical result arising from a sentiment of national unity, a sentiment which is a condition for the necessary differentiation of mankind; and he adds that it will be particularly necessary in order to satisfy the new forms which will undoubtedly prevail in economic life. It would scarcely be possible for us to understand what these misty words are supposed to mean, if we were not able to eke them out by a number of documents which were issued at the same time. Take, for example, the maps of the original Germanic settlement, the most significant of which is the one published in the work entitled *Anschlussfrage*,³ which contained a preface by the Social Democrat Löbe, the former President of the German Reichstag. The title of the map is "Der Deutsche Volksboden in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart." The territory indicated upon it as having been formerly compact German territory includes not only present-day Germany and Austria, but more than half of Czechoslovakia, a large part of Poland, Southern Tyrol, which is now Italian, two-thirds of present-day Switzerland, the whole of Holland, and a considerable part of Belgium. To this German territory is reckoned also a large and almost compact area in Southern Hungary and Western Roumania. Lastly, the former German territory is shown as including not only the eastern part of France, but also the whole of Poland and a considerable part of Northern Italy, although it is explained that these latter areas comprise what is termed "Oberschichtsiedlungen"⁴ of the Germanic people.

The surprising feature of this is, not that the German political ideas fostered ever since the time of List and Lagarde underwent no change, even after Germany was defeated in the War, but that they were actually espoused by German Marxists, as we have seen in the above-mentioned case of Löbe. What is even more remarkable is the fact that this pre-War ideology, which was proclaimed with such insistence, conquered not only German Communism, but at one

² This phrase defies translation

³ *Die Anschlussfrage in ihrer kulturellen, politischer und wirtschaftlicher Bedeutung.* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1930.)

⁴ 'upper strata colonies.'

particular moment Lenin himself and through him the Comintern. They formulated schemes for the organisation of Europe in accordance with economic principles which bore a striking resemblance to those advocated by Pan-Germanic economic literature before the War, and, as we have seen, after the War constituted the programme of those who were making fresh efforts to establish a Greater Germany. That is why Bolshevik agitation achieved such success in Germany, and that also is why in an anonymous book entitled *Der Kampf um die deutsche Aussenpolitik* (Leipzig, 1931), which was drawn up with the help of the German Foreign Office, and which may even have been its sole unaided work, emphasis is laid upon the fact that the German Communist movement can be utilised for the benefit of the aims of German foreign policy.

Just as the German political ideology paved the way for the German war policy and the policy of the Brest Litovsk Treaty, so, too, German post-War political literature rendered a similar service to the scheme of a German Imperial policy. Thus, the scheme of the Austro-German Customs Union in the spring of 1931 was nothing else but a reduction to concrete terms of what German political ideas had formulated long before. At that time a few genuine German democrats, such as Theodor Wolff in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, were quite openly criticising German foreign policy for returning to the old lines of Wilhelm II. In actual fact, even before Hitler, the German Empire was continuing the old traditions in other directions.

IV

It is therefore not surprising that the vast majority of Germans enthusiastically accepted the ideology of Hitler's foreign policy, for it merely aimed at carrying out in a more energetic manner what pre-Hitler Germany was more cautiously attempting in its foreign policy. This accounts for the fact that Hitler's seizure of power was not accompanied by any marked change in the composition of the German Foreign Office. Hitler's conception of foreign policy embodies the old ideology known as Pan-Germanism. National Socialism is, in this respect, nothing else but the climax of that course of Pan-Germanic thought which was developing in the philosophy, politics and economics of Germany ever since the end of the 18th century. This represents one of the chief assets of National Socialism, for it is on this ideology that Germany was brought up; and at the time of the Brest Litovsk Peace the moment seemed to be at hand when these aspirations were to be transformed

into reality. Hence, if we wish to understand the policy of the German Empire to the fullest extent, we must refer each of its steps to the ideology by which each particular step was prompted. Let us try to connect up this ideology with present-day German policy (the propaganda crusade against Soviet Russia, as well as the rapprochement with Italy and Japan), and thus to ascertain which of its aims, immediate or more remote, lie behind this ideology. The main representative of this post-war political ideology is undoubtedly Hitler, and in view of the enormous circulation which *Mein Kampf* has attained both with the general public and also in the schools, it may be affirmed without exaggeration that this book today forms the gospel of a great part of the German people. Hence there is all the more reason for keeping our attention fixed on it. According to the programme outlined by Hitler there, Germany's aim is world-power "Germany will be a World Power or nothing at all," he says in one passage. It is in this sense that the German thesis on *Gleichberechtigung* (equal rights) is to be understood. It is not a new term. It will be found in German literature both before and during the War, and Professor A. Hettner, in his book *Der deutsche Friede und die deutsche Zukunft* (Berlin, 1917), formulates it thus: "I have above set forth that the issue between us and England constitutes not so much isolated problems, as the conflict between England's world domination hitherto and our endeavour to obtain *Gleichberechtigung* in the world. That is why the war is being waged."

Hitler considers that Germany is entitled to world power because of the nobility of the German race and its messianic mission. In order that Germany may become a world power and thus be able to fulfil its mission, territorial expansion of the present German Reich must be achieved. Hitler regards the acquisition of soil and territory as the fundamental task of Germany. In his view the extent of this expansion is to be gauged by the needs of Germany in the future. As early as 1924 Hitler reckoned with the necessity of securing for Germany enough territory to accommodate 200,000,000 Germans. According to him, this expansion is to take place in the East and South-East of Europe, in those territories to which German colonisation during the Middle Ages was directed—these are the territories which are marked on the map in the book *Anschlussfrage* already mentioned—and the territories of the border states of Russia, where Hitler evidently has in view Ukraine and Southern Russia as a whole. In a practical respect, therefore, this expansion of Germany would mean a re-arrangement of existing

conditions in Central and Eastern Europe corresponding to the political system which Germany planned before the War, the skeleton structure of which she completed through the Peace Treaties of Brest Litovsk and Bucarest.

Hitler's programme, of course, goes further than the German war programme, inasmuch as it aims at an expansion which would be accompanied by the Germanisation of the territories thus acquired. Moreover, this Germanisation would not be of the kind practised before the War, namely on linguistic lines: it would rather be a Germanisation of the soil, or, in other words, an extensive expropriation of the soil belonging to the non-German peoples. In a certain sense it is the same procedure as that adopted by Frederick the Great and Bismarck. When organising and extending the Prussian State, they took care that this process should at the same time constitute a strengthening of Germany's homogeneous character in a national and racial respect, just as Hitler, having completed the unification of Germany, wishes to make sure that any addition to German territory which may be achieved will not lead to a weakening of this homogeneous character. Hitler is, of course, persuaded that Germany's future policy of colonisation can be pursued with success only if she holds sway over Central and Eastern Europe. Hitler's chief objection to the pre-War German policy of the Kaiser is precisely that it failed to secure for Germany that extension of German soil eastward without which permanent colonial successes are not possible.

Hitler himself is aware of the sweeping character of his programme, and therefore in several passages of his book he urges that it should be carried out cautiously and by gradual stages. He urges caution also in the theoretical formulation of aims. Hence it is not surprising that certain books dealing with questions of foreign policy are not allowed to be sent out of Germany, and in fact are accessible only to adherents of the Nazi Party. Hitler is sure that an adroit policy will lead to success if Germany can manage to divide the former War allies and gain the consent of Italy and Britain to German penetration in Central and Eastern Europe. He lays great stress upon the possibility and the need of an alliance with Italy. In the interests of success he recommends a successive concentration on definite concrete aims, even if their achievement may demand an apparent deviation in certain respects from the programme as a whole.

V

How is this ideology of Hitler's reflected in political practice? In 1933-35 we witnessed examples of this concentration against

Austria and Lithuania In order to gain all possible freedom of action in this direction, Germany did not hesitate to take such steps as would so far as possible neutralise Poland and Russia. On 4 May, 1933, an agreement was reached with Poland as to the general lines for the settlement of disputes between the two countries. Immediately after the Berlin-Soviet Agreement of 1926 was formally renewed in 1933, an effort was made to reassure Soviet Russia, who had naturally felt uneasy on account of the anti-Soviet and anti-Russian tendency of *Mein Kampf*. As regards Austria, German efforts were only partially successful. The chief obstacle here was the opposition of Britain, and still more of Italy, who openly threatened to prevent the *Anschluss*, if need be, by military means. Germany, therefore, rested content with a considerable strengthening of her key positions in Austria and with the hope that after the German-Austrian agreement the *Anschluss* itself would be only a question of time and opportunity. For the moment, the cause of Germany would be better served by reassuring Italy, winning her over as a partner and thus weakening the front of the former allies.

Simultaneously Germany embarked upon a similar concentration of pressure in the direction of the second stream of German medieval colonisation, namely, in the Baltic border states, and particularly in Lithuania. For this purpose the agreement with Poland signed on 4 May, 1933, was embodied in a Polish-German Non-Aggression Pact a year later. For several months the problem of Memel was constantly being ventilated as a subject both of German home and foreign policy, and here too a certain amount of success was achieved. Germany extracted an economic agreement with Lithuania, and there can be no doubt that this agreement has also political bearings. Germany also strengthened her influence in the two other Baltic states, Latvia and Estonia. She then decided that it would be premature to proceed any further for the time being, as her activities were already beginning to cause considerable uneasiness in Great Britain. Germany has not ceased to hope that sooner or later by means of apparent concessions she will secure the consent of Britain to the extension of her influence in Central and Eastern Europe. The principle enunciated by Hitler in *Mein Kampf* that without Britain no violent expansion eastwards is possible, still holds good.

Germany then turned her attention to Czechoslovakia. There for several months she had already been endeavouring to upset the internal strength of the republic as well as its international position.

These efforts were made in various ways. First of all she gave an open moral support to the Sudetic German Party under the leadership of Konrad Henlein. This Party bases its tenets upon the fundamentals of German National Socialism. The radical attitude adopted by Henlein's party, in spite of a formal assurance of loyalty to the Czechoslovak State, is only one element in that large-scale action against Czechoslovakia which is prompted and organised by Germany, and which aims at discrediting Czechoslovakia mainly in Britain, but also with her own two allies of the Little Entente. Hence a propaganda, conducted with the aid of vast resources, against Czechoslovakia, who is denounced as the exponent of Bolshevism in Europe, and also as a state which oppresses its minorities by the most relentless methods—though it is now a matter of common knowledge that no country either by its laws or in actual practice grants its minorities so many rights and so many guarantees of undisturbed cultural and political development as does Czechoslovakia. Here we may point out that the racial minorities in Germany, such as the Poles and the Wends, possess no right of free speech, although, to be sure, the Germans themselves are in the same plight.

The motive for levelling these two accusations against Czechoslovakia is to destroy the confidence which she now enjoys abroad. In this way it is hoped that foreign countries, and in particular Great Britain, will be dissuaded from associating themselves with the interests of Czechoslovakia. It is further hoped that they will be induced to bring pressure to bear on Prague, so that Henlein's Party (and not, be it noted, the German minority as a whole) may become so important a factor in the Government that the resultant influence of Germany on Czechoslovakia would seriously restrict the republic in carrying out its proper foreign policy. That is why Henlein's Party is opposed both to the Franco-Czechoslovak alliance and to the mutual assistance pact between Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia. This also explains the activities of the leader and representatives of that party in England. By unfounded allegations of economic pressure exercised against the German minority in Czechoslovakia, and by describing the distress in the German areas as the artificial product of state policy, they endeavoured to produce the impression that Czechoslovakia's minority policy is unsound, and also that if Henlein's demands were complied with, relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia would be placed upon a permanently peaceful footing. They took good care not to mention that in addition to the Sudetic German Party there

are in Czechoslovakia other German parties who represent more than a third of the German minority, who have their representatives in the Cabinet, and who emphatically repudiate Henlein's radical attitude. Incidentally, it may be doubted whether Henlein's Party will succeed in maintaining its position. The recent elections in a large number of areas show that the strength of the Party is declining and that the German democratic parties are regaining ground.

In addition to the above aims, the Sudetic German Party would fain create in Czechoslovakia the impression that Britain is indifferent to the fortunes of the republic, and hence that the only way in which it can secure its integrity is by an agreement with Germany, with all the accompanying implications of becoming a German satellite in matters of foreign policy. This, too, is the aim of the propaganda concerning the alleged danger of Bolshevism emanating from Czechoslovakia. By this means it is hoped to discredit Czechoslovakia not only in Western Europe, but particularly in Roumania and Jugoslavia, which it is hoped to link up economically with Germany, and thus shake the foundations of the Little Entente.

All who are familiar with the economic and political strength of Czechoslovakia, as well as the part it plays in Central Europe and the Little Entente, will realise beyond any doubt that if it were weakened and brought within the sphere of German influence, the chief obstacle to that influence in Central Europe would straightway be removed. Even before Hitler, German foreign policy endeavoured to win over Czechoslovakia; and it is an open secret that she was offered a guarantee of integrity if she would renounce her opposition to the *Anschluss*.

VI

It may well be that sooner or later this pressure upon Czechoslovakia will be replaced by pressure upon Poland, without regard to the existence of a non-aggression pact. It should not be forgotten that everything that German policy has done as regards Austria, Danzig and the Baltic States, and all its machinations in Czechoslovakia are nothing else but a gradual attempt to establish stronger strategic points than it has hitherto had at its disposal. It is not a matter of chance that Germany by its press and its agents did all it could on the Polish side to widen the breach with Czechoslovakia. Not that Germany has really changed its views upon Poland and her future. On the contrary, Poland is the one country towards which German policy has not varied and follows a single line. Whereas the attitude of Germany to Russia, Czechoslovakia and

France have formed subjects of dispute, it remains a fundamental aim of German policy to win back the Polish corridor, and also, for economic and military reasons, Upper Silesia. That this is so may be seen from the above-mentioned book *Der Kampf um die deutsche Aussenpolitik*. Hitler's own book *Mein Kampf* makes no reference to these demands, but it voices complete contempt for the Poles. Not only are they, like other nations, "inferior," but Polish children are lumped together as being on the same low level as Jews, Negroes and Asiatics.

It is only against the background of Germany's three-fold pressure upon Austria, the Baltic States and Czechoslovakia that it is possible to understand German policy towards both Poland and Soviet Russia. While it is true that Hitler's whole scheme of things is permeated with a loathing of Bolshevism, it is also true that *Mein Kampf* contains violent attacks not only against Bolshevism, but against the Russian State as such. Nevertheless, we have seen that this consideration did not prevent Hitler, for tactical reasons, from trying to secure the co-operation of Soviet Russia, before he had begun to display an interest in the destinies of Central Europe. It was Hitler who prolonged the Soviet-German treaty of friendship, and he would certainly have continued this policy if Soviet Russia, by the Pact for the definition of an aggressor, concluded with Czechoslovakia and Roumania in 1933, by her entry into the League of Nations in 1934, and by her Mutual Assistance Agreements with France and Czechoslovakia in 1935, had not made it plain that in her own interests she intended to support the existing political system in Central Europe.

Here the interests of Soviet Russia and Germany directly clashed. The German writer Wirsing⁵ rightly regards the pact for the definition of an aggressor as an event of fundamental importance in foreign affairs from the German point of view. Thus, the German propagandist attacks upon Soviet Russia and Bolshevism have no other meaning and pursue no other end, than that of diverting the interests of Soviet Russia from Central Europe to Asia. Apparently the Japanese-German Treaty is intended to serve the same purpose. For the same reason Germany is trying to stop, or at least to restrict, co-operation between Soviet Russia and Great Britain in European affairs.

VII

German propagandist and diplomatic pressure in Central Europe and against Soviet Russia, however, by no means signifies that

⁵ G. Wirsing, *Deutschland in der Weltpolitik*, Jena, 1933.

Germany would today wish to try and secure by a military attack what Hitler's outline programme of foreign policy has formulated. The responsible authorities in Germany, particularly Hitler himself, are well aware of what war means, and notably what a German military attack on any state in Central or Eastern Europe would mean. Germany is not yet in possession of the resources which would enable her to venture on such a conflict, which in the present international situation would undoubtedly cause a world-wide conflagration. Even if the bonds between West and East, comprising the alliances between France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and other measures for mutual assistance, were not as firm as they actually are, Germany could not safely begin a military campaign against any state in Central and Eastern Europe, for the frontiers which she might take as the limit of her advance in order to maintain what she might secure by a sudden attack, would probably have to be somewhere in the Urals. Apart from this, while undertaking so long and uncertain an advance eastward, she would be continually threatened on her western frontier by the danger of Franco-British military action. Hence, if Germany does not impair the military power of France or Britain, and if she does not induce either or both of these Great Powers to view with indifference any German expansion in Central and Eastern Europe, no expansion eastward is possible for her, unless she is prepared to risk the danger of an appalling defeat. Thus, all actions undertaken by Germany, whether in Central or Eastern Europe, whether they concern European policy or world policy, aim above all at disturbing the position and power of France and Britain. To this end are directed the German efforts to weaken the bonds of alliance between Poland and France, her efforts to exert pressure on Czechoslovakia, and also to cut Soviet Russia permanently off from Western Europe.

The repudiation of the Locarno Treaties by Germany can be interpreted in the same manner, and it is not a mere coincidence that they were repudiated at a juncture when Germany had the highest hopes of disturbing the co-operation of Italy with France and Britain, or even of actually separating the two latter Powers. The negotiations for a new Locarno betray signs of the same endeavour. It is significant that Germany insists in the most unmistakable language on separating entirely the peace guarantees in the West from those in the East. The unwillingness of British public opinion to undertake more commitments than those contained in Britain's agreements hitherto, arouses hope in Germany that she will actually attain her wish in this respect. The co-operation

with Italy, the action of Germany in Spain, the German-Japanese agreement, the effects of German interference in Belgium, Holland and France, clearly show what Germany's concern really is. Then, too, German willingness to arrive at an agreement with Britain on naval armament at a moment when such an agreement might disturb confidence in Franco-British co-operation, is in striking contrast with German unwillingness to conclude an agreement on aviation. And aviation today makes Britain far more vulnerable than the naval armament of pre-war Germany.

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler emphasises the fact that France is Germany's mortal enemy. It is, however, important to note that he also emphasises that to destroy the power of France is not an end in itself, but only a means towards expansion eastward and thus towards the development of German world-power. Hitler's calculation was that until Germany's power on the Continent has been restored, co-operation with Germany will be in Britain's interests. At the same time he pointed out that Britain has always made every endeavour to prevent the rise of Germany as a world power. In this respect what Professor Hettner said in his book *Der Friede und die Deutsche Zukunft* still holds good. "To judge by the writings of English statesmen or the other opinions which reach us from England, it would appear that any understanding is impossible within any definite period. For they regard the idea of English world power as a matter of fact, and they will not grant us anything of what we ask for. We cannot rest until England grants us our right in the world. . . . If England refuses us this, if it wages an economic war against us which strikes at the roots of our existence, no understanding with England is possible, peace can be nothing more than a truce, and we must aim at securing all advantages for a new war, which would then be inevitable and which would lead to the downfall not only of British world dominion, but of the British Empire."

Germany's vast armament has renewed her strength as a first-class Continental power. We are, therefore, at the second stage of development, at the beginnings of the German struggle for world-power. Any indifference of France and Britain to the development of affairs in Central and Eastern Europe would denote their isolation in this struggle, and that is precisely what Germany is trying to bring about. The principle of collective security is therefore of fundamental importance both for East and West. This principle is of course treated by Germany quite without justification as a policy for the encirclement of Germany. Hitler himself admitted in

Mein Kampf that it is in the interests of Britain that Germany should be healthy and not weak. And this is not in the interests of Britain alone. Germany today is strong and it has all the attributes which make for health. For its prosperity it does not need the territorial expansion of which it dreams. What hinders the economic prosperity of Germany and its effective economic co-operation in Central and Eastern Europe, and in the world generally, is not a lack of territory, but the huge outlay on war preparations which aim at securing what Germany seemed to have within her reach at the time of the Brest Litovsk and Bucarest Peace Treaties. In this respect the Treaty of Brest Litovsk will continue to be a burden upon the German mentality, and upon the relations of Germany with the outside world for a long time to come. That is why this Peace Treaty contains so many lessons for all those who were threatened by it.

PRAGMATICUS.

THE RUSSIAN SITUATION

THE situation of Soviet Russia has become more critical through the publication of the Anti-Communist Pact between Germany and Japan, which clearly also enjoyed the sympathy of Fascist Italy, and it would be as well to review briefly some of the main factors in this question.

It should always be borne in mind that the contest between Stalin and Trotsky, which led to the progressive expulsion of the latter from the Communist Party and from Russia, was based in the main on the question whether socialism could stand in one country in spite of the rest of the world remaining capitalist. This was Stalin's thesis and Trotsky denied it, maintaining that the first essential was to go forward at all costs in the pursuit of world revolution. It need hardly be emphasised that there could be no more legitimate propaganda for socialism than to make a success of it in a given country.

The logical sequence of Stalin's thesis consisted of the Five Year Plans, industrial, agricultural and educational. They involved the greatest ruthlessness. For the success of the industrial plan it was necessary for Soviet Russia to export raw materials, in particular foodstuffs which were sorely needed at home, and everyone had to go short in hope of future benefits. In the period of the NEP the peasants had made quite clear their preference for individual farming, which in 1923 had even received a large measure of sanction in a land code issued by the Soviet Government itself. To force them into collective farming was not merely to stop the clock, but to make it go the other way, and there followed a period which must be described as civil war, relentless on both sides. However, it can now be said that both plans, industrial and agricultural, have gone through. The industrial plan has resulted in Russia possessing a far more solid heavy industry of her own, which, incidentally, is one of the best guarantees for national defence, repairing a defect which was so sorely felt during the World War. Certainly by the beginning of 1936 one could definitely say that the heavy plant was there and that the consumers' goods were being turned out rapidly; in fact they have received relatively a much larger allocation in recent budgets. One cannot as yet speak with the same certainty about the agricultural plan, but in any case the overwhelmingly greater part of the country has been collectivised, and there is no longer a state of civil war between Government and peasants. It would seem that the up-to-date mechanisation of agriculture has supplied

peasant needs with more stability than there could be in the past, and that the vagaries of weather and crops can now be regarded with less apprehension. What is more important, in the revised forms given to collectivisation, one can see clearly that far greater account is taken of peasant instincts and wishes than at the outset of the plan. In any case, here was a constructive programme aiming at the benefit of the country as a whole, which has certainly recaptured a great deal of the initial enthusiasm of the young and has given them vast opportunities for responsibility and initiative.

It was natural enough that when Stalin concentrated on construction at home, the work of the Comintern should fall relatively into the shade: indeed for several years it actually was not summoned at all. It is true that the defeat of Trotsky was followed by a relative concentration of its work on Asia rather than on Europe, and that this has certainly tended to arouse the sharp hostility of Japan and to accentuate Japanese claims for leadership in Asia, which are now one of the principal embarrassments of Soviet policy.

The Five Year Plan was barely completed when an entirely new factor appeared on the Russian horizon in the capture of power by Adolf Hitler in Germany, and this opened an entirely new phase of Soviet history. Hitler's wholesale threats to the integrity of Russia, as expressed in *Mein Kampf*, have never been withdrawn, and, on the contrary, have been repeated right up to the present in constant further pronouncements. This has tended to emphasise the defensive character of Stalin's policy, and indeed the word "country," though in the new form of "Soviet Fatherland," has come to take an infinitely larger place in Soviet minds. It became essential to look for friends outside, and this task was prosecuted with the greatest ability by Litvinov. He at last secured recognition from the United States, he brought Russia into the League of Nations, where he has since played a prominent part, he drew nearer both to England and to France, and with the latter, as with Czechoslovakia, he secured a defensive alliance for the maintenance of the *status quo*, any interruption of which would have been fatal to Stalin's work of construction in Russia. Meanwhile, those Powers which were most discontented with the *status quo*, Germany, Italy and Japan, have also drawn into closer co-operation.

With these developments of foreign policy has gone a corresponding movement of Soviet policy at home, which is emphasised in the whole trend of legislation since 1933. It aims at consolidating the population for the defence both of the country and of the régime,

and the régime itself, dropping many superfluities and excesses, has adapted itself to this policy.

The changes which have already taken place in Soviet Russia in these three years are very real and very great. The revised articles of association of collective farms, concentrating on the looser type, closer to the principles of western agricultural co-operation, now accord to the peasants a much larger share in the management of their farms, and a much more extended right of individual property. The peasant may now possess his house, his garden of three acres, one or more cows, and as many pigs and poultry as he can acquire. Earnings are guaranteed as property and are heritable, and the savings banks are full. Large numbers of those who had been dispatched to the timber camps have now been brought back to work. It is only the middle man and the principle of hired labour that are still rigorously excluded.

There has been a similar strong trend in educational and social policy. The authority of parents is now restored and their co-operation is sought in the discipline of their children. Youthful hooliganism is in every way repressed. In the matter of divorce, on the dissent of one of the parties, the question is referred for judgment. Abortion is now sternly discountenanced. The restrictions on entry to the universities, based on class origin, have been swept away. Both in schools and universities there has been a return to objective teaching of such subjects as history and geography, the text books have all been revised in this sense and one of the most significant of the Acts of this period has been that directed against "the overburdening of the child mind with civic and political training." There have so far been no changes in the prohibitive regulations directed against religion, but even here there seems to be a considerable apathy in their practice.

All this was necessarily a preface to the new constitution, which has now been finally confirmed. It must be remembered that this time the initiative comes from the Government itself, and originally actually from the Communist Party, which has so far always debated all questions before they were handed over to the machinery of the Soviet Government. The new constitution establishes a national representation based on universal suffrage of both sexes and exercised through the ballot, which was abandoned in the earlier practice of Communist rule. This assembly is the sovereign of the country which appoints—either directly, or through its standing council which acts for it in vacations—ministers, judges and all central officials. Judges are independent and their law officers

can carry out their instructions independently of the local administration. The constitution proclaims freedom of speech, of meetings and of press, and no arrest or search is to be carried out except on the warrant of a law court. It must be clearly understood that the central principles of the regime are not to be regarded as in question, and the constitution, as stated, is definitely designed "for the workers," but at the present time there are hardly any others, and we have recently had the instructive spectacle of Mr. Yaroskavsky, the leader of the Godless, explaining publicly that priests should have the same right to the vote as the rest. Attention must be called to the fact that the socialised property of the State is placed in the same sacrosanct category as the obligation of defence of the country; attacks on either are regarded as high treason.

When once this new trend of Soviet policy became known abroad, there is no question that it greatly improved the position of the Soviet Government and obtained the goodwill not only of other countries, but of their governments. It was felt that the world challenge of earlier years had in any case taken a much milder form; and the practical construction of socialism in Russia, achieving many evident successes, has attracted great interest and even admiration. Recently, however, there has been a certain setback in this movement. The murder trials in Leningrad (Kirov) and in Moscow, which were in more or less direct sequence, have not unnaturally revived memories of the trials of wreckers which were so prominent a feature in the most difficult years of the Five Year Plans, and the criticism of Soviet justice especially associated in this country with the Vickers trial, which was so well founded at that time. Personally I am clear that there were plots in the Left opposition aiming at the murder of Stalin and other prominent officials. There would be nothing unintelligible in this. Stalin has constantly been accused of lukewarmness in the cause of the world revolution, and the past history of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, bred like Stalin himself in the atmosphere of conspiracy, is in keeping with such a belief. Every emphasis has been placed in these trials on collaboration between the conspirators and the German political police, and this is the part of the case where I think the evidence disclosed is weakest. Also I cannot take too seriously any suggestion that Trotsky was himself working in the interests of Fascism. I recall that Lenin himself, in his path to power, certainly did have the help of the Imperial German Government, and it always seemed to me that it was a consistent answer on his side that he was prepared to utilise one capitalist Government in the destruction of

another. It would, however, be a very different thing to secure from a Fascist government assistance for the disorganisation of the Soviet Government, however much the Socialist conspirators were dissatisfied with the course which it was taking. In the trial itself the accused fall into at least four different categories. There were the Trotskyites, the Zinovievites, the political desperadoes, and those equivocal underground personalities who have always played a part in Russian politics. Clearly those accused, in so far as they represented any principles, were associated with the Left Opposition; in view of Hitler's denunciations it is interesting to note that at least half of them were Jews. The only ones whose personality may perhaps inspire some regret were the members of the Trotskyite faction, and it was precisely their leader, Smirnov, who made the most vigorous attempt to rebut the charges; but in my view, in the trial he was repeatedly driven into a corner on his own evidence by the most legitimate and logical questions, and the public prosecutor was, I think, quite entitled to contrast these four days' proceedings in open court with the infinitely more drastic way in which Hitler dealt with Röhm and others on and after 30 June, 1934.

A much more serious setback to the Soviet Government has come from its association with events in Spain. All detailed accounts there emphasise that in the activities of the Left a far greater prominence belongs to the Anarchists than to the Communists, and if these were not fighting a common foe, namely, Fascism, their complete divergence in principles and aims would at once be apparent. It would also not be unreasonable to think that precisely the Left Communists who are dissatisfied with the present state of things in Russia have had most to do with Communist agitation in Spain, in which Trotsky himself has always taken a particular interest. Still, there can be no question at all as to the help which official Soviet Russia has given to the Government cause in Spain, any more than there can be of the help given to Franco by Fascist Italy and Fascist Germany. Moreover, the Comintern still sits in Moscow, and so long as this is the case, Stalin cannot evade responsibility for its actions. I think there can be no doubt of the serious dilemma in which the Soviet Government is placed. It cannot be expected to haul down its flag, nor can it affect indifference to what is going on in Spain, especially as Stalin always has to face the suggestion of indifference from those whom he has eliminated from the control of affairs in Russia.

It was just at such a moment as this that the Fascist Powers have found it appropriate to launch their slogan of an Anti-

Communist bloc to enrol the world in general in a campaign against the Soviets. They cannot be thinking of their own dangers, which each of them has drastically extinguished at home, and their manifesto in fact admits the interest which they propose to take in the question in other countries. For instance, an absurd suggestion is widespread in the German press of complicity with Communism on the part of the Government of Czechoslovakia, than which nothing could be more ridiculous. The Anti-Communist bloc has as its reality a very much more practical intention, namely the isolation of Russia for material gains. This was made clear when the publication of the manifesto was immediately followed by a mutual recognition by Italy and Japan of their respective acquisitions in Abyssinia and Manchukuo. The pronouncements of Hitler on the subject of Russia only lead to the same conclusion, and this country has been invited by Herr von Ribbentrop to recognise that the "only danger" to world peace comes from Communism.

No intelligent Englishman can accept this view. Russia has given every proof that she desires peace, both by her more or less passive acceptance so far of Japanese aggression in the Far East and by seeking friendship with precisely those Powers which stand for the maintenance of world peace: and in the present disturbed state of world politics, where there is so much on all sides to raise apprehensions, the attitude to world peace must be our test in our judgment of other countries.

It cannot be too often repeated that the overwhelming body of British public opinion sincerely desires a permanent and cordial understanding with Germany and would be prepared to make real sacrifices for that end. But it is also necessary to insist that just as Britain will never make terms with Germany at the expense of France, so she is not prepared to purchase a temporary immunity in the West by giving free rein to German designs of conquest in the East against Russia, and what we see in the so-called Anti-Communist pact between Germany and Japan is precisely the presence of such designs.

BERNARD PARES.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF POLAND

FORTUNATE is the land, so massive that its vital centres are beyond the reach of an invader, even if he comes by air. It can shape its policy to its liking, and it may experiment in politics without endangering its existence.

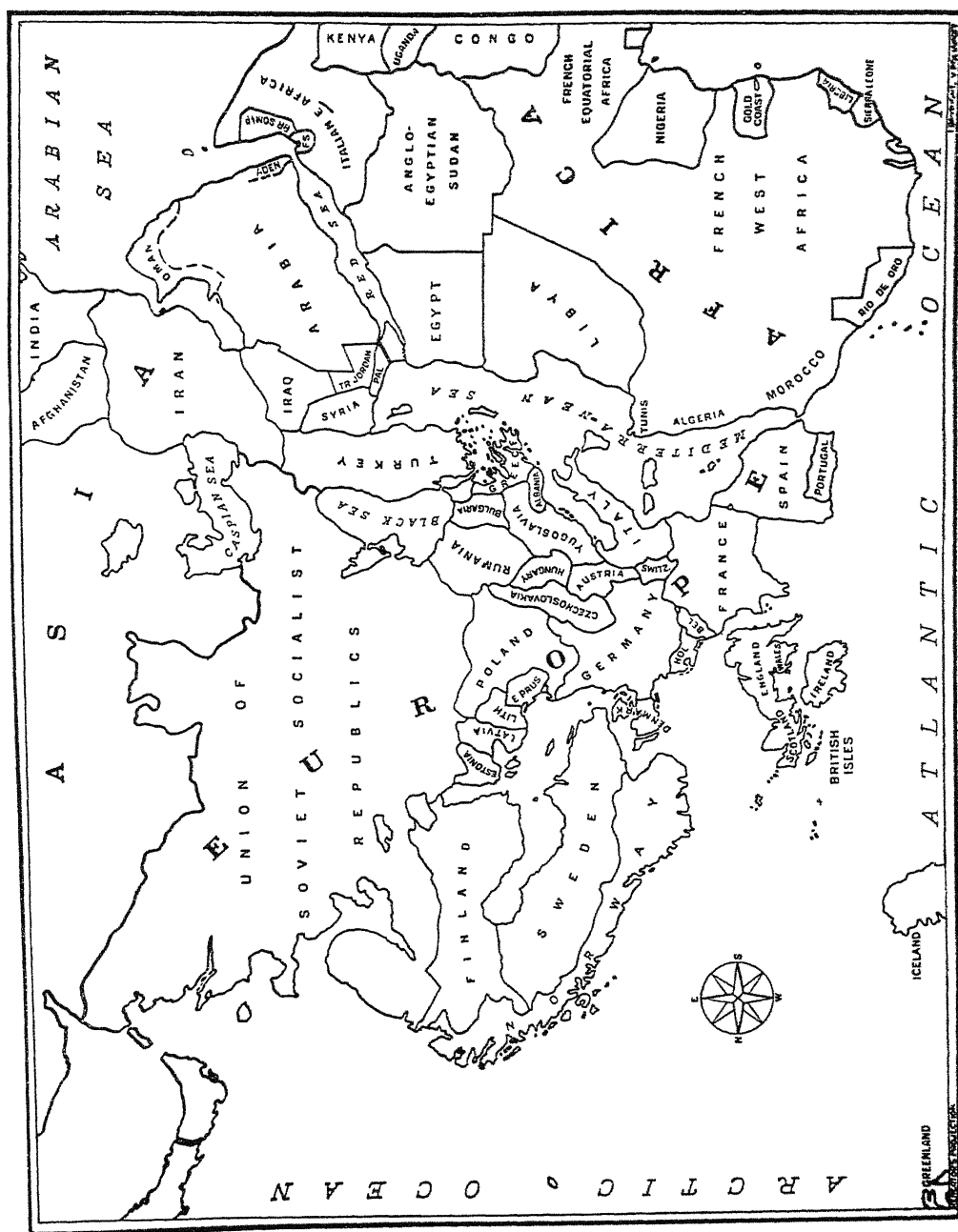
Russia is such a country. The case of Poland is the exact opposite. The Poles, in their foreign relations, are tied by the exigencies of an exposed position in Europe.

The preconceived notions and the usages of ordinary map-making are the enemies of political geography. Often they make difficult the task of showing the position of a particular country in its right perspective. So, for instance, the position of Poland will be better seen if we break with the iron rule of placing North topmost. The balance of power and the interplay of forces on the continent become clearer, when we draw our map with East in the place of honour at the top. In that case we see Poland as the keystone of an arch, formed on one side by the Baltic republics and the Scandinavian kingdoms, and, on the other by the States, which crowd into the valley of the Danube and the Balkan peninsula. The arch has to bear the weight of Russia, pressing with its immense weight down on Europe.

Another aspect of the Polish position is that it separates Germany and Russia one from the other. This physical barrier is disposed in such a way that Germans and Russians cannot come to grips seriously unless they pass over the body of Poland. An examination of the map of Poland itself shows that the frontiers with Russia and Germany present no natural obstacles that matter to an invader, and that no spot in the land is safe from an immediate attack from the air.

We can take it for granted that the Poles, at any price, are determined to maintain their sovereign independence, and, therefore, in view of the political and geographical conditions set out above, Polish foreign policy is obliged to observe the following principles: (1) A combination of Russia and Germany against Poland must be avoided at any price; (2) Poland must hold the balance between Germany and Russia; and (3) The armed forces of Poland must be sufficient to prevent the use of Polish territory as a theatre of war by the contending armies of its neighbours.

Cynics may express the view that it remains open to the Poles



to link up irrevocably with either Germany or Russia, but the suggestion is not practical, because, in the case of an open conflict, even if Poland finds itself on the side of the victor, its final destiny would be to be devoured by its ally.

To the fundamental principles set out above a fourth, equally essential, should be added. This is that Poland never can agree to become a land-locked State.

The Peace Treaty gave back to the Poles their ancient province of the Pomorze on the Baltic. This is the famous "Polish Corridor," coveted by Germany. The Poles will never voluntarily agree to give it up, because the outlet to the open sea represents a guarantee of their economic and even national independence. Psychologically, too, a nation which possesses free contact with the highways of the world, can never feel happy without it.

The principles which we have enumerated are so powerful that it is impossible for Polish statesmen, except in details, to deviate from them. This makes it unnecessary really to consider the activities of individual politicians. These may strive to create the impression of a personal policy. But in reality they remain the servants merely of the one and only national policy which Poland is allowed to pursue by its position in Europe.

The Treaty of Rapallo, concluded between Moscow and Berlin in 1921, created a menace for Poland, precisely because it brought nearer the fatal combination of Germany and Russia against it. Already in 1920, when the Red Army had advanced to the gates of Warsaw, the Germans in East Prussia were preparing to welcome it as an ally against the hated Poles in the "Corridor." Fortunately for Poland the Reichswehr then was still non-existent as a military force, and Marshal Pilsudski inflicted a crushing blow upon the Red invaders. Later, when Litvinov and Rathenau signed the treaty at Rapallo, the army of France was still in a position to cow Berlin. The Poles found comfort in their alliance with France. Yet German propaganda against the Polish "Corridor" developed into a serious nuisance.

The co-operation of the Reichswehr and of the Red Army, coupled with the fall in the offensive value of the French forces on the Rhine, represented a growing menace to Polish independence. The advent to power of Hitler was a piece of marvellous luck for the Poles. The Nazi dictator made a national religion of his animal hatred of the Bolsheviks. Dismayed Generals of the Reichswehr had to give up the fruitful work in Russia. Moscow proclaimed Berlin its public enemy No. 1. The Poles breathed more freely

again. Their business now was to apply the second fundamental principle of their national policy: that is, to see that the balance of power between Germany and Russia is maintained.

The position of Poland between its two powerful neighbours is not the same on both frontiers. Russians and Poles have few things in common. In the past between the two peoples there has been deep enmity and little friendship. Yet today the situation between them is characterised by a lack of aggressive design on either side. On the contrary, the relationship between Poles and Germans, even at times of fervid official declarations of good will, is marred by the subconscious feeling in Poland that the *Drang nach Osten* is very much alive. The Germans themselves, by discussing the possibilities of a move into the Ukraine, help to create this uneasy feeling. In addition, there are the Nazi activities in Danzig. Their avowed object is to free the city from the oversight of the League of Nations. But the Poles consider that in the end it is they who will suffer.

It is not in the interest of the Poles to be left alone *tête-à-tête* with Moscow. But it is certainly in their interest to make Berlin pay a fair price for a Polish refusal to share in its encirclement. In 1934 Marshal Pilsudski found himself in a favourable position to take action. The Polish army, in all respects, was then stronger than the Reichswehr, and it had no need to fear a stab in the back from the Russians. The pretext for decisive action was furnished by the Germans, who committed the imprudence of encouraging premature demonstrations of Nazi power in the Free City of Danzig. The particular rights and great interests of Poland in that German enclave on the Polish Vistula river are well known. The Nazis attempted to deprive the Poles of the territory reserved to them by treaty for a depot of munitions. The Marshal threw a battalion into this Westerplatte and mobilised a division on the border. His Ambassador in Berlin was instructed to ask Hitler, if he preferred war to peace? Hitler could not afford to fight. So he offered a treaty of non-aggression instead. For ten years all propaganda against the "Corridor" and the encouragement of anti-Polish moves in Danzig were to stop. The Polish Ambassador became *persona gratissima* with Hitler, Goering and Goebbels, to the jealous disgust of his colleagues. Europe believed in a Polish-German alliance. The Marshal had no illusions on the subject, but his idea was to exploit

the temporary weakness of Hitler to extract every possible advantage for Poland.

From the point of view of strictly Polish interest the success of Marshal Pilsudski's policy was quickly proved by the fact that German pressure on Poland was relaxed in many directions. Instead, the force of the German expansion was directed southwards against Austria. It would be too long to discuss here the effect upon Italy of Nazi violence in Vienna. But early in 1935 Great Britain, France and Italy formed the Stresa front to resist a German menace to the territorial stability of Western Europe, which was taken to include Austria. Still, from the particular Polish point of view, the situation was not unfavourable, because the German effort could expend itself in a south-easterly direction through Czechoslovakia. This outlet, however, was stopped by the alliance of Prague with Moscow. It needed only an understanding between Rome and Moscow to make Central Europe safe from an immediate German menace.

The consolidation of the barrier in the South and South-East would have had for its result the turning of the German dynamism against the East again. Colonel Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, must have lived through an anxious moment. Then happened the quarrel at Geneva with Italy over Ethiopia. Sanctions destroyed the Stresa front. Germany rendered signal service to Italy, helping it to resist the economic blockade by the League Powers. London and Paris were at loggerheads over the settlement of the conflict. The whole force of German expansion could be switched round against the West. On 7 March, 1935, the Reichswehr entered the demilitarised zone on the Rhine. The Anglo-French Entente did not react against the flagrant infringement of the Peace Treaty. Germany continued to concentrate its effort upon the separation of London from Paris, while Rome contemplated the scene with ironical detachment.

The pressure having shifted to the West, Polish diplomacy regained its freedom of movement. Its position was strengthened further by the anxiety of the French to see revived the Franco-Polish military alliance. Marshal Smigly-Rydz paid a successful visit to Paris, and he was followed there by Colonel Beck. The long-demanded large loan was granted at last for the modernisation of the equipment of the Polish army. Berlin looked askance, but could do little to counteract this new departure, because Hitler's crusade against Bolshevism, announced with pomp at Nürnberg, had failed to materialise. So Poland was under no immediate

obligation to take sides in a possible clash between Germany and Russia. Colonel Beck's visit to London this autumn was a great success from the point of view of the game played by Polish diplomacy. The possibility of Poland taking its stand with the Anglo-French Entente could be discussed. Poland came nearer to Great Britain by declaring its will to follow the example of London in refusing to take sides in Europe. Quickly an occasion offered itself to prove the sincerity of this decision, when, after the signing of the German-Japanese treaty, Berlin took steps to ascertain if the Polish Government would be ready to return an answer in the affirmative to an official invitation to join the anti-Communist front. It was made clear in Warsaw that Poland would refuse to join any political combination of this nature. Incidentally, it is worth mentioning that the news in London of the alleged "No" of Poland to Hitler on this point was warmly welcomed in the press and caused a rise on the Stock Exchange; because of the prevailing conviction that so long as Poland refuses to join any one of them, Hitler and Stalin may shout insults at each other, but cannot fight in earnest.

We have given this swift sketch of international developments so as to show that Polish foreign policy in Europe is invariably governed by the fundamental principle, which lays down the need of maintaining a balance between Germany and Russia. In practice, however, the way to an unequivocal application of this rule is obstructed by barriers, some of them of the Poles' own making, whilst others have been created for them by circumstances over which they had no control.

In the case of Russia it stands to reason that it is in the interest of Warsaw to be able, if need be, to play the Russian card against Berlin. This is made difficult by the dualism which prevails in Russia. Stalin is on the way to becoming a national autocrat, but he still is the head-priest of revolutionary Bolshevism with a mission abroad. The Communist International still obtrudes upon the national policy of M. Litvinov, so that it is difficult to carry on with him a consistently friendly policy. To this must be added that the present leaders of Poland belong to the group of the followers of Marshal Pilsudski. In the World War their fighting was done against the Russians, whom for years they had been trained to consider as the mortal enemies of Poland. In 1920 there was desperate fighting again with the Red Army, when the life of the

nation was at stake. This all has left a feeling of justified resentment, which may at times make diplomacy less objective than it should be. The Marshal disliked the Russians, but his genius for discerning the national need permitted him to suppress personal feeling. His successors are learning fast, but they still have some way to go before they come up to his high standard of statesmanship.

Then there is the case of Czechoslovakia. The essential interests of both countries is that they should be good friends. Yet there is between them this question of the Teschen territory, the right or wrong of which does not concern us here, but which undoubtedly has poisoned their relationship since the peace. This state of affairs was created for Prague and Warsaw by circumstances outside their control. But this remark cannot apply to the curious fact that until lately both Warsaw and Prague in their selection of diplomatic representatives, as if on purpose, chose them with a combative temperament bent more to criticise and envenom relations than to smooth over the difficulties met with.

AUGUR.

THE DANZIG PROBLEM FROM WITHIN

REPLYING to a question in the House of Commons at the end of October, 1936, Mr. Eden first explained briefly the course of events in respect to Danzig, and told the House about the task which Poland had undertaken at the request of the League of Nations. He then declared that, in view of the unfinished state of the negotiations, he could say nothing more about it. Judging from the echoes with which the press greeted this passage-at-arms, the Danzig issue is thought of as peculiarly complicated.

A sort of key to the understanding of the whole problem will be found in the fact that from the time when the Free City came into being, Berlin has been hard at work, and with every kind of means, on the task of consolidating its influence in Danzig. In the years leading up to the Pact of Non-aggression with Poland, this effort was combined with another behind the scenes, which aimed at provoking unnecessary conflicts between the Free City and Poland, and at giving even the least differences an international significance. Immediately after the war, even before the Free City was created, clear voices were heard among the people of Danzig, calling for co-operation with Poland—I need only mention the pamphlet of Major von List, “*Die Zukunft Danzigs*,” or the articles published in *Danziger Neueste Nachrichten*. It was the mission of the local administration, in which worked officials sent from Berlin already before the war, to suppress such voices at all costs.

This is not the place for describing the methods used at that time by the authorities, as well as by numerous German agitators. Suffice it to say that as a result of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the majority of members of Danzig’s first parliament were “more German than the Germans.” I had the opportunity of investigating the origins of 103 of the most active out of the total of 120 members. It transpired that only 38 of them were born in the territory of the Free City; and of these ten had Polish names.

This seemingly chance course of circumstances explains not only the causes why the relations between Danzig and Poland have been as they have, but also explains the trend of local conditions in the city itself. More than once, when I was in Danzig in the years immediately following those elections, I had the opportunity to hear from the lips of born Danzigers, whose families had been there for generations, complaints that they have not a word to say in political affairs. All the responsible positions were in the hands of Germans from the Reich, or of their adherents. The

terror maintained by the agitators sent in from Berlin was a good deal more acute than the visitor, who did not know the inside of things, could discover. Not a few citizens of the Free City, who regarded themselves neither as Poles nor as Germans, but as Danzigers, sincerely desired the return of the prosperous days of their connection with the Polish Crown—of which family tradition had told them; but they feared to speak out under peril of being branded as traitors.

One should not forget that about 15,000 people, i.e. 4 per cent. of all the inhabitants of the city, were pensioners; mostly retired officials and military men, sent there before the war and receiving from the Reich relatively high remittances. They had then nothing else to do save to engage in politics, and in "creating atmosphere." The truth is that, in a very short time, almost all political parties from the extreme Right to the Left came to be controlled by elements which set the political interests of Germany above the economic well-being of the Free City of Danzig. The more eminent among the officials, and those most deserving from the German point of view, could be sure of good and easy posts in the Reich the moment they had served their time in Danzig. The case of Dr. Sahm is known to all. After ten years of Presidency of the Danzig Senate he became Bürgermeister of Berlin in April, 1931.

Moreover, the Reich succeeded in making Danzig dependent on itself financially. We shall probably never know exactly what sort of sums have been transferred to Danzig since the war, whether as subsidies for the Senate, and entered in the books of the Free City, or in the form of advances for political organisations, or social and other institutions. Rumour has it that the yearly assistance derived from the Reich before Hitler's coming to power maintained itself around 60,000,000 guilders—not far short of four millions sterling. How true this is, it is hard to tell. It is a fact that, apart from the sums sent regularly as pensions for the retired gentlemen mentioned above, patients kept being sent in considerable numbers from Germany to the Danzig hospitals, and a big contingent yearly of students to the Danzig School of Technology. In parenthesis be it noted that before leaving home these students had to take a week's course "preparatory to their studies"; the essence of which was simply and solely preparation for political activities in the territory of the Free City!

It is clear that the very risk of losing all these subsidies would alone suffice to keep the city obedient to the will of Berlin. This was seen, to take one example, in the occupying of posts in the

administration by outsiders from the Reich. This practice brought about the expansion of the city's administration to dimensions quite out of keeping with local needs. According to the census of 1929 7·5 per cent. of all earners in Danzig were public officials; and one should not forget that Danzig has neither an army, nor does she maintain an office for foreign affairs, while the railways are under Polish control. This constant introducing of new officials from Germany became particularly offensive in the year 1931, in which it reached probably the highest point before the coming of Hitler. At that very moment, the unemployment in the city, felt most of all among the intelligentsia, included over eight per cent. of the total population of Danzig.

Such relatively enormous unemployment must awaken surprise, when we take into account the unusually favourable and rapid economic growth of Danzig in the post-war period. The number of officially registered enterprises grew from 1,514 in the last year before the war to 3,793 in 1928. (Among these the limited companies paying dividends rose from 34 to 314, and the average interest paid for the year 1928 was 9·56 per cent.) On the same lines, too, the number of persons occupied in business, transport, building, and industry also rose. The movement of goods in the port of Danzig grew during these fifteen years from 2,112,000 to 8,615,000 metric tons. Thereafter, there was, of course, a falling off, due to the world crisis, but in 1935 the amount was still 5,093,000 metric tons, which means nearly two and a half times the pre-war level. It was when this turnover became less and less, owing to the crisis, that Danzig began to complain most furiously about the competition of the Polish port of Gdynia, which had been in existence for some years. If we bear in mind the exceptionally favourable situation of Danzig as a port, by comparison with Gdynia, this complaint looks like the sort of one that London would make against the competition of Harwich.

It is a fact that the deepening of the crisis, the growth of unemployment, (at the end of 1932 the number of unemployed was more than 9·5 per cent. of the population, though the turnover of goods in the port was still two and a half times that of pre-war days), and the dissatisfaction with the existing conditions arising out of these, assisted Hitler and his party in May, 1933, in securing more than half of the seats in the *Volkstag*—38 out of 72. It was natural enough that the coming to power of Adolf Hitler in Germany was not without psychological significance; but one also had the acts of terrorism practised by his followers in the Free City, e.g. the

seizure of the Trades Union Headquarters by the S.A. troops; and finally the assurances given officially by the Nazi leaders to the League of Nations High Commissioner, Mr. Sean Lester, that on coming into power they would stand loyally by the Constitution. But perhaps in certain cases, notably with the officials, some part was played by the fear that all subsidies coming from the Reich will cease, unless Danzig is "gleichgeschaltet."

The methodical wrecking of the Constitution by the Hitlerites after coming into power, in their struggle with a strong Opposition, and in spite of all the promises made both to the High Commissioner and through him to the council of the League of Nations, is a thing too well known to need further recounting here. Less known, however, is their line of action in the economic field. In the first place they set to work in energetic fashion to deal with unemployment.

As noted before, when the National Socialists came into power in the city, unemployment affected about one-tenth of the population. The classification of employment according to occupations was as follows :

Commerce and Transport	...	...	27·45	per cent
Small Industries	...	...	25·15	" "
Agriculture and Fisheries	...	...	22·4	" "
Administration (and Church)	...	...	7·58	" "
Building, etc.	...	...	6·12	" "
Domestic Service, etc.	...	...	4·24	" "
Hotels, restaurants, etc.	...	...	3·33	" "
Health and Welfare	...	...	3·07	" "
Water, gas and electricity	...	...	0·66	" "

It is characteristic that by comparison with pre-war times, the number engaged in trade and communications has grown enormously, as well as in the caring for guests. A falling-off is seen in the number in public services, explained by the fairly large German garrison which left Danzig in 1919. Everywhere else the number of employed hands has grown; some more, some less.

The methods of dealing with unemployment in the Free City were analogous to those introduced in the Reich. Above all, public works were initiated on a large scale. In spite of the fact that the returns in taxation, whether direct or indirect, were a good deal less than was expected, nevertheless there was money enough and the year was closed with a surplus. This was achieved with the help of a mysterious item on the side of Income, "Sundries,"

which surprised people by giving 170 per cent. more than the estimate! Since, however, it is everyone's secret that this item covers the subsidies received from Berlin, one can see at once how significant the Hitlerising of the Free City has become. From May 1933 to the late autumn 1934, these subsidies amounted to some 3,000,000 guilders monthly in gold, meaning nearly £200,000.

In principle, this sum, when added to the normal income of the city, would have sufficed for the struggle with unemployment; but there were at the same time other "expenditures" too. Huge sums had to be found. Capital could be had in the Bank of Danzig, but it was prohibited by statute from lending to the Senate or the administration. This difficulty was got over very simply. About a month after the Nazis' coming to power there was created a Danzig City Bank, whose endorsement made it possible for the Bank of Danzig to discount the notes of the administration. One month later, the decree of 1 August, 1933, placed all banks under the strict control of the government, with the result that from now on the Senate could have from them money for its needs.

The upshot was that unemployment did indeed diminish, but with it the reserves of gold in the Bank of Danzig slid downwards in terrifying fashion (from 35,000,000 guilders in August, 1933, to 23,500,000 in December, 1934, and to 13,500,000 in April, 1935). At once there was seen a loss of confidence on the part of the public, and a flight of funds from the banks. In two years unemployment went down by half, while the amount spent for this purpose was a million sterling.

Although the sum thus spent on public works was relatively not large—only a fraction of what came from Berlin—nevertheless the economic policy of the Senate at this time must be set down as extravagant. The reason for this must be sought in the big rise in expenditure for personnel, and the serious amounts spent on maintaining the Party: all of which led to the ruin of public finances. The President of the Senate, Dr. Rauschnig, a born Danziger, spoke out against this extravagance, as well as against the senseless excesses of the Nazi Storm Troops, practised on all opponents. His attitude could not please the Party, least of all the Leader of the Danzig region, Forster, a Bavarian and a Member of the Parliament of the Reich. In November, 1934, the latter forced Rauschnig to resign, and put in his place Herr Greiser, the son of a minor Prussian official from one of the towns of Poznanian; who had appeared in Danzig some years after the creation of the Free City. The new President had been, some years back, a Socialist agitator in Germany,

after which he organised the *Stahlhelm* in Danzig (the Conservative organisation which Hitler abolished in the Reich)

With the resignation of Dr. Rauschning Danzig's serious economic troubles began. The cause of this was the grave financial position of the Reich, which brought about not only the end of the subsidies that had flowed in a wide stream to Danzig hitherto, but also the loss of monies due for goods imported from the Free City, but not paid for. In spite of this, the Senate could not decide to reduce Budgets, and only set about keener exploitation of financial resources. This concerned the Bank of Danzig first of all, whose docket of accepted promissory notes grew enormously, and came to include state securities up to 80 per cent. of its total.¹ On the other hand, it was common knowledge that nearly all the assets of the Savings Banks of the city had been taken over by the Bank of Danzig. Clearly enough, this sort of policy was bound to be felt with increasing sensitiveness by the whole economic organism of the Free City. Added to the steady campaign of acts of terrorisation, it worked seriously against the popularity of the Nazi regime.

All the same, the Party decided on holding new elections. This may well have been under pressure from Berlin, which was elated at the success won in the Saar. Here, too, the purpose would be to show the world that Danzig, no less than the Saar, was unquestionably German and Nazi; but also to secure the two-thirds majority in the *Volkstag* which would make possible a legal change in the Constitution on National Socialist lines. Thus could the League of Nations be convinced that the will of the people was being done!

For the organising of these elections there was again money from the Reich. The costs amounted to nearly £200,000, the average cost of each vote obtained by the Party on 7 April, 1935, being about sixteen shillings. In order to swell the ranks of those voting, it was decided to bring in for the first time in the history of the Free City such Danzigers as were living permanently in the Reich, and the number of these was about 7,000. In pre-election weeks the intimidation of the city went on, assisted even by the administration—in which the Party was now supreme. No chance was allowed to the Opposition to state its case, or arrange meetings; and its leaders were put in gaol. On the other hand, the Party meetings were addressed by the best speakers from the Reich,

¹ Before Hitler's coming to power the discount portfolio of the Bank of Danzig ranged around 10,000,000 guilders. At the end of February, 1935, it was already double that sum, and on 30 April it reached 31,000,000 guilders.

including Goering, Goebbels, Hess and others. During the actual voting such excesses went on that even the Supreme Court of Danzig declared them to be inadmissible !

In spite of all these efforts, the Nazis not only did not secure the hoped-for majority of two-thirds in the *Volkstag*, but they won only 21,000 votes more than in the previous elections, even including those who arrived from the Reich to vote. (There can be little doubt that only such were allowed to come as could be counted on for certain to vote for the party) This would mean that the net gain of two years' control of the Free City was some 14,000 votes. The election methods practised by the party called forth consternation in the public. People began at once to withdraw their deposits from the banks, and in the course of two weeks the gold covering of the Bank of Danzig dropped by one-third. Within one month the Danzig guilder was depreciated by 42·37 per cent.

Six weeks later there arrived in Danzig the financial dictator of the Reich, Dr. Schacht, in order to investigate the possibilities of improving the economic status of the Free City. It looks as if he first of all showed the Senate the clumsiness of its extravagances, and made it clear that in future subsidies from the Reich could not be counted on. (This does not apply, as it seems, to the Party and its needs.) At the same time a plan for the self-sufficiency of the Free City was worked out. All public works were broken off at once, a number of them being left in a half-completed state. A decree was announced making all monies due from the Senate to private citizens payable only after being passed on by the Finance Council. The raising of salaries was forbidden. The pensioners from the Reich mentioned above were given the choice, either of resigning their claims or of emigrating to Germany. The result was that 15,000 people left Danzig, and a corresponding number of apartments in the city became vacant. Nor is there any chance of their being occupied again. In the *Volkstag* decrees were passed making possible changes in the civil service and in the school personnel. Everywhere numbers were cut down, and the sufferers were, as might be expected, chiefly such as did not belong to the Party.

This sort of thing was bound to improve the finances of the Free City. From June to September the discount portfolio of the Bank of Danzig dropped by 28 per cent., while the gold coverage rose 10 per cent. At the same time the general economic situation of the inhabitants remained very grave. Within a month of the inflation of the guilder the cost of living indicator went up from 107 to 127 (on the basis of 100 for the year 1913), and very soon the

official statistics showed a rise in the cost of everyday needs of 30 per cent. The actual difference in the cost of living was, of course, considerably higher. The level of deposits in the Savings Banks fell from April to December, 1935, by nearly 30 per cent. The popular income, which was reckoned before Hitler came into power (in the year 1928) at over £23,000,000 for the Free City, was estimated in 1935 at £9,300,000.

If we bear in mind the prevailing economic situation, and at the same time the campaign of terrorisation and unconstitutional dealings maintained in the city, we shall understand the causes for the swift decline of any popularity which the Nazi régime may have had in Danzig. This is seen in the increase of readers of the Opposition press which has been boycotted by the authorities and deprived of the right to profit from advertisements. Papers which appeared once a week before now appear twice, or some even as dailies. The general conviction prevails that if elections could be carried out at the present time in Danzig, at which everyone would be able to vote as he wishes, the Nazis would lose half of their present backing and keep at the most one-third of the places in the *Volkstag*. Meantime it should not be forgotten that *Gauleiter* Forster has promised Chancellor Hitler that by New Year 1937 an Opposition in the Free City will cease to exist. No wonder that the "liquidation" of this element is being carried on in recent weeks with increasing brutality.

On 18 July, 1936, the Senate issued a decree by which the orders of the President of Police were freed from any risk of being challenged in the courts. From this date onward there take place not only arrests of Opposition leaders, but also arrests without any indication of the reason. At the end of August the members of the football team were put in gaol on their return from Copenhagen because in that city they had played a match with a Socialist team. At the same time various material advantages are offered to win people from Opposition camps. As a single example, all members of the National Socialist Union of War Veterans, even those newly signed up, have the privilege of three weeks' furlough at the health resorts of the Reich gratis. Another example: in spite of the statute forbidding the raising of salaries, pressure is brought to bear on Nazi owners in industry to raise their workers' wages from 20 to 30 per cent. This sort of thing is meant to increase the authority of the party and the popularity of Nazi owners among the workers.

On the other hand, we have threats of high material penalties, amounting actually to confiscation of property, to be inflicted on all Oppositionists. All this will show how difficult it will be for non-Nazi groups in Danzig to maintain their status.

But this is not all. Since one cannot operate by negative methods alone, the slogan "Back to the Reich" is now being sounded in the whole Hitler camp. Not only at meetings, but also with the use of flying columns of lorries loaded with S.A. men in uniform, shouting out this slogan. Here we meet with a curious phenomenon. This slogan is becoming less and less an attraction in the Free City, apart from the Nazi circles. The elements in the city, mentioned at the beginning of this article, who had been sent from Germany with a view to controlling the politics of Danzig, have long since joined the Nazi camp. Those who have remained in opposition are more interested now in Danzig affairs than in German ones. Not long since the leader of Social Democracy in the city was put in gaol, and the reason given for his arrest was an excess of sympathy for Poland. This cannot be said at the present time of the Hitlerites in Danzig.

When the Party went up to the first elections, which brought them into control in the Free City, they used among others anti-Polish planks in their platform. Many Poles in the city suffered directly from intimidation at that time, and after the elections the new President, Dr. Rauschnig, went to Warsaw in order to straighten out these difficulties. The understanding arrived at there would have avoided further troubles in the future, if the Senate had kept to them honestly. As it was, in spite of annoyances practised especially after Rauschnig's resignation, the relations of Danzig and Poland can be said to have been relatively satisfactory. In the summer of 1935, however, at the moment of its greatest financial excursions, Danzig opened its customs frontier with Germany illegally and admitted goods without paying duty. Since the Free City belongs to the Polish Customs area, Warsaw intervened at once, and in the course of a week compelled the Senate to retreat, and again submit itself to the customs regulations.

After a period of quiet the Polish nation was roused in the summer of 1936 by an increase of propaganda in favour of Germany, carried on by the Hitler party in Danzig, and by the famous July performance of Greiser in Geneva. The protests of the nation and of the press brought about a certain nervousness of action in the Danzig Senate, but did not avail really to change their line of action. Since the Warsaw Government accepted from the Council

of the League of Nations the task of investigating the Danzig situation as a whole, it can be said that the anti-Polish tendencies of the Senate have grown in intensity. Attacks of Hitler adherents on Poles keep recurring, and the Free City authorities continue to make their conditions of living more difficult. Recently in November six Poles have been forbidden to build homes on their own property; although owing to the serious economic crisis the building activities in the city during 1936 have been almost at a standstill. This kind of treatment of Poles living in the city has given rise of late to a rumour that the present Polish Commissioner in Danzig will retire in favour of a more energetic successor.

Both this attitude towards the Poles and the well-known attacks made on the High Commissioner of the League of Nations, Sean Lester, leave the impression of a by no means clever campaign of action on the side of the Party which is indeed at the helm, but desires at all costs and by all means to increase its popularity, and to parade itself before a depressed public with any kind of achievement. In his speech of 14 October President Greiser announced new elections to the *Volkstag* for the spring of 1937. Should the results then obtained be similar to the last election, the Danzig Nazis, together with their leader Forster, would be seriously compromised in the eyes of their German employers.

Whenever the Danzig question is discussed, the query arises "What will happen to Danzig?" It seems as though the questioner is afraid that attempts may be made to re-unite the city with Germany. Prophecy is a thankless task, but I venture the suggestion that this solution is not likely to be tried.

The reason is a simple one. If the Reich should really propose in one way or another to recover Danzig, whether by force or as the result of a decision taken by a *Volkstag* that was quite under the control of the Party, the matter would no longer have a Polish-Danzig significance, but would enter the sphere of Polish-German relations in general. Now, the Polish-German Declaration of January, 1934, says in paragraph 4 that all matters of dispute between the two Powers must be resolved on peaceful lines. But it is simply unthinkable that Poland should agree to the re-union of Danzig with the Reich, and all suppositions of this sort are completely devoid of solid foundation. It is not a matter of historical rights or of the letter of the law that at present obtains in international relations; but also and more, a question of economic

existence. First of all, one port, Gdynia, is quite inadequate for Poland's needs. Secondly, Warsaw cannot allow the mouth of the Vistula, the chief waterway of the country, to be in the hands of strangers. Moreover, one must not forget that all railway lines of importance that connect Gdynia with Poland pass through the Free City, so that again it is unthinkable that Poland should allow her access to the sea to pass through foreign territory. Finally, Gdynia would find herself, if Danzig belonged to Germany, in the range of German artillery, scarcely 15 kilometres away.

For this reason, then, the internal problems of the Free City may interest Poland in the same way as they do the other members of the League, but the matter of the existence of the Free City and of Poland's rights in the Free City is for the Polish nation one of vital importance, in respect to which no concessions are possible. Polish rights in Danzig can only be changed in the direction of extending them, seeing that Poland has not taken advantage to the full extent of the privileges given her by the Versailles Treaty. Wishing to show her goodwill, she waived a number of them in the interests of the local authorities. As an example, she agreed that control of the port should be in the hands of a Polish-Danzig commission, whereas the Treaty gave it wholly to Poland.

It should be added that there is little cause for expectation that Germany would decide on any attack upon the status of the Free City such as would break the spirit and letter of the pact of January, 1934—the first agreement of its kind made by the Hitler régime. This would amount to an admission on the part of Chancellor Hitler that he not only does not honour the signature of Germany to the Versailles Treaty, and that he does not stand by agreements made by former German Governments, but that he does not even honour agreements which he himself entered into and obligations he himself contracted. The result of such action would be that Germany in the future could not count on an agreement of any sort with any world power whatsoever.

In conclusion, then, it would seem that to the question as to the future fate of Danzig, only one answer is possible. The Free City will continue to be in the future what it has been until now.

JAN ANTONI WILDER.

NICHOLAS PAŠIĆ: AFTER TEN YEARS

NICHOLAS Pašić, who was born in 1845 and died in 1926, played a part in public life for over half a century—up to the World War in Serbia, and after it on the wider stage of Yugoslavia. On this role in Yugoslav history it is still too soon to speak with the necessary precision, for the most important documents have not come to light. But as to his role in Serbian history the main lines are already clear, and it is possible to reach a fairly definite conclusion.

Pašić was elected to the Serbian Skupština immediately after the Congress of Berlin. Already in 1881 he founded the Radical party as a protest of the peasant masses against the bureaucratic centralism which had prevailed for decades in Serbia. The peasantry had only accustomed themselves with difficulty to this system, and from time to time gave vent to their dissatisfaction in semi-revolutionary movements. In place of such periodic outbursts the Radical Party wished to wage a steady campaign against the bureaucratic system, in press and Parliament. Led and organised for this purpose, the peasantry would become the main factor in Serbian political life.

It was possible, but not actually inevitable, that a party thus based on the peasant class should come into conflict with the authorities. All depended on the tact of its leaders and on the tact of the sovereign. But tact was not the strong point of Milan Obrenović, who was still under thirty, nor of the Radical leaders, who were also quite young men. Pašić, the oldest among them, did nothing to avert a conflict, and it soon looked as though the Radicals were more concerned to attack the prerogatives of the Crown than bureaucratic centralism.

At the moment of the foundation of the Radical Party, the national army made up the main part of the armed forces of Serbia. To organise the peasant masses as an opposition party was almost the same as to separate the national army from its ruler. Disarmed in the liberal sense of the word, he would have had to surrender himself to the tender mercies of the Radicals. Popular among the peasants, Pašić regarded himself as the real master of the army, and felt that he must not be yielding towards the King.

King Milan realised in time the danger of his situation. He founded a standing army and ordered the disarming of the national army. On this occasion there broke out a revolt in the eastern districts of Serbia, in 1883. Whether, and to what extent Pašić was mixed up in the affair remained at the time an open question: but it is certain that in the establishment of a national army he saw one of the prime causes of the success of Radicalism. He openly wrote in the press against its disarming, and when the rising broke

out, he left Belgrade to join its adherents. It was very quickly suppressed by the help of the regular troops: Pašić was condemned to death *in absentia*, and, till Milan's abdication in 1889, he lived in exile. His efforts for the creation of a Radical Party had only been partially successful: it had certainly struck roots in the nation, but the King had speedily disarmed his opponents.

So long as he remained on the throne, Milan excluded Pašić from the amnesties which were from time to time proclaimed in favour of those condemned for the events of 1883. This is why there gathered round the name of Pašić a legend of the foremost champion and martyr of the Radical movement. In exile he established relations with the Russians, which were never again dissolved. He was commended to them by the Metropolitan Michael of Belgrade (1826-1898), who was also in exile, and was at that time the most popular Serb in Panslav circles. but after some years he became even more popular among them than Michael. Henceforward, until the fall of Tsardom, Pašić's policy, alike in opposition and in power, was intimately linked with Russian policy. Having lost the weapon which he thought he had found against King Milan in the national army, Pašić found that he could fight him with the help of Russia. And after the failure of 1883 he remained of opinion that in Serbia there was not room both for Milan and for the Radicals.

Before Pašić could succeed in overthrowing Milan with Russian aid, the King himself abdicated, and Pašić then returned to Serbia, resumed the leadership of the Radical Party, and in 1891 became Premier for the first time. His main concern was to regulate the relations between the Crown and the Radicals, who had now become the government party. Towards the young King, Alexander Obrenović, Pašić did not show himself the same pitiless opponent as to his father Milan, but as the quarrel with Milan still continued under Alexander, Pašić's relation towards the dynasty seemed obscure. On the one hand he insisted unconditionally that Milan, after his abdication, should not return to Serbia or exercise influence on his son: for if the ex-King, taking advantage of his son's weak side, were to appear once more in the country, Pašić would again find himself in opposition and might again come before the courts as an enemy of the dynasty. On the other hand, he was at all times ready for a compromise with King Alexander: only let him keep his father beyond the frontiers, and on every other question he would make concessions, such as might even seem exaggeration. Pašić was accused by adherents of the Obrenović dynasty that in the person of Milan he was actually ruining it, while seeming to preserve it in the

person of Alexander. In fact, Pašić's policy towards the Obrenović corresponded exactly to the wishes of the Russian Government, which, though bent on excluding Milan at all costs from Serbian politics, never dreamt of overthrowing Alexander, since it hoped that in the course of time he would emancipate himself from his father's influence. After Milan's death in 1901, Russia seemed to have definitely decided to support Alexander, and hence, even though the King's position in the country was a very weak one owing to his marriage with Draga Mašin, Pašić adopted a very mild attitude towards him. The military conspiracy which proved fatal to Alexander in 1903 was organised without Pašić. The final blow to the Obrenović dynasty was dealt, not by the Radicals, but by representatives of that very army which King Milan had established as his defence against Radicalism.

Under the new Karagjorgjević dynasty the Radical Party and Nicholas Pašić were almost permanently in power. In the course of its struggle with Milan the party had put forward as its programme, to deprive the Crown of every means of pressure upon the electors, and to force it into a position in which it must accept its ministers among the majority in the Skupština. *Le roi règne et ne gouverne pas*. Not only Milan, but even Alexander never consented to the strict enforcement of a parliamentary régime. In this way the main point of the Radical programme was realised, and in internal policy no big question was open.

In compensation for this, however, there arose much more difficult and dangerous problems of foreign policy. Austrian aims in the Balkan Peninsula came into conflict with Serbian interests; and Pašić, who at the end of the 19th century led a struggle against the dynasty, had at the beginning of the 20th to conduct a conflict against Austria. From a party leader he became a national leader.

II.

In order to understand Pašić's part in the Austro-Serbian conflict, it is necessary to explain, however briefly, in what that conflict consisted. However important Pašić's part may have been, he was not one of those men who shape events, and nothing would be further from historic truth than to assume that the struggle with Austria was the fruit of conscious action on his part, as had been that which he conducted against King Milan.

This conflict followed closely on the change of dynasty, and it is important to note that its immediate object was neither the Bosnian nor the general Yugoslav, but the Macedonian question. In other

words, it was not Serbia that gave Austria-Hungary cause for dissatisfaction by challenging her régime in Bosnia or by stirring up mischief in her Southern Slav provinces, but Austria-Hungary that gave Serbia cause for alarm by her attitude in Macedonia. Austria-Hungary gave Serbia to understand that she intended to keep her out of Macedonia in exactly the same way as she had at the Congress of Berlin held her off from Bosnia and Hercegovina. She opposed the introduction of reforms, even in that portion of the vilayet of Kosovo where they were specially needed by the Serbs, owing to Albanian aggression. Indeed, she treated the whole vilayet as her sphere of influence. In this way she would have fenced in Serbia on the south, as she already did on the west and north. As regards Serbia's eastern neighbour, Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary set herself incessantly to bring it to her side. It looked as though she would completely surround Serbia and prevent any extension of the latter's frontiers. Serbia must become "Little Serbia," ringed round by Austria-Hungary's own territory, by her "occupied provinces," by her "spheres of influence" and by her allies.

The tension due to the Macedonian question was doubtless inevitable, but it was not diminished by the negotiations for a new commercial agreement. Austria-Hungary put forward demands such as she had not made during earlier negotiations. Formerly, in return for her customs concessions to Serbian agriculture, she had been satisfied with corresponding Serbian concessions in favour of her industrial products. Now, in addition to such reductions of tariff, she asked for her industry actual preference over Serbia's own products, and particularly in the case of material for the army. The Serbian Government was not unwilling to concede this preference in principle, but was afraid of becoming dependent on Austrian industry in military matters. At the moment orders for the army were necessary owing to the possibility of a war about Macedonia, and it was hardly conceivable that the Government should place these orders under the control of the very Power that was most opposed to Serbian penetration in that direction.

Thus the commercial negotiations acquired a political character, and in 1906 it came to a customs war between Serbia and Austria-Hungary. Serbia sought, and to some extent found, new markets for her exports: and though after great difficulties a commercial agreement was reached in 1908, she never again returned to the old commercial relations with the Dual Monarchy. The customs war had shown Serbia that her trade could not be annihilated by the mere fact of Austria-Hungary closing her frontier.

The customs war coincided more or less with the growing movement for unity among the Yugoslavs of the Habsburg Monarchy. The Serbs and Croats were reconciled and offered help to the Magyars in their struggle against Vienna. But meanwhile the Magyars conducted a compromise with Vienna, and by their attempts at Magyarisation in Croatia turned the Yugoslav movement against themselves. Even if there had been at an earlier date no relations between the Serbs of Serbia and the Yugoslavs of the Monarchy, such relations would have been formed now that the two groups found themselves involved in a conflict with the same opponents. Austria-Hungary undoubtedly made a great mistake in allowing the Southern Slav question to be opened in her midst at the very moment when she was at issue with Serbia. This was the surest method of bringing together the Yugoslav idea and Serb nationalism.

The annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, proclaimed by Austria-Hungary in the autumn of 1908, would in any case have caused a crisis in Austro-Serbian relations: but the Monarchy's attitude in the period before the annexation was of such a nature as if it had desired to intensify the crisis. Her Foreign Minister, Baron Aehrenthal, like his predecessor Count Goluchowski, adopted an entirely different policy from that of Andr ssy at the time of the Berlin Congress, who had felt that Serbia should have some compensation for the loss of Bosnia, and had therefore given her so favourable a commercial treaty, that her economic progress was great and rapid. At the same time he had given full liberty to Serbian claims in Macedonia. From 1903 to 1908, on the other hand, Serbia was deprived of all these advantages: economic relations were impaired as a result of the tariff war, while the Monarchy became an open opponent of Serbian interests in Macedonia. Having thus created a situation in which Serbia had nothing to lose by opposing the annexation, Aehrenthal not only took this step, but declared that it gave Serbia no right to any compensation.

The annexation rendered any Austrophil policy in Serbia impossible for the future, although even after the accession of King Peter there had been a certain basis for such a policy. Indeed, in his immediate entourage there were several convinced Austrophils. The whole business world, up to the customs war, had been convinced that owing to our economic dependence upon the Dual Monarchy, we must maintain good relations with it. Since Russia had become involved in the Far East, in war with Japan, the position of Austria-Hungary had grown noticeably stronger in the Near East: and Serbian politicians of all parties were fully conscious of this and

showed a certain inclination for a rapprochement with her. But the Dual Monarchy on its side was not disposed to take advantage of such tendencies.

What, then, was Pašić's personal attitude to this quarrel? Devoted to Russia, he thought that no action should be taken in the Near East so long as Russia was involved in distant Asia. In 1904 he several times offered to come to terms with Austria-Hungary, and indeed more or less on the same sort of lines as under King Milan. But the Monarchy made not the slightest response to these offers, and it was the Pašić Government that conducted the customs war, with the result that both Serbian public opinion and Austrian diplomacy came to regard him as the foremost opponent of Austria. The customs war was a great risk for Serbia's whole economic life, beginning with the big exporters and importers, and ending with the modest peasant producer: in its first stages it demanded from the whole country definite sacrifices, and could therefore only be conducted by a party which had the electors and public opinion under its influence. The Radicals were just such a party, but even they could not have led such a struggle without a leader possessed of the resolution and endurance which are needed for every war, even one of a purely economic nature. Pašić was not lacking in such qualities, and proved himself a no less dangerous adversary for Austria-Hungary than formerly for King Milan; and this combative character of his linked his name with the customs war.

The annexation crisis did not find Pašić as Foreign Minister, but Milovanović (1863-1912). Like almost everyone in Serbia, Milovanović did not believe the assurances of the Ballplatz that once the annexation was achieved it sought nothing more in the Balkans. On the contrary, he believed that the annexation was the beginning of a forward action which was to end with the acquisition of Salonica. From the Austrian press it looked as though military circles in Vienna considered that the road to Salonica no longer lay through the Sandjak of Novipazar, but that Austria-Hungary must leave it and go through Serbia itself. He also held the view that the Monarchy had a definite motive for rendering her relations with Serbia steadily worse, namely that at the right moment she would have an excuse for war ready to her hand. Though in danger from Austria, Serbia could not rely upon Russia: for the diplomatic defeat which that Power had suffered in the Bosnian question was a proof that she had not yet recovered from the Japanese War, and that the reorganisation of her military forces was not yet complete. In the absence of Russian aid, Milovanović endeavoured to secure for his country the

help of the other Balkan states, and especially of Bulgaria. Already in 1909 he wrote that Serbo-Bulgar solidarity was the first indispensable guarantee to save Serbia from Austrian surprises. In his view, a Balkan League was needed to prevent further Austrian inroads in the Balkans, which would be fatal for Serbia in the first instance, but in its later consequences would be fatal for all the other Balkan states. The alliance concluded in 1912 by Milovanović with Bulgaria had as its primary object defence against Austria-Hungary.

Milovanović died soon after the conclusion of the alliance, and Pašić again became Foreign Minister. He it was who led Serbia into war with the Turks, in conjunction with Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece. At first sight it looked as though Pašić was changing Milovanović's policy and was converting a defensive alliance against Austria into an offensive alliance against Turkey : and as the danger from Turkey was more direct for Bulgaria than for Serbia, it might seem that Pašić was following a path which corresponded more nearly to Bulgaria than to Serbia. In reality Pašić, even when acting with the Bulgars against Turkey, had not forgotten Austria-Hungary. The final aim of the Balkan League was to rid the Peninsula of the Turks : and if the four Balkan states succeeded in this, the Peninsula would henceforth be closed to aggression on the part of the Great Powers, who could no longer control the free Christian nations as easily as they had controlled the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. This new situation would in particular upset the calculations of Austria-Hungary, whose plans of conquest were believed to comprise the whole western half of the Peninsula. To extend the territory of Serbia and Montenegro, to unite their frontiers in the Sandjak of Novipazar, to set up between Bosnia and Salonica a strong chain of Serb states, all this meant to diminish the value of Bosnia to Austria-Hungary, as a base for further Balkan conquests.

From the diplomatic point of view, Pašić's plan was not a bad one. He was conducting the struggle against Austria by indirect rather than by direct means. He was not raising either the Bosnian or the Southern Slav question, in both which cases the Dual Monarchy would have been in the advantageous position of the attacked party. He opened the Macedonian question, in which Austria-Hungary had never had definitely recognised rights or "vital interests." If then the latter had tried to hold up Serbian expansion in Macedonia, Serbia would have come into the position of the attacked party, and Austria-Hungary would have openly revealed her own designs on those countries. That those designs would have encountered opposition not only among the Balkan States, but among some of the Great Powers, was beyond dispute.

The attitude of Austria-Hungary in 1912-13 is wellknown. She sought by all means to deprive Serbia of the fruits of victory, incited Bulgaria to attack her after the war with Turkey, herself, too, thought of attacking the Serbs, but at the last moment was content with preventing her access to the Adriatic and establishing an Albanian State. The obstacles placed in Serbia's way in the diplomatic field, were clear evidence that Austria-Hungary saw in any strengthening of Serbia a danger for herself, and that Serbia could only satisfy her in one way, namely, by consenting to remain for ever a small state.

The policy of Pašić in 1912-13 was full of risks. Serbia was in permanent danger, first in the Turkish, then in the Bulgarian War, of being attacked by Austria-Hungary, against whom her northern and western frontiers were completely unprotected. Nor was this the only danger. The Serbo-Bulgarian Alliance of 1912 was based on the assumption of their solidarity both against Turkey and against Austria, but though the former stood the test, the latter did not. Serbia had much to fear from Bulgaria, but Bulgaria very little from her. It was by no means certain that in the event of an Austrian attack she would have the support of Bulgaria, and it was even possible that the two might unite to overthrow her. For this reason, when it came to dividing up between the Balkan Allies the territory conquered from the Turks, it was of supreme importance for Serbia to obtain a common frontier with Greece, for otherwise she would find herself wedged in between Austria, Albania, and Bulgaria. Instead of blocking Austria's path to Salonica, she would herself be hemmed in on all sides by Austria and her allies. The plan with which Pašić went to war in 1912 would have produced the very result of which the Serbs were most afraid. So long as there were discussions between Serbia and Bulgaria as to the new frontiers, Serbia's whole future seemed at stake. By the Treaty of 1912 it had been provided that frontier disputes between them should be decided by the Russian Tsar as arbiter. This provision brought Pašić into one of the most painful situations of his whole public life, though he had been through many such. He could not reject the Tsar's verdict without destroying the whole credit which he had acquired for years past with the Russians, and on which he had built up all his plans. On the other hand, he had reason to fear that the Tsar's verdict might fall out in Bulgaria's favour, in which case he and his policy would be utterly shipwrecked. From this latter danger he was saved by the Bulgarians themselves, who rejected the Tsar's arbitration and tried to settle the dispute by force of arms. The

Greeks and Roumanians joined the Serbs against Bulgaria, who had shown all too clearly her designs of hegemony. Bulgaria was defeated, Serbia acquired the greater part of Macedonia and with it a common frontier with Greece. Serbia seemed to be no longer in danger of being shut in by Austria-Hungary and her allies.

The Austro-Serbian conflict, which began in 1903 over the Macedonian question, ended after ten years with the success of Serbia. The whole problem had consisted in which would evict the other from Macedonia : and Serbia had succeeded in penetrating the Vardar Valley, while Austria remained shut up in Bosnia, without the possibility of further expansion in the Balkans. Austria-Hungary failed to see that she could only hope to expand in the Balkans in the name of "the Yugoslav idea." On the contrary, she oppressed her own Southern Slav subjects and yet at the same time tried to become the leading Balkan state. So long as she was at variance with the Southern Slavs, her Balkan policy was bound to assume an Imperialistic aspect, and Serbia was justified in proclaiming that the Monarchy came not as a liberator, but as conqueror.

After the wars of 1912 and 1913, Serbia was of opinion that she had spoiled the Austrian plans, and that her main business now was to stabilise the new situation in the Balkans. But for the very reason that this new situation did not correspond to her interests, Austria-Hungary was not disposed to permit its consolidation. In 1914 it came to war between her and Serbia, whom she accused of conducting revolutionary propaganda among the Southern Slavs of the Monarchy. Thus the Serbian and Southern Slav questions were blended together, and Pašić after fulfilling his role in Serbian history, came to play his part on the wider Yugoslav stage.

Pašić's two main struggles were against King Milan and against Austria-Hungary : the first he initiated himself, the second was imposed upon him by the force of events. And though it was only at a later stage that he realised this, the first was no more than a preparation for the other. Milan had subjected Serbian to Austrian influence, and so long as he was on the throne, Serbia was not in a position to resist that influence. Just as in an earlier period Prince Michael and Jovan Ristić had been the champions of Serbian nationalism in its struggle against the Turks, so Pašić and King Peter were fated to lead the cause of Serbian nationalism in its resistance to Austria-Hungary.

SLOBODAN JOVANOVIĆ.

BAKUNIN'S ESCAPE FROM SIBERIA

THE escape of Bakunin from Siberia in 1861 has always been surrounded by a certain atmosphere of mystery. His reappearance in Europe, long after he was universally supposed to have been buried for ever in Russian prisons, was as dramatic as it was unexpected, and it naturally provoked speculation, particularly among people who did not like Bakunin, as to the methods by which his escape had been effected. Kavelin wrote to Herzen that he had escaped "dishonourably"; and many years later followers of Marx asserted that he had escaped with the assistance of the Russian authorities themselves, the innuendo being the absurd one that the latter had deliberately let him loose on revolutionary Europe for the discomfiture of honest Marxists. Except for the rather jejune account in his letters to Herzen, Bakunin himself has thrown no light on the matter. It is only during the past few years, when the contemporary official records have been published, that it has become possible to tell the story in anything like detail. Even now the tale is far from complete. It is still a matter for speculation how far the success of the attempt was due to pure luck and how far to a greater or less degree of official complicity; and unsolved mysteries are met with at almost every step of the way.¹

Bakunin, released from the Schlusselferg fortress and exiled to Siberia, settled in April, 1857, at Tomsk. There, in or about August, 1858, he married Antonia Kwiatkowski, the daughter of a merchant of Polish origin. In March, 1859, through the influence of the Governor of Eastern Siberia, Count Nicholas Muraviev ("Muraviev of the Amur"), who was his second cousin, he was allowed to move to Irkutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia. Here he found employment first in the Amur Company, a trading company founded to exploit the newly-annexed territories in the far east of Siberia, and then with a gold merchant named Benardacci. He was totally unqualified for commercial life, and must have owed both these posts to the patronage of Muraviev. Their significance was that they allowed him to travel freely in Eastern Siberia without exciting suspicion.

During the two years that he spent in Irkutsk, Bakunin was

¹ The materials on which the following study is mainly based will be found in *Materialy dlya biografii M. A. Bakunina*, edited by V. Polonsky, Moscow, Vol. I, 1923; Vol. II, 1933 (referred to in subsequent notes as PM I and II), *Pisma M. A. Bakunina*, edited by Dragomanov, Geneva, 1896 (referred to as DP).

on terms of close friendship with Muraviev. He conceived an ardent and (for his disciples) somewhat disconcerting admiration for the powerful and despotic governor. When in 1860 Herzen (then established in London) attacked Muraviev in the *Kolokol*, Bakunin wrote his old friend long and impassioned letters in the Governor's defence. Among other officials with whom Bakunin was on terms of friendship were Kukel, the chief of staff, Izvolsky, the Civil Governor, who allowed himself to be used as an address for Bakunin's correspondence;² and a minor official named Bodisco, of whom little is known save that he had secretly visited Herzen in London in 1853 and 1855, and who may therefore be presumed to have had liberal opinions. In December, 1860, Bodisco was transferred from Irkutsk to Nikolayevsk, the port of the mouth of the Amur; and on this occasion he took with him, to smuggle out of the country, one of Bakunin's long letters to Herzen.³

Several petitions were sent to Petersburg, including one from Muraviev himself, for a pardon for Bakunin and permission to return to Russia. These were rejected; and when, in January, 1861, Muraviev was recalled and was succeeded as Governor by General Korsakov, Bakunin decided in the forthcoming summer (the only period of the year when movement in Siberia was possible), to make an attempt to escape eastwards *via* the Pacific.

The first conditions of the attempt were two: money and the goodwill of the Governor. By the time the river was open to navigation Bakunin had secured both. A certain Sabashnikov, a merchant of Kyakhtha (a town some two hundred miles south-east of Irkutsk on the Mongolian border), offered him a salary and an advance payment of a thousand roubles to travel down the Amur to its mouth and report on trade openings. Bakunin then applied to Korsakov for the necessary permission, alleging that he could not be expected to earn his living and support his wife if freedom of movement were denied him. He gave his word of honour that he would not abuse the permission and would be back in Irkutsk before navigation closed for the season. On these terms Korsakov consented. Such is the account given by Korsakov in his subsequent report to Prince Dolgorukov in Petersburg; and there is no reason to question its substantial accuracy.⁴

² PM II, 511.

³ DP 63. Bodisco is the name represented in Dragomanov's edition by asterisks. I owe this information to the courtesy of Professor Alexander Izyumov, of the Russky Zahranieni Historicky Archiv at Prague, where the original letter is preserved.

⁴ PM I, 321-3.

Before his departure, Bakunin seems to have warned a few intimates of his intention. In particular, he wrote to one Shatynsky, a young engineer who had recently left Irkutsk for Nikolayevsk. In giving his word of honour to Korsakov he had, he said, given himself another : to escape at all costs. He counted on the assistance of two officials in the administration at Nikolayevsk, Hitrovo and Filipeus by name, of whom one could be bribed and the other would help him because of his liberal convictions. He added, according to one account, that he was taking with him poison and a revolver, since he did not mean to survive re-capture. This letter has not been preserved, and our principal knowledge of it comes, as will presently be seen, from one of Bakunin's enemies. But this account of its contents is not devoid of plausibility; and some such letter there certainly was.⁵

On 5 June, Bakunin bade farewell to his wife, to whom he could leave nothing but his debts, and left Irkutsk. He had in his pocket two valuable documents, both dated 4 June. One, signed by Izvolsky, the Civil Governor, was a pass permitting him to travel to the Maritime Province and back to Irkutsk. The other, signed by Korsakov himself, was an open letter to commanders of all vessels belonging to the administration on the Amur or any of its tributaries to give him a passage when required. Neither of these papers contained any indication that Bakunin was a political exile or that there was any restriction on his movements.⁶ On the day of Bakunin's departure, however, Izvolsky addressed a despatch to the Governor of the Maritime Province, whose headquarters were at Nikolayevsk, warning him that Bakunin was "under police supervision." This despatch was entrusted to a midshipman, Bronzert by name, who was leaving Irkutsk to rejoin his ship at Nikolayevsk.⁷

Bakunin reached Kyakhta without mishap, and there received not only the 1,000 roubles from Sabashnikov, but considerable further sums from other merchants for whom he also undertook various commissions. A report which is preserved in the official archives estimated that he obtained altogether about 3,500 roubles.⁸ Unless the figure is much exaggerated, it may be doubted whether Bakunin ever in his life—either before or after—had so large a sum in his pocket at one time. It must in any case have been a substantial one; for, so far as our information goes, it sufficed without supplement to carry him to San Francisco.

⁵ PM I 390-1, 372.

⁷ PM I 325.

⁶ PM I 323-4.

⁸ PM I 320.

From Kyakhta Bakunin travelled by road to Sretensk on the Shilka, a tributary of the Amur, the point where navigation began. From Sretensk the steamer *Chita* took him to Blagoveshchensk;⁹ and there he changed on to the steamer *Amur*, which reached Nikolayevsk, at the mouth of the river, on 2 July.¹⁰ He had made the journey of more than 2,000 miles from Irkutsk in exactly four weeks.

The seven days spent by Bakunin at Nikolayevsk were the critical period of his enterprise. He had now reached the limit of his journey. To travel farther afield, or even to linger in this out-of-the-way spot, might easily arouse suspicion and lead to preventive measures being taken. The open letter from Korsakov to commanders of ships on the Amur and its tributaries carried him no further. But ocean-going ships seldom came up to Nikolayevsk, and their nearest ordinary port of call was Kastri or De Kastri (marked on some English maps as Castries Bay) on the sea-board of Eastern Siberia facing Sakhalin. A government "clipper" the *Strelok* was due to leave Nikolayevsk for Kastri on 9 July. There was direct communication by road between Kastri and Mariïnsk, a small town some 150 miles up the Amur. Bakunin announced his intention of returning to Irkutsk by this route; and he persuaded a certain Lieutenant Afanasiev, chief of staff to Perovsky, the Acting Governor of the Maritime Province, to address a request to the commander of the *Strelok* to convey "the traveller Bakunin" to Kastri. The obliging Afanasiev even wrote to the commandant of the military post at Kastri asking him to provide Bakunin with horses for his journey to Mariïnsk.¹¹ It is perhaps significant that Afansiev had met Bakunin in Bodisco's flat.¹² Bodisco, in view of his known sympathies, can scarcely have been ignorant of Bakunin's design, though his complicity was never discovered. Of Hitrovo and Filipeus, on whose aid Bakunin is alleged to have counted, there is no mention at all in the records.

In justification of his action, Afanasiev was afterwards able to plead that the administration had received at this time no intimation of Bakunin's peculiar status. The one official notification was Izvolsky's despatch of 5 June to the Governor of the Maritime Province, informing him that Bakunin was "under police supervision." This despatch would have sufficed to warn the authorities that he was not entitled to complete freedom of movement. But

⁹ PM II 530.

¹¹ PM I 368, 379, 430

¹⁰ PM I 325.

¹² PM I 361.

by a series of accidents, which appears to have been completely *bona fide*, it miscarried. The midshipman Bronzert, who had been informed that the despatch was urgent, and who had obtained leave to break his journey for a few days at Kyakhta, handed it—in an excess of zeal and without authority—to another midshipman named Volkov, who was proceeding to Nikolayevsk direct. Thereupon Volkov fell ill. (His illness was afterwards attested by a medical certificate.) Bronzert actually reached Nikolayevsk on 2 July on the same steamer as Bakunin. But Volkov did not arrive with the despatch until 8 August; and when Bakunin was in Nikolayevsk, the administration was entitled to treat him not merely as a free traveller, but as one armed with a special recommendation from the Governor of Eastern Siberia.¹³ But notwithstanding Bakunin's success with Afanasiev, danger lurked in another quarter. Among Bakunin's "good friends" at Irkutsk had been a Polish political exile named Weber, who had been in Siberia for some fifteen years.¹⁴ He was now in Nikolayevsk, where Bakunin visited him on arrival. Weber told Bakunin, to the latter's consternation, that Shatynsky, to whom he had written the letter disclosing his intentions, was no longer in the town. Bakunin begged Weber to discover what had become of this incriminating letter and, in a moment of boastful expansiveness, invited him to read it. Weber found the letter, read it, and learned for the first time the real motive of Bakunin's sojourn in Nikolayevsk.¹⁵ Bakunin appears further to have confided in him that he was sailing on the *Strelak* on 9 July for Kastri, and hoped there to embark on a steamer called the *Horizont* for America.¹⁶

The story of this letter, and of Weber's subsequent actions, comes from Weber himself. But it displays him in so unpleasant a light that there seems no reason to question its authenticity. Weber decided, in his own words, "at all costs to prevent Bakunin's escape." His motives, as enumerated by himself, are sufficiently curious to deserve quotation:

(1) I feel a sincere gratitude to the present Tsar for the many favours which he has showered on my compatriots and on myself. (2) I am profoundly convinced that Bakunin's escape will do much harm to his wife, to his family and to General Korsakov, and will certainly do no good to humanity, to Russia or even to himself. Bakunin is incapable of doing good to anyone; he is the personification of egoism.

¹³ PM I 324-5, 358-60.

¹⁵ PM I 389-91.

¹⁴ DP 10.

¹⁶ PM I 342.

(3) Bakunin's escape will harm many of my compatriots in exile, because the government, fearing the repetition of such cases, will undoubtedly intensify its supervision of these unfortunates.

But Weber was fastidious. He did not care to be, or at any rate to be known as, a common informer. He would not himself divulge Bakunin's secret to the administration. But he knew personally, one Kotyukhov, an Inspector of the Fleet. He would tell Kotyukhov the story, and the latter could pass it on without bringing Weber's name into it at all. After much hesitation, Weber called twice on Kotyukhov, but found him out. Then on 8 July, the eve of Bakunin's projected departure, he wrote him a letter revealing what he knew. He suggested that it was useless to inform the Acting Governor, who would merely consult Hitrovo and Filipeus. The best chance of stopping Bakunin, he declared, was to give the information to Perovsky's chief of staff, Lieutenant Afanasiev.¹⁷

Kotyukhov afterwards stated that Weber's letter, delivered at his house during his absence on the evening of 8 July, was only found by him at 11 o'clock on the morning of 9 July, whereupon he at once went to Afanasiev. This cannot be strictly true; for he had in the meanwhile somehow obtained from Weber Bakunin's letter to Shatynsky. But it is common ground that about 11 o'clock, when the *Strelak*, with Bakunin on board, had just left the quay, Kotyukhov called at Afanasiev's office. Having induced the Chief of Staff to return with him to his house, Kotyukhov there told him of Bakunin's intention to escape and showed him Bakunin's letter. He begged Afanasiev to recall the *Strelak*, which was still in sight, by a signal, or send the *Amur*, which was getting up steam to return to Blagoveshchensk, to fetch her back.¹⁸

The wretched Weber had however chosen an unpromising and unpopular intermediary. Kotyukhov was apparently, in the eyes of the administration, a tiresome busybody. Afanasiev described him, at the inquiry, as "a restless young man, lazy in the performance of his duties, but ambitious and always intriguing." According to Kotyukhov, Afanasiev greeted the news of Bakunin's imminent escape with the words: "What is Bakunin to us? Let him escape; the responsibility will be not ours, but General Korsakov's." According to Afanasiev himself, he saw no proof of the genuineness of Bakunin's alleged letter (it was probably unsigned), and believed that Kotyukhov had discovered a mare's nest. He was, however, sufficiently impressed to write two letters,

¹⁷ PM I 340-3.

¹⁸ PM I 342-3, 362-3.

one to the commander of the *Strelak* and one to the commandant of the military post at Kastri, warning them of the suspicion attaching to Bakunin's movements and asking them to take precautions at Kastri to prevent his escape. The messenger carrying these missives travelled by the *Amur* to Mariinsk and thence overland to Kastri.¹⁹

Meanwhile the *Strelak*, with the fugitive on board, had proceeded down the Gulf of Tartary which divides the Eastern coast of Siberia from the island of Sakhalin. Somewhere on the way, probably in the narrow strait facing Cape Lazareth, the *Strelak* took in tow an American sailing-ship the *Vickery*, bound for Japanese ports. The occasion was too good to be lost. A single missed opportunity might be fatal. Before the American ship cast off, Bakunin arranged to transfer to her; and the commander of the *Strelak*, having received no instructions about his passenger save a request to assist him, saw no reason to object.²⁰ It was on 9 July when Bakunin stepped into freedom on the deck of the *Vickery*. The *Strelak* put in at Kastri the same night. It was not till five days later that her commander received Afanasiev's warning about Bakunin.²¹

The *Vickery* touched Russian territory once more at the little port of Olga farther down the Gulf; and here Bakunin tempted providence for the last time by lodging with the Russian commandant while the ship was in port.²² At the *Vickery's* first Japanese port of call, he assured the Russian consul, who had meanwhile received instructions to "use his influence" to induce the fugitive to go back to Nikolayevsk, of his intention to return in due course to Irkutsk by way of Shanghai and Peking.²³ He spent some idle weeks coasting from one Japanese port to another—a period of which no record whatever has survived. At length he reached Yokohama, and there found an American vessel, the s.s. *Carrington*, bound for San Francisco. It put to sea on 5-17 September, exactly two months after he had left Nikolayevsk. On board, he struck up an acquaintance with an English clergyman, the Rev. F. P. Koe, whose unpublished diary²⁴ preserves some details of the voyage. On 15 October they reached San Francisco, where Koe lent Bakunin \$300 to enable him to continue the

¹⁹ PM I 344, 365-6, 376-7.

²⁰ PM I 358, 388.

²¹ PM I 376.

²² Koe's diary—see footnote ²⁴.

²³ PM I 358; Herzen ed. Lemke XI, 278.

²⁴ Kindly placed at my disposal by his son, Mr. Digby L. F. Koe.

journey. From San Francisco he found another steamer, the *Orizaba*, to take him to Panama. Thence he took ship to New York and, after a month there, sailed for Liverpool, which he reached in the last days of December 1861.

In the meanwhile, on 17 September, Korsakov reported to Dolgorukov, and on 18 October confirmed, the escape of this important "criminal"²⁵ A commission of inquiry under Prince Golitsyn was appointed to investigate the unfortunate event. It pursued its work in a leisurely manner; and the whole incident would in all probability have been decently interred but for the egregious Kotyukhov. In September, 1862, Kotyukhov, who had been victimised for his officiousness by being compelled to resign his post, wrote a long complaint to the Inspector-General of the Fleet, in which he enclosed a copy of Weber's letter of 8 July, 1861, and openly expressed the suspicion that Afanasiev, Hitrovo and Filpeus had connived at Bakunin's escape²⁶ This letter, communicated to the Commission, galvanised it into a certain activity and, on 17 December, 1862, its report was presented to the Minister of Marine. The report was indeed little more than a series of questions. The Commission failed to understand why General Korsakov had given Bakunin an open letter to commanders of government ships to give him a passage; why Izvolsky, in issuing a pass to Bakunin, had not recorded on it that he was under police supervision; and why Midshipman Bronzert had given Izvolsky's despatch to Midshipman Volkov. It threw doubts on the statements of Perovsky and Afanasiev that they were not aware of Bakunin's position as a political exile; and it remarked that no light had been thrown on the personalities of Hitrovo and Filipeus, who had been represented in Weber's letter as Bakunin's accomplices.²⁷

The Tsar, on receiving this report, took a decision which seems as strange and unaccountable as everything else connected with this affair. Although Korsakov was one of those whose responsibility was most clearly involved, the Tsar ordered that the report of the Commission (omitting the reflections on the General himself), together with the other documents, should be communicated to him, with instructions to make a "strict further investigation" of the affair. These instructions were conveyed to Korsakov on 5 March, 1863.²⁸

The "further investigation" went on through the summer

²⁵ PM I 321-2, 357-8.

²⁷ PM I 322-8.

²⁶ PM I 329-346.

²⁸ PM I 353.

of 1863, well past the second anniversary of the incident to which it related. Izvolsky furnished an explanation of his action, and Bronzert, Volkov, Afanasiev, Kotyukhov and Weber were all required to answer some searching questions. The substance of their replies has been embodied in the preceding narrative. Only Weber answered evasively.²⁹ Shortly afterwards, however, on 20 September, he wrote a characteristic letter to the Tsar's Adjutant-General, in which he explained that he did not wish to be known as an informer, and had therefore refused to answer the questions, but that he was prepared to give the information to the personal representative of the Tsar.³⁰ It does not appear that this letter was ever communicated to Korsakov, or any other action taken on it.

Korsakov's report on the "further investigation" was at length ready on 4 February, 1864. It pronounced the following persons guilty: Bronzert, of handing over to another midshipman without authority the despatch entrusted to him; Afanasiev, of improperly requesting Sukhomlin, the commander of the *Strelak*, to take Bakunin on board, Perovsky, of improperly allowing Bakunin to proceed beyond Nikolayevsk; and Sukhomlin, of permitting him to tranship to a foreign vessel.³¹ The report did not explicitly consider the motives of those responsible, but evidently regarded them as guilty of negligence, not of deliberate complicity in Bakunin's escape. The initial action of the Governor himself in giving Bakunin the "open letter" was, needless to say, not reviewed at all.

This document came in due course before the Minister of Marine and Prince Dolgorukov, who prepared a joint report on it to the Tsar. They drew attention to the many points which had not been cleared up, but considered that, after a lapse of nearly three years, it was unlikely that the truth could ever be more precisely established. They confirmed Korsakov's view of the guilt of Bronzert and Afanasiev. But they exonerated Perovsky and Sukhomlin, the former on the ground that no report had been made to him by Afanasiev, the latter on the ground that no instructions had been given him which would have entitled him to interfere with Bakunin's freedom. They recommended that Bronzert should be sentenced to one month's confinement to barracks, and Afanasiev to two months imprisonment in a fortress.³² The joint report, dated 23 May, 1864, was confirmed by the Tsar,

²⁹ PM I 354-375.

³¹ PM I 391-392.

³⁰ PM I 389-391.

³² PM I 347-388.

and "the case of the escape of Bakunin" reached its official conclusion—much to the relief of all concerned.

There the matter remained, and seems likely to remain, a puzzle to posterity. The slipshod nature of the enquiry is obvious, and inevitably suggests that something was being deliberately hushed up. Korsakov was himself too much compromised by the open letter to be anxious for a thorough-going investigation, and the higher authorities, who seemed determined from the first to shield Korsakov, could not press the matter too far against his subordinates. The evidence, so far as it goes, points to the following conclusions:—

(1) Korsakov inherited from Muraviev a tradition of indulgence towards Bakunin, and Bakunin won his personal confidence. It is inconceivable that Korsakov could have intended the open letter to be used to facilitate an escape. He had no reason to risk his whole career for the sake of Bakunin; and even if he was accessible to bribes, Bakunin was at this time in no position to offer enough to tempt an important official. The same considerations apply to Izvolsky.

(2) The delay in the delivery of Izvolsky's despatch was due to a series of unforeseeable chances, and cannot have been influenced by Bakunin.

(3) The obscurest part of the story is the period at Nikolayevsk. It may be assumed that Bodisco, who was not touched by the enquiry, was in Bakunin's secret. The same may be true of Hitrovo and Filipeus, about whom we know nothing. The most doubtful case of all is that of Afanasiev. His recommendation to the commander of the *Strelak* was the decisive factor in Bakunin's escape. Did Afanasiev really believe Bakunin's story of the proposed return to Irkutsk *via* Kastrı and Mariinsk? Did he really disbelieve Kotyukhov's warning (until it was too late), because Kotyukhov was a notorious busybody? Or did he believe the one, and disbelieve the other, because he had been paid to do so? Bakunin, if we believe the story of the 3,500 roubles collected at Kyakhta, was in funds at the time. There is at least a suspicion, though no proof, that Afanasiev was bribed to keep his eyes shut.

(4) It need hardly be said that there is no foundation for the silly rumour that the Russian Government, as such, connived at the escape.

More than forty years later, when all the principal actors in the story were dead, there was an extremely odd sequel; and it seemed for a moment that the truth about Bakunin's escape had at last been revealed. In December, 1907, the *Istorichesky Vestnik* published an article on the subject³³ by a certain Nazarinov, accompanied by a photograph of the author. Nazarinov declared that he had been the victim of a conspiracy, that he had been deprived of his post and confined for years in Siberia through no fault of his own, and that only the new "freedom of the press" (i.e. the relaxation of the censorship after 1905) had at last permitted him to disclose the truth. His story is, in brief, as follows :—

In 1860, being then a colonel, Nazarinov was sent on a mission, with two non-commissioned officers and nine men, to convey to the Mikado of Japan presents from the Tsar. On the way, he stopped at Irkutsk. During his stay there, Bakunin called on him, and said that he had obtained permission from Kukel, Muraviev's Chief of Staff, to travel with him to Nikolayevsk. Nazarinov, to whom the proposal was unwelcome, began to make excuses; but Kukel summoned him to his office and gave him what was virtually an order to take Bakunin with him.

In due course the party reached Nikolayevsk, and Nazarinov and Bakunin stayed together at the one hotel in the place. Here Nazarinov fell in love with the sister of another officer and became betrothed to her; and several balls were given on successive nights to celebrate this event. After one of these balls, Nazarinov missed Bakunin; and on the following day it was discovered that he had left at 3 a.m. on "the ship of an American named Petersen." A postal ship, the *Nadezhda*, was placed at Nazarinov's disposal to go in pursuit. But he missed Bakunin at the last Russian port of call by two hours. He was made the scape-goat of Bakunin's escape (which had, of course, been organised by Kukel), and dismissed from his post; and he spent the next forty years of his life an exile in Siberia.

Now, considering that in 1907, when this remarkable story appeared in print, no detailed account of Bakunin's escape had ever been published, it seems certain that the writer must either himself have been in Siberia at the time of that event, or have been in close contact with someone who had. The account contains a creditable amount of circumstantial detail, some of

³³ Reprinted in PM II 516-527.

which is certainly correct; and until the publication of official records, it occurred to nobody to question its authenticity. Yet it is, beyond all reasonable doubt, pure fiction. Apart from minor errors which might be due to lapses of memory, such as the placing of the escape in 1860 instead of 1861, and before, instead of after, Muraviev's retirement from Siberia, it conflicts with too many established facts to obtain credence. Kukel, who plays the rôle of principal villain, was in fact Chief of Staff at Irkutsk, but was on leave in European Russia at the time of Bakunin's departure. Nazarinov crowds far more events into the stay at Nikolayevsk than could possibly have taken place within the week that Bakunin spent there. He is wrong about the ship on which Bakunin sailed; and the pursuit by the *Nadezhda* is totally uncorroborated. Finally, there is no trace whatever in the contemporary records of such a person as Colonel Nazarinov.

The one problem which remains is, therefore, the identity and motive of the author of this ingenious fiction. Did he suffer from delusions? Was he a person who had, in fact, been victimised for some real or imaginary offence and who, by way of compensation, had woven this romance round himself? Or was he a person of literary talents who was merely pulling the leg of the public—which he successfully did for a number of years? The last hypothesis might appear at first sight the most plausible. But it seems to be disproved by yet another unexpected occurrence. In 1912 a person calling himself Nazarinov, and declaring that he had fought at Sevastopol, had served in Eastern Siberia as Muraviev's adjutant, and had been dismissed for assisting Bakunin to escape, applied to the administration of Eastern Siberia for the restoration to him of his title of "Colonel." No record could, however, be found in the archives of his alleged services.³⁴

Thus Nazarinov disappears from the scene, amid the gravest doubts whether he ever existed. His personality remains an apparently insoluble conundrum—a fitting epilogue to the mystery of Bakunin's escape from Siberia.

E. H. CARR.

³⁴ PM II 528.

POE AND GOGOL: A COMPARISON

"THE death of a beautiful woman is, unquestionably, the most poetical topic in the world." This dictum of Poe the critic was consistently practised by Poe the composer of poems and tales. He endowed with an anæmic, moribund beauty his Lenores and Helens, his Annabel Lee and Ulalume, his Lady Madeline and Berenice, and nearly all the women that flicker in the "quagmire phosphorescence" of Poe's world. Not in a single instance did he draw a normal flesh and blood woman.

Less rectilineal is Gogol's treatment of women. As long as he satirises them, or good-naturedly chuckles over their foibles, he remains the master portraitist. His shrews and gossips, his rustic wenches and provincial coquettes are as tridimensionally alive as his squires and clerks, as his Cossacks and burghers. It is when he attempts a positive, beautiful woman-portrait that Gogol invariably loses his realistic stroke, and flounders. His single attempt of this sort in *Dead Souls*, Ulinka, is a lifeless, paper heroine. The robust Cossack tale, *Taras Bulba*, is marred by the conventional love episode, in which Andriy is struck by "a beauty such as he had never beheld in all his life, black-eyed and with skin as white as snow illumined by the dawning flush of the sun." Black eyes and white skin recur in his Ukrainian tales, along with similarly banal attributes of feminine pulchritude.

This well-known trait of both Poe and Gogol, the unreality of their beautiful women, has been discussed a good deal with respect to each author. It would be worth while to make a comparative study of the lives of the two men for the elucidation and possible explanation of that trait. Such a study is beyond the scope of the present effort. All that I wish to do is to sketch an outline of certain characteristic features common to both authors, suggestive of a more elaborate treatment of the subject.

Both men were born in the same year, 1809. Gogol died in 1852, three years later than Poe.

Poe's parents were poor actors. His mother died in 1811, at the age of twenty-four; his father died, or disappeared, in 1810, in his twenty-sixth year. Edgar Poe apparently inherited dipsomania from his father and some cerebral defect from his mother. His elder brother, William Henry Leonard, died at twenty-eight from tuberculosis; his younger sister, Rosalie, was a harmless imbecile and died at a charitable institution, at a comparatively advanced age.

Gogol's father had the reputation of a fine story teller. He was the author of several comedies for home theatricals, and not a bad amateur actor. An impoverished country squire, he had rather poor health, was subject to fits of hypochondria, and had a notoriously weak will. Kallash asserts that he served as a prototype for the saccharine Manilov. He died at the age of forty-four. Gogol's mother was married when fourteen, and gave birth to her famous son in her fifteenth year. Like her husband, she was extremely superstitious, mistrustful, and burdened with unfounded anxieties. Those who knew her well (Danilevsky; Trakhimovsky) speak of her fixed ideas, strange suspiciousness, morbid dreaminess, general abnormality. Dr. Bazhenov, while crediting her with a tender nature and æsthetic sensitiveness, classes her as "a woman of an indubitably psychopathic temperament."

Such parentage augured little good for the future authors. Furthermore, both were over-indulged during their childhood. Delicate and sickly, both little Edgar and little Nicholas struck a sympathetic chord in the maternal heart. The orphaned Edgar was given a home by the Allans of Richmond, Virginia. The first Mrs. Allen, after eight years of a childless marriage, passionately attached herself to the pallid boy with his deep eyes, black curls, and spacious brow. She petted him, dressed him in silks and velvets, showed him off a good deal to her guests, calling on him to dance on the dinner table or to recite poetry. According to Hervey Allan, he seemed to prefer the company of little girls to that of little boys.

As to the little "Nikhosha," his mother fairly idolised and worshipped him, acceding to all his fancies. Her penchant for exaggeration grew in intensity with the passing of years, and at the height of her son's career she embarrassed him not a little by insisting on her claim that he was responsible for the invention of railroads, telegraphy, and other features of technical progress. At the same time she fostered his belief in the supernatural, vividly describing to him the Beyond. Late in life he reminded her in a letter of how she impressed on his child mind the picture of the Last Judgment: "You told me so nicely, so clearly and touchingly about the blessings of which the virtuous would partake; you described so strikingly, so horrifyingly, the eternal torments of the sinners, that all my sentiments were roused and almost shattered. This instilled into me, and later on stirred up, the loftiest thoughts." These "loftiest thoughts" proved fatal to the author of *Selected Correspondence*.

In each case, the first encounter with life, after a sheltered and

spoiled childhood, could not help serving as a violent jolt. At the University of Virginia, Edgar was made to feel the anomaly of his position. The young southern aristocrats were demonstratively conscious of the fact that Edgar was a Poe, the son of strolling actors, though he was allowed to bear the middle name of Allan, a Virginian gentleman of Scotch origin. The sense of inferiority drove Edgar into his shell, at the same time spurring him on to do extraordinary things, even if these be only grotesque or smacking of charlatanism. His passionate wish to pass as a Virginian gentleman was thwarted by Mr. Allan's refusal to adopt him legally, or to meet his "debts of honour," contracted in emulation of the genuine blue-bloods. Humiliation and chagrin hurled him into ventures utterly unsuitable for his make-up, such as enlistment in the army and, subsequently, enrolment at the Military Academy of West Point. The death of his foster-mother and the remarriage of Mr. Allan caused the final break between the wayward youth and the Scotch business man. Poe was thrown on his own resources, and these, whether material or spiritual, were rather meagre.

Slightly milder was the shock experienced by Nicholas Gogol upon entering, at Nezhin, the recently opened Lyceum for sons of the nobility. The twelve year old "pale, sickly, scrofulous" boy, small of stature and shabbily dressed, did not cut a prepossessing figure amidst the gilded youth. Pampered and inordinately humoured by his kinsmen and domestics, he suddenly found himself decidedly inferior. Like young Poe, he was forced into himself, and his ambition to accomplish great things was whetted. "The mysterious dwarf," his school-mates nicknamed the solitary, pensive, sharp-nosed boy, who on occasion surprised them with outbursts of frolicsome and rather grotesque humour. He dreamed his dreams of gaining fame and distinction. St. Petersburg beckoned to him as the "heavenly spot" where he would rise high and be of service to his country. A statesman, that was the goal. And he sets out after graduation for St. Petersburg. The quest of fame and success in the cold, alien, bureaucratic capital proves a sobering experience for the dreamer. Restlessly he tosses about and, again like young Poe, he ventures into folly after folly. Thus, when his widowed mother sends him some money to deposit in the State Treasury, he squanders it on a trip abroad. He takes a boat to Lübeck, returns in a few days, and keeps on explaining his mad act to his mother by various reasons, one more fantastic than the other.

Thwarted in their original ambitions (a Virginian gentleman;

a statesman), both Poe and Gogol seek an escape in writing, which proves to be their real calling. Self-centred and solitary, both of them start out as weavers of their inner dreams. Gogol's *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka*, and Poe's *Tales of the Folio Club* are, consciously or not, reminiscent of the author of *Serapionsbrüder*, E. T. A. Hoffmann. From drab and harsh reality they escape into the fantastic. Yet neither of them remains consistently romantic. Poe's fantasy is tempered by an uncanny power of ratiocination, which he uses to make the most impossible incidents probable. Gogol's imaginative flight is bridled, on the one hand, by a sense of humour (practically absent in Poe), which rouses in the reader the comforting suspicion that even in the most lugubrious and horrendous scene the author has his tongue in his cheek. On the other hand, Gogol's romantic tendency is eventually overridden by his robust realism, his sensitive portrayal of contemporary life and society (a trait utterly foreign to Poe). I let this intriguing phase of the subject rest here, since my paper is not a strictly literary critique.

The sense of inferiority which both Gogol and Poe began to feel in their formative years helped to develop in them such traits as egotism, solitariness, a tendency to exaggerate and distort, and even, by way of compensation, conceit and notions of superiority. "Poe was a solitary," is the statement of Dr. John W. Robertson, in his *Poe: A Psychopathic Study*. "My life has been . . . a longing for solitude," writes Poe to Lowell in a rare moment of frankness. Gogol's secretiveness and solitariness were admitted by himself and lamented by all who were close to him. At the age of nineteen he wrote to his mother from Nezhin: "I am a riddle to everybody; no one has really unravelled me." Years later he wrote to a friend: "No one is in a position to know my mind." "Most solitary and taciturn," was the testimony of his St. Petersburg room-mate. Much has been written about the oppressiveness of his solitary mood towards the end of his life.

Both men's aptness for exaggeration and distortion may have originated in a desire to get on in this world against the odds of personal inferiority. In time, however, this tendency transcended all considerations of expediency. Witness their hyperbolic style, especially that of Gogol, who lacked Poe's keen ratiocination, which might have checked occasional spurts of extravagance and bathos. In their predilection for hoax and mystification both came close to Hlestakov, Gogol's prince of lies. Gogol contritely branded himself a Hlestakov in connection with his *Selected Correspondence*.

Poe had a passion for mystifying the public, beginning with his first hoax, *Hans Pfaall* and *The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar*, the story of mesmerising a corpse, which was published in England as a genuine scientific paper. The second Mrs. Allan was told of Edgar's letters "dated from St. Petersburg, Russia, though he had enlisted in the army at Boston." Similarly, upon his return from the foolhardy trip abroad, Gogol kept on sending letters to his mother from Moscow, dating them "Triest," "Vienna," and other places in the West. The mere enumeration of their ascertained mendacities would fill a volume. Both were guilty, incidentally, of flirting with scholarship. Andrew Lang's suggestion that Poe had a scholar's taste without a scholar's training is somewhat mild in comparison with J. W. Krutch's verdict that Poe was "a perfect charlatan," or G. E. Woodbery's opinion that Poe's *Eureka* was an instance "of a naturally strong intellect tempted by overweening pride to an Icarian flight, and betrayed into an ignoble exposure of its own presumption and ignorance."

Even more grotesque is Gogol's temerity in lecturing on history at the University of St. Petersburg. One of his students, Ivan Turgenev, describes this ludicrous performance, adding: "We were all convinced (and we were hardly wrong) that he did not know anything about history." Yet in letters to Pushkin and others, Gogol spoke of his plans "to write a history of the Ukraine and South Russia, also a universal history, of which unfortunately no proper specimen exists, not only in Russia but even in western Europe." Somewhat later he wrote: "I am composing a history of Little Russia, from the beginnings to this day. It will comprise six small or four large volumes." Still later he informed a correspondent: "I am writing a history of the Middle Ages, which will consist of eight or nine volumes." According to Valery Bryusov, not a trace of these "works" was found among Gogol's papers.

In a letter to Lowell, Poe wrote: "I am not ambitious, except negatively. I now and then feel stirred up to excel a fool, merely because I hate to see a fool excel me." His misanthropic contempt for the race and for his contemporaries, for the "multitude, every individual of which I despise," must be taken along with his outburst: "I love fame—I dote on it—I idolise it—I would drink to the very dregs the glorious intoxication; I would have incense arise in my honour from every hill and hamlet, from every town and city on this earth; Fame! Glory! They are life-giving breath, and living blood; no man lives unless he is famous; how

bitterly I belied my nature and my aspirations, when I said I did not desire fame and that I despised it!" Gradually he came to regard himself as superior to all fellow-men: "My whole nature *revolts* at the idea there is any being in the universe superior to myself."

We find in Gogol a similar development from a sense of inferiority to a contempt for men, to a paradoxical craving for fame and a sense of superiority. Gogol's ambitions and conceit, however, were from the outset tinged with a religious hue. As early as 1834 he wrote: "I shall achieve . . . I shall accomplish. Life is seething within me. My labours shall be inspired. Over them shall float a divine spirit inaccessible to the earth!" After the success of his *Revizor* (*Inspector-General*) he referred to his comedy as "God-inspired," "colossal," "a deed of redemption." To a close friend, Professor Pogodin, he wrote: "You must cherish me not because of myself—no, in this vessel [meaning himself] is enclosed a treasure." To another friend he wrote about the same time: "But listen, *now* you *must* listen to my word, because *twice* powerful is my word over you, and woe to any one who does not heed my word. Oh, believe in my words! Henceforth my word is imbued with a power from on high. . . ." His noblest friend, the old Sergey Aksakov, bitterly chided him for his letters "flaunting conceit in the ragged garb of humility." The paranoiac tone of his *Selected Correspondence* makes one recall Poe's *Eureka*.

It is obvious that most of the traits mentioned border on the abnormal, the pathological. Medical investigation has thus far failed in presenting a definitive diagnosis of the Poe-Gogol cases. Available fragmentary data warrant, none the less, the assumption that both authors were neurotics and suffered from melancholia. Their minds were persistently and progressively disintegrated by a, probably inherited, cerebral disorder—Poe's "organic congestion of the meninges of the brain" (Dr. Robertson) or "lesion on one side of the brain" (Dr. Mott), Gogol's "acute anæmia of the brain" (Dr. Bazhenov). In each case the danger point was signalled by a literary composition—*Eureka* and *Selected Correspondence*. Both authors credited these pieces with an exaggerated importance, despite their patent inferiority to the other works they had written. This attitude was in itself symptomatic of their threatened mental balance.

Recall the opening of *Eureka* :

It is with humility really unassumed—it is with a sentiment even of awe—that I pen the opening sentence of this work;

for of all conceivable subjects I approach the reader with the most solemn—the most comprehensive—the most difficult—the most august.

What terms shall I find sufficiently simple in their sublimity—sufficiently sublime in their simplicity—for the mere enunciation of my theme?

I design to speak of the *Physical, Metaphysical and Mathematical—of the Material and Spiritual Universe—of its Essence, its Origin, its Creation, its Present Condition and its Destiny*. I shall be so rash moreover as to challenge the conclusions, and thus, in effect, to question the sagacity, of many of the greatest and most justly revered men.

He approached the publisher, Mr. Putnam, in a nervous and excited manner, “declaring that he wished to discuss a matter of the highest importance. . . . Newton’s discovery of gravitation was a mere incident compared with the discoveries revealed in this book. It would at once command such universal and intense interest that the publisher might give up all other enterprises and make this book the business of his lifetime. An edition of fifty thousand might be sufficient to begin with; but it would be a small beginning” . . .

Similarly hyperbolic was Gogol’s announcement of the advent of his *Selected Correspondence*, in which he assumed the tone of a sage, teacher, and guide. He admonished his friend Pletnev: “Give up all your work [Pletnev was Professor, and Rector of the St Petersburg university], and get busy with the printing of this book. . . . This book is needed, too much needed by everybody; I can say no more for the present. The rest will be explained to you by the book itself. Even before you are through printing it, everything will become clarified to you, and all the doubts from which you are suffering will disappear of themselves.”

Poe and Gogol died because they had lost the will to live. Poe said that much in one of his last notes to Mrs. Clemm: “I must die. I have no desire to live since I have done *Eureka*.” Gogol actually starved himself to death, and resented vehemently the physicians’ efforts to save him. At the same time both had been haunted all their lives by “mortal terror,” Poe’s “dread of some impending doom.” One of Gogol’s friends speaks of his last days: “He felt that he was afflicted with the very malady from which his father had died, namely that he was gripped by the terror of death.” Both projected this terror in tales of premature burials, of corpses rising from their graves. “It is frightful, fellow-

countrymen!" screamed Gogol in his *Selected Correspondence*. And in his "Testament," in the same book, he implored his friends not to bury him too soon after his death, but to wait for "obvious signs of decomposition."

We may now resume the question of our authors' attitude toward women.

In "The Poetic Principle" Poe speaks thus of woman:

No nobler *theme* ever engaged the pen of a poet. It is the soul-elevating idea, that no man can consider himself entitled to complain of Fate while, in his adversity, he still retains the unwavering love of woman. . . . He feels it [true poetry] in the beauty of woman . . . he kneels to it, he worships it in the faith, in the purity, in the strength, in the altogether divine majesty of her *love*.

And Gogol rhapsodises in an early fragment, *Woman*:

"What is woman? The language of the gods! . . . She is poetry, she is thought, while we are only her embodiment in reality. Her impressions radiate upon us, and the more fully and intensely they are reflected in us, the loftier and finer we become. . . . What is love? The motherland of the soul, man's beautiful longing for the past in which the immaculate origin of his life took place, where everything has retained the ineffable, indehble trace of innocent childhood, where everything is homeland. And when man's soul melts into the ethereal bosom of woman's soul, when it finds there its own father—the eternal God, its own brothers—feelings and phenomena heretofore inexpressible on this earth, what happens then? Then the soul reawakens within itself its early melodies, its early life of paradise, life in the breast of God, and extends it into the infinite."

Whatever the psycho-analytic implications of the verbiage here quoted, one thing is clear: both Poe and Gogol manifested their over-valuation of the opposite sex, which, according to Alfred Adler (*Über neurotische Disposition*), is characteristic of neurotics. Furthermore, their regard for woman was closely connected with their mother-worship. Gogol was attached to his mother, and craved for her moral succour, all his life (recall the heart-rending pathos of the Cossack-mother in *Taras Bulba*). Poe retained a sentimental adoration for the mother whom he knew only from a miniature and a lock of hair he always carried with him. The hyper-idealisation of woman, coupled with a probable organic defect, prevented them from enjoying normal sexual relations with women. This is pretty definitely established about both authors, erotic passages in their writings, notwithstanding, by physicians as well as by lay intimates. One may withhold full

credence from the ingenious assertion of Mr. Janko Lavin that along with his "mother-complex" Gogol indulged in "auto-erotic practices, which ruined his nerves and were perhaps largely responsible for his moral self-disgust, his secretiveness, his continuous dread of God . . . and his equal dread of woman the temptress." It is clear, in any event, why the women of the two writers suffer from a lifeless abstractness and repetitiveness.

Hypochondriacs and misanthropes, split with inner contradictions and conflicts, and battered by frustrations, our two authors sought in woman a refuge from the masculine world. In her they could adore a self-created ideal of beauty and purity (Poe's "passionate purity"), while in her admiration for them they could find a compensation for their sense of inferiority-superiority. Dr. Lorine Pruette neatly analyses Poe's side :

His nature demanded the adoration and approval of "woman," rather than sexual conquests, and he worshipped in his poems a feminine idealisation to which he ascribed various names. These women are never human; they are never warm flesh and blood—they are simply lay figures around which to hang wreaths of poetical sentiments. His emotional interest lay in himself, rather than in outer objects; he wished to be loved, rather than to love.

Gogol, in addition to his strong sentiment for his mother and sisters, was surrounded in his later years by titled ladies of mystic inclinations. It flattered his vanity to be admired and "followed" by the former lady-in-waiting, Alexandra Smirnova, the Countesses Vyelgorsky, the old Countess Sheremetev, and other gentlewomen who listened to his ethical discourses in intimate circles on the Riviera or in Rome. His relations with them were purely platonic. Mme. Smirnova, a vivacious and experienced woman, whom S. Aksakov called "a penitent Magdalene," was particularly close to Gogol. When on one occasion she half-banteringly remarked to him that he was apparently in love with her, he became angry, left her house, and for several weeks failed to return. His deep affection for Smirnova was filial; any other suggestion pained him as sacrilege. With the advancement of his religious mania, when he suffered mental and physical agony, his need of maternal love grew pathetic. Time and again he implored his mother to pray for him. The last lines in his *Notes of a Madman*, though written earlier, fittingly express his cry of torture toward the end of his life :

"Mother dear, save your poor son ! Drop a tear on his aching head ! See how they torment him ! Press to your bosom the wretched

orphan! There is no place for him in this world! . . . Mother, have pity on your ailing child!"

Poe's experiences with women were more complex. His brief life was replete with frustrated flirtations and affections. His tender feelings for Mrs. Helen Stannard, mother of a class-mate, when in his teens, pursued him all his life, and found reflection in his poem "To Helen," and in his emotional reaction to other Helens, the "Helen of a thousand dreams." His marriage to his cousin, Virginia Clemm, attempted when she was twelve and consummated two years later, was hardly even intended to be a normal union of man and woman. Virginia appealed to him precisely by her unsullied purity, and as long as she lived—the life of an invalid, largely—Poe had the comfort of worshipping at the altar of his ideal of feminine beauty. The death of Virginia destroyed his dream-life and dragged him into his dipsomaniac chasm. In marrying Virginia, Poe satisfied also his yearning for the maternal wing, which he found in his mother-in-law, the excellent Mrs. Clemm, who spared no effort in his behalf, and acted as his mother, nurse, manager, intercessor and champion.

The last months of Poe's life were filled with pathetic efforts at finding a woman who might replace "the lost Lenore." He frantically proposed marriage now to Mrs. Whitman, now to Mrs. Shelton, at the same time avowing eternal love for his married friend, "Annie." It seems doubtful whether he would have carried out a single one of these proposals to the end; he was clutching at straws, while being swept irresistibly down stream. As long as Mrs. Clemm could sit by his bed and stroke his feverish brow, he was safe. But once off on his restless wanderings, from New York to Richmond and back, he was doomed. In the short intervals between delirium and drunkenness he cried out to "Mother," Mrs. Clemm. One recalls Gogol's last outcries in Poe's last notes to his mother-in-law:

"Oh, darling mother, it is now three weeks since I saw you, and all that time your poor Eddy has scarcely drawn a breath except of intense agony . . . Oh, mother, I am so ill." . . .

"I got here to Richmond with two dollars over—of which I enclose you one. O God, my mother, shall we ever meet again? If possible, oh, COME! My clothes are so horrible and I am so ill. Oh, if you could come to me, my mother. Write instantly—Oh, do not fail. God forever bless you."

" . . . can now hardly hold the pen. The very instant you get this come to me. The joy of seeing you will almost

compensate for our sorrows. We can but die together. It is no use to reason with me now; I must die. . . . You have been all in all to me, darling, ever beloved mother, and dearest, truest friend." . . .

Poe's messages failed to reach Mrs. Clemm in time. He died under horrible circumstances. But, above all, he died because he felt that he "must die." That was exactly the cause of Gogol's death.

ALEXANDER KAUN.

Note—Apart from the works and letters of Poe and Gogol, the following books and articles were particularly helpful to me in preparing this paper: Adler, Alfred, *Über neurotische Disposition*. Allen, Hervey, *Israfel*. Bazhenov, N. N., "Bolezn i smert Gogol'a." *Russkaya Mysl*, 23: 1 and 2. Bryusov, Valery, "Ispepelenny." *Vesy*, 6: 4. Cobb, Palmer, *The Influence of E. T. A. Hoffman on the Tales of Edgar Allan Poe*. Harrison, James A., *Life and Letters of Edgar Allan Poe*. Ingram, John H., *Edgar Allan Poe*. Kallash, N. V., *N. V. Gogol v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov i perepiske*. Krutch, Joseph W., *Edgar Allan Poe*. Lauvrière, Emile, *The Strange Life and Strange Loves of Edgar Allan Poe*. Lavrin, Janko, *Gogol*. Merezhkovsky, D. S., *Gogol*. Pokrovsky, V., *N. V. Gogol: Sbornik istoriko-literaturnykh statey*. Pruette, Lorine, "A Psycho-Analytical Study of Edgar Allan Poe." *American Journal of Psychology* 31: 4. Robertson, John W., *Edgar Poe: A Psychopathic Study*. Wachtler, Paul, *Edgar Allan Poe und die Deutsche Romanik*. Woodberry, George E., *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe, Personal and Literary*.

MÁCHA AND BYRON

WHEN Karel Hynek Mácha died on 5 November, 1836, only a few of his friends knew what a loss Czech poetry had suffered by his sudden and premature end. Today, the centenary of his death is being celebrated by the whole nation in countless speeches, editions of his work, newspaper articles, scholarly disquisitions and books. All poets, whether traditional or most advanced, profess allegiance to his legacy, and their work shows the influence Mácha continues to exert even a hundred years after his death. Mácha's historical importance has always been acknowledged. It is sufficient to visualise the state of Czech poetry in the beginning of the 19th century. Though there had been important Czech poetry as early as the beginning of the 14th, late in the 18th the poetic language had to be recreated almost completely. Dictionary-makers, translators, collectors and imitators of folk-poetry succeeded in forging the instrument for a real poet's hand. Even before Mácha there was already a respectable body of poetry written, but it was at bottom merely a social art, exhortation, didacticism in the widest sense of the term. Mácha was the first subjective poet of the Czechs, the first to express an intensely personal view of life, the first in whose hand the language began to sing in subtler tones than in those of the folk-song or academic classicism, the first who created metaphors for their own sake, the first whose imagination touched the highest topics of life and death, nature and the human soul. But his rôle was not merely historical in breaking down barriers or preparing the soil. His poetry is alive today for its own sake, for its music, imagination and power of thought, which far transcends the common label of Byronism with which he used to be praised and then derided in turn. Here his national importance transcends the limits of his language, and an attempt must be made to set him among his great contemporaries like Vigny or Leopardi, Heine or Pushkin, who have also escaped the prejudices against Byronism and live in modern consciousness as distinct individualities. Mácha's actual artistic achievement did not, of course, rival the work of any one of these: but there is more than the promise of real greatness in his work, there is—in spite of its fragmentary nature, and much youthful crudeness—complete artistic perfection in a few, too few passages of his poetry.

Before we can attempt to expound the individuality of Mácha in comparison with Byron, the English reader will welcome some elementary orientation in the facts of his life and work. Mácha's

life, which for the Czechs has become the symbol of the poet's dire fate in an inimical world, can be told in a few words. He was born at Prague on 16 November, 1810, as the son of a miller's assistant, who later kept a small grocer's shop. Mácha is the first Czech writer of the Revival to come from Prague itself, and from the small tradesmen's class in contrast to the usual sons of peasants or teachers or clergymen from the country. Mácha lived the life of a poor student, eager for learning, full of romantic nationalism, enthusiasm for nature, mountains and ruins. He read widely and avidly not only poetry, as is shown by his full note-books, where we find even a character-sketch of Lord Brougham or news about life and customs in South Carolina.¹ He eagerly embraced the cause of Czech nationalism, and with the whole of liberal Europe mourned the fate of the Polish revolution of 1831. He learned Polish and read the new romantic poets, Mickiewicz and Slowacki among them, most religiously. He walked all over Bohemia sketching and sleeping in ruins, he climbed the Krkonoše (Riesengebirge) and he walked from Prague through the Tyrol to Venice and back. He acted as a amateur in the only Czech theatre of those days, and there he met Leonora Šomková, the daughter of a bookbinder. When he finished his studies of law in 1836, he had to find a position immediately and actually took a scribe's job at Litoměřice. This was the more urgent as Leonora was expecting a child and Mácha wanted to marry her. The child was born on 1 October, under distressing circumstances. Mácha walked twice from Litoměřice to Prague and back, and fixed the marriage for 8 November. But on 3 November he fell ill suddenly, apparently with dysentery, and died on 5 November, a few days before his twenty-sixth birthday. The common version of his death, which tells of a cold caught while helping in putting out a fire, is discredited by the fact that the fire was on 23 October, that Mácha was going about till 3 November, and that the medical certificate of his death states "Breachdurchfall" as the reason. There is nothing extraordinary in this story of poverty and sudden death, but this short life was filled with feverish activity of a poet genuinely working at his advance, attempting the most ambitious projects and accomplishing much during the last years. A copy-book of German verse, dated 1829, is the earliest of his writings which were preserved. *Die Versuche des Ignaz Mácha* are really only attempts, but they are interesting as showing us how deeply Mácha was rooted in the 18th century tradition of German poetry.

¹ See the edition in *Dílo K. H. Máchy*, ed. Krěma, Vol. III, 315 and 160.

Klopstock, Höltz, Matthiessen were his obvious models, which he imitated so closely that he even lifted the names of Teutonic gods like Hertha or Iduna from them. But sometimes he catches the tone of Slavonic folk-song, or expresses his melancholy Czech nationalism, and even anticipates some of his later staple topics—the contrast of man and nature, doubts on immortality, etc. But this early verse was obviously inspired rather by the requirements of his German schooling and has little intrinsic value, as Mácha was struggling with a foreign language and could not achieve any individuality of poetic diction.

Also his early Czech poems do not so much represent any definite achievement as demonstrate the struggle with his predecessors. They include romantic ballads, sonnets, imitations of folk-songs and meditations in which Christian phraseology or even terms from German idealism temporarily soothe the doubts and troubles of his inborn pessimism. Also an early tale in verse, *The Monk* (1832–3), which remained a fragment, is of little interest except as a precursor of *May*. The obscure plot of Child Górá and his secret guilt, the death of Róna and the suicide of a young girl is in the worst Byronic taste, unrelieved by any lyrical qualities. But in the same year Mácha conceived two ambitious tasks: to write a series of tragedies on Bohemian history in the style of Shakespeare, and to write a cycle of historical stories grouped round Bohemian castles. Of the first plan, unfortunately, little was carried out, though fragments of four distinct tragedies have been preserved. Only one, *The Brothers* (composed as early as 1832), based on an obscure sanguinary episode of Bohemian history in the 11th century, has progressed enough to enable us some sort of judgment on Mácha's dramatic intentions. Mácha obviously wanted to out-Shakespeare Shakespeare by the number of murders, blindings, and feigned madresses, though the main conception of an inexorable Nemesis is rather derived from German contemporary ideas on Shakespearean tragedy than from Shakespeare himself. At one point Mácha quite consciously imitates Shakespeare when he writes a parallel to John of Gaunt's speech on "this precious stone set in a silver sea" changing the sea to a setting of the high Bohemian mountains.² As drama the play could not have much prospect, as Mácha obviously lacked the power of characterisation and the concrete historical imagination of Shakespeare. He lived only in the beginnings of the Czech theatre and during a time of unpolitical nationalism under strict Austrian censorship. But actually the

² Loc cit., Vol. I, p. 269.

impulse behind the play—as in so many Shakespearean tragedies of the Romantic period—is lyrical, and such passages as the intense realisation of death by Boleslav³ speak with the voice of the later Mácha.

Much more was realised of the second ambitious scheme, the cycle of historical stories. The comparison with the Waverley novels which Mácha read and admired is of course obvious, but he lacked that intimate knowledge of the Bohemian past which would have been required to create the Czech historical novel. He rarely succeeds in catching the right colour of the times, except when he describes ruined castles he had seen and sketched himself or costumes he had studied in pictures. The mental atmosphere of the Middle Ages is quite foreign to him, as can be shown, for instance, by the modern ideas of melancholy unbelief which he introduces into a conversation of the Hangman with John Hus. Nor did Mácha ever attempt anything like the wide scope of a Waverley novel. But where he succeeded he actually created a genre very different from anything of Scott's. The one story called after a famous castle in Bohemia *Křivoklad* (in German *Pürglitz*, published in 1834) which Mácha finished out of a projected cycle called the "Hangman," uses a psychology of violent romantic contrasts, wild passions and dark forces. The two incongruous friends, King Wencelaus IV, and his Hangman, do not represent any historical figures, but rather two conceptions of the poet's own character and a philosophy of vain struggle against fate. The remarkable story which works with strong melodramatic effects transcends any merely romantic appeal, not only by the excellent dramatic grouping of the violent actions, but by the grotesque accompaniment of the boorish Jack Dreadnought's ironic fate, and mainly by the lyrical style which time and again flowers into complex metaphors of astonishing subtlety. Mácha's ability to give almost epigrammatic points to his situations, and the whole lyrical impulse behind the story are sufficient to show that there is little deeper kinship with Scott, though some of the more obvious motives might be in common and at one point Mácha adapts almost literally a little scene from the *Abbot*.⁴ The other fragments of further castle stories, *Valdek*, *Karlův tejn*, and *Valdice*, seem to promise less, though again Mácha's intense preoccupation with death and dying gives them a personal interest in many little touches and in the fascinating notes for their continuation.

³ *Ibid.* p. 278.

⁴ The dying boor Jack Dreadnought quotes the last words of Mary's fatalistic steward Dryfesdale (*The Abbot*, ch. XXXIII).

Mácha's romantic prose reaches its greatest heights in a rhapsody entitled *The Pilgrimage to the Giants' Mountains* (1833). A travel-sketch becomes a meditation and then a grandiose vision: the top of the mountain breaks open and a half-ruined monastery appears. The poet sees the monks revive for one day of the year, and sees, too, the bodies of those who preferred complete death and oblivion. An old man at the end symbolises the temptation to suicide which must have haunted the mind of the poet. Here in this rather shapeless meditation Mácha's nihilism found the clearest and most gruesome symbols, and here his prose achieves its most delicate and grandest rhythms, in sentences which can be compared with the ornate prose of a De Quincey. It seems to me that Mácha in his prose writings never again achieved the unified effect of either *Křivoklad* or *The Pilgrimage*.

Marinka, a short story which is the most interesting from a cycle called "Pictures from my Life" (written in 1834), shows, however, a new development in the direction of realism. The actual plot and the figure of Marinka, a dying girl similar to Mignon, is conventionally sentimental: but Mácha succeeds in contrasting it with an extraordinarily vivid and grotesque picture of proletarian Prague. The description of Marinka's filthy surroundings and horrible family point to an awareness of social realities hitherto unpronounced in Mácha, and shows that there were possibilities in him which were cut short by his death. His longest prose-work, *The Gipsies* (1835), is disappointing compared with the minor pieces. The tortuous complex plot of revenge and guilt is in the style of the Gothic novel, or rather its German descendants. The gipsies, Jews, romantic Counts, and mad women come straight from the store-house of romantic fiction. The rôle of the fool is played by the babbling, drinking ex-soldier Bárta, a figure which Mácha developed quite out of all relation to its importance. But the plot is, after all, only the machinery which sets in motion the lyrical descriptions of nature which sometimes reach rare beauty, and the violent feelings which sometimes have a personal ring unconnected with the melodramatic situation of the plot. There is a certain interest in *The Gipsies* also for their anticipation of motives in *May* and for the development of Mácha's prose towards a more colloquial style, but the whole is curiously empty, in spite of personal details, somehow outside the personal view of the author.

While Mácha was struggling with prose he developed more certainly and consistently as a lyrical poet. There, in a few poems

of outstanding merit, he achieved perfection: he created a style of lyrical meditation of astonishing intensity and power. A poem like *Dark night, clear night*, is real metaphysical poetry. But Mácha's poetic work culminates naturally in *May* (1836), his last and best composition. *May* is a difficult poem to appreciate through the medium of translation.⁵ Much of its appeal is purely in the musicality of the verse, the quality of the style, the impassionate tone of the meditation. A scholarly analysis⁶ can show how many of these effects were arrived at; Mácha probably quite unconsciously built up a whole system of sound-patterns which permeate the whole long poem, and he has created a style which consistently deprives words of their stabilised meanings and stresses accessory associations, or calls material objects by names of lights and sounds, so that all concrete things become dissolved in a whirl of colours, sounds and movements. The plot seems quite out-moded today. It is the story of a bandit who killed the father of his love because he seduced her. The robber is caught, condemned and executed. The girl, Jarmila, throws herself into the lake. But such a bald indication of the contents does not justice even to this side of *May*. The story is in the poem dissolved into a few pictures which do not enter into any logical relationship. The first canto introduces Jarmila waiting at the edge of the lake for the arrival of her lover. The second is filled with the meditations of the prisoner in the dungeon during the night before his execution. The third describes the actual execution, while the fourth depicts the poet's visit to the scene of the execution seven years later. Thus the cruder elements of the story are completely concealed, and all the stress falls on the descriptive and meditative passages which are almost unrelated to their speakers and become subjective lyrical utterances. Looked upon as such a series of lyrical descriptions and meditations, set into four rather conventional situations, the poem achieves real distinction. The descriptions of nature are extremely original for the period: the meditations on death are more than conventional expressions of romantic nihilism. Mácha not only found impressive symbols for the flight of time and the horrible approaching Nothingness, he also overcame this pessimism by a tragic love of earth and the suffering of everything that lives. The verse "Love is without end—my love is thwarted" is no mere rhetoric, but a paradoxical antithesis which summarises his final

⁵ The English translation by R. A. Ginsburg (1933) is particularly poor.

⁶ I am using some of the results of J. Mukařovský's excellent study: *Máchův Máj*. (1928.)

attitude to life as a polarity of death and birth, earth and nothing. But Mácha's peculiar originality can be clarified best by a comparison with Byron, just because there is a little truth in the conventional assertion that Mácha is a "Byronist."

Mácha did not know any English, though he copied two stanzas of the original version of *Childe Harold* in his notebook. (*Dílo*, ed. Krčma, III, pp. 238, 254). He read Byron in German translations first, e.g. he quotes *Lara*, *Tasso's Lament*, and the third canto of *Childe Harold* in German (*Dílo*, II, 135, 203, 136, 167), and he registers reading *The Bride of Abydos* under the German title (*ib.* III, 86). Only much later Mácha read some of Byron's poetry in Polish translation, and it can be shown that even then he did not see more than three Polish books with a few translations, i.e. Julyan Korsak's *Poezye* (Poznań, 1833), where he found a translation of the song "There's not a joy the world can give," from which he quoted in the Polish mottoes to the individual chapters of *The Gipsies* (*Dílo*, II, 229, and cf. II, 215); there, too, he could read a translation of *The Prisoner of Chillon* and a few other minor poems. In Stefan Garczynski's *Poezye* (Paris, 1833, Vol. II, pp. 37-8) Mácha found a translation of a single poem, the *Stanzas written on the road between Florence and Pisa*, from which he transcribed a few verses into his notebook (K. III, 309). Moreover, he saw the second volume of Mickiewicz's *Poezye* (Warszawa, 1833), where he found a translation of *Euthanasia*, the *Good Night* from *Childe Harold*, *The Dream* and *Darkness*. We have no proof that Mácha knew Mickiewicz's translation of *The Giaour*, which together with a translation of *The Corsair* by Edward Odynek, came out in Paris in November 1834. (The edition dated "W Wroclawiu" 1829 is a deliberate error in order to mislead the Russian censorship.) So Mácha, if we also consider the complex internal evidence, knew the early poetry of Byron in German translation and later saw a few minor poems in Polish translations; but there is no clear proof that he ever knew even *Manfred* or *Cain*, and there is no possibility that he knew the greatest Byron, the author of *Don Juan*, as *Don Juan* was not available then either in German or Polish.

As to the actual influence of Byron on Mácha, little reliance can be put on the usual parallels quoted by older investigators. There is only one poem which shows clear verbal parallelism, the poem *The Future Home* (Budoucí vlast *Dílo* I, 144-5), the beginning of which is closely modelled on the third stanza of *Childe Harold's Good Night*. This is a case of close paraphrasing which, however,

should not obscure the fact that Mácha's poem develops into an horrific romantic ballad (the master drowning his page) which has nothing in common with Byron's sentimental *Farewell to England*. In a poem *Melancholy* (Těžkomyslnost) one can discover a series of questions on the state of the dead which in its order reminds us of the question in Byron's fragment, *Could I remount the river of my years*. But again the details are very different. A further poem, *The Last Judgment* (Poslední soud), has a few similarities with *Heaven and Earth* which are probably not fortuitous. Mácha tells us what the world looked like on the fourth day after Creation, and the very same idea occurs in the speech of Japhet (Part I, Sc. III), and immediately afterwards Japhet says that "time, as made for man, dies with man," an idea which occurs at the beginning of Mácha's *Last Judgment*, too. I cannot, however, see any parallel to the poem *Darkness*, except the very general motive of the end of the world. Possibly the fact that in *The Monk* Mácha mentions seven pillars in a half circle describing the crypt might be a reminiscence from the *Prisoner of Chillon* where the seven pillars have more than a symbolic meaning, as there were seven brothers Bonnivard. But these are all comparatively unimportant details.

More important are a few obvious similarities in plot. The scene in *Lara* where Lara cries out during the night, and the servants gather and find him unconscious, seems to have made a profound impression on Mácha. A whole scene in the beginning of *The Monk* is obviously modelled on it, and the connexion is stressed by the sudden appearance of a page in the monastery. Mácha even wanted to use the very same motive in the fourth act of his unfinished tragedy *Fratricide* (*Dílo I*, 291). In *The Monk* the motive is combined with the monk repenting in a monastery, and similar motives common to Byron and Mácha can be found in the melancholy robber of *May*, the guilty Count Valdemar, etc., of *The Gipsies*, though, of course, these figures could be derived from anywhere in the large storehouse of romantic subjects.

Much more tangible is, however, Byron's influence on the structure of Mácha's two verse-tales *The Monk* and *May*. It would be difficult to decide what technical detail in Mácha comes straight from Byron, and what from the Polish romanticists like Malczewski; but Byron was the initiator of the genre of the romantic tale in verse, with deliberate fragmentariness and obscurity of action. One must, however, draw a distinction between the individual tales of Byron. Only the early tales are strongly "subjectivised," whereas the later, e.g. *Parisina* and *The Prisoner*

of *Chillon* return to a much more "objective" type of narration. *Parisina* uses, it is true, questions and exclamations in order to underline the moral sympathy of the narrator, but otherwise the tale keeps to "objective" narration. *The Prisoner of Chillon* is a monologue put into the mouth of Bonnivard. The author never interferes directly, though Bonnivard's meditations have obviously a Byronic tone. Mácha's *Monk* and *May* are modelled much more closely on the technique of the earliest tales of Byron, especially on *The Giaour*, which is most "subjective." The deliberate incompleteness of *The Giaour* was an interesting technical innovation, though undoubtedly anticipated by Scott and Rogers, and ultimately derived from the technique of folk-ballads. There can be no doubt that Byron's technique was most deliberate, when we read an entry in Byron's journal (5 December, 1813, ed. Prothero, Vol. II, p. 361) ridiculing "Monk" Lewis's objection against the suppression of what he considered the culminating scene of the plot. "He may wonder—he might wonder more at that production being written at all" Fragmentariness as such was for Byron one of the main stimuli of imagination. Arthur v. Nordstern, the pseudonymous author of the first German translation of *The Giaour*, quite rightly described the poem as a "perfect ruin," hinting at the common psychological source for the romanticist's delight in ruins, even artificial, and his parallel preference for poetical fragments. Mácha uses exactly the same methods to subjectivise his story as Byron did in *The Giaour*. He even introduces the poet into the action of the poem, while Byron in *The Giaour* is merely speaking throughout in the first person, himself addressing Greece, himself seeing the Giaour disappear behind a rock, himself hearing the sound of approaching steps or meeting the Emir who drowns the unhappy Leila. Both in *May* and in *The Giaour* the poet addresses the reader directly, phrases like "see, lo, mark ye" or their equivalents underline this or that detail of the plot, the use of "we" appeals to the reader's sympathy and presence, etc., etc. Both in *May* and in *The Giaour* the coherence between the persons and their speeches is considerably relaxed, so that dramatic speeches change almost into subjective monologues of the poet. Both in *May* and in *The Giaour* parts of the plot remain mysterious. We can subsequently reconstruct the outline of the plot of both *May* and *The Giaour*, but the chronological sequence of the individual events has been deliberately destroyed in both poems. Individual reflections on the same event occur at different places of the poem, and the history preceding the actual plot remains dark in both.

The concrete events are further obliterated by the lack of characterisation of the main figures in both poems. In Byron's *Giaour* we do not hear anything about Leila and her actual relation with the *Giaour* and Hassan except the general fact of a triangle, and in *May* we do not know whether the father or the girl knew anything about their relationship, or whether the association of Jarmila preceded her love for William or interfered with it. This parallelism of structure could be elaborated also for the unfinished and less important *Monk*, and shows that Byron's influence was not confined to an early stage of Mácha's career, but rather to one specific genre, the subjective romantic tale.

But in discussing Mácha's Byronism the older investigators did not stress this technical influence. They rather spoke about Mácha's pessimism as derived from Byron. Though we need not underrate the general pervading influence of "Byronism" or "Weltschmerz" for the whole of the early 19th century and Byron's special importance in formulating this mood, there is little actual concrete agreement between the respective philosophies of Byron and Mácha. One has of course to take Byron's philosophy, if this term can be used at all, not merely in the vague general sense, but has to define it more exactly before a comparison with Mácha can be attempted. Then—if one takes Byron's work as a whole—it will appear that Byron was rather a Deist in his convictions, an adherent of the vague "natural" religion of the 18th century which condemned the churches precisely because they failed to conform to the religious ideal implied. Byron proclaims a "scientific" Deism which stresses the unity of the universe and devises a materialistic version of immortality or rather of the "indestructibility" of any being. This view is in Byron not always pronounced clearly, and there were different stages in his development, when other ideas seemed to prevail. The third canto of *Childe Harold*, for instance, shows a marked approximation to pantheistic monism, obviously under the influence of Byron's intercourse with Shelley at Geneva. In *Don Juan* a stoic scepticism seems to come to the fore. In many of the early writings a rigid determinism and almost fatalism which, of course, goes well with Deism, and a pronounced rejection of the idea of immortality, stand out more than in the later work. Byron's development can be traced best in the question of immortality, which is most important for the comparison with Mácha. Early doubts which begin with the *Prayer of Nature* (1806) culminate in complete scepticism, for instance, in *Euthanasia*. But later we find expressions of a

belief in a materialist immortality: by death human consciousness is changed into a sort of vegetative feeling or possibly "bodiless thought" (*Childe Harold* III, 77) and he speaks even of Eternal harmony, which would "disarm the spectre Death, had he substantial power to harm" (ib. stanza 90) Also in his *Journal* Byron expresses belief in immortality, tempered by doubts "how far it will resemble our present existence"; and in *Heaven and Earth* we find, though in dramatic form, even a sort of argument for immortality, "but thee and me he (God) never can destroy; Change us he may, but not o'erwhelm; we are of as eternal essence" (Part I, sc 1). These hints may suffice to show in what direction Byron's thought was moving.

The absolute contrast to Mácha is striking. In Mácha we can also trace a certain evolution of his thought. In earlier poems we find even Christian solutions or formulas reminding us of Platonic idealism, and also Byron's idea of a materialist immortality recurs later, for instance, at the end of that most interesting fragment *The Return* (*Dílo* II, 148), where, however, Mácha immediately asks the awkward question of the ultimate meaning of this eternal birth, death and rebirth in nature. But Mácha's most individual thought is very different. He expresses rather most poetically and with strongest personal accent, a feeling of the complete vacuum behind everything. This vacuum, this eternal Nothing in Mácha is paradoxically enough not a mere negative without meaning, but something appallingly actual, horrifying and crushing by its very power over life. All things are in Mácha expression of a mystery which is terrifying precisely because it is almost tangible, treacherous and dangerous.⁷ No horror of this sort ever disturbed the sleep of Byron. Mácha is afraid of the mere possibility that we should again awake after death, an idea which forms the very centre of his *Pilgrimage to the Giant Mountains*. Byron even in his most pessimistic poems longs only for the Nothing before birth and is happy in the thought that "never more can we be made the same." "It is enough in sooth that once we bore These fardels of the heart" (*Childe Harold* IV, 166). This is not so much a philosophical difference, but similar ideas have a completely different emotional accent. The Nothing in Byron is welcome, while in Mácha the Nothing, inevitable as it is, is empty without meaning and end, an awful stretch of waste where even Time is not diminished. This difference can be illustrated strikingly by comparing the *Pilgrimage*,

⁷ This formula from J. Mukařovský, *Máchas Werk als Torso u Geheimnis* (Slavische Rundschau, 1936).

where even the dead monk's pallid face showed a gruesome discontent in death, with Byron's *Giaour* praising the "mild angelic air" of the dead. ("He who has bent him o'er the dead.") Here we have in Mácha a fundamental motive which represents his deepest personal experience, and for which we cannot find any parallel in Byron.

Also Mácha's concept of nature, though in some ways similar to Byron's, differs from his considerably. Mácha wavered between two familiar conceptions; at one time Nature seems to him a sympathising comrade of Man, at other times she seems completely different to human sorrow. This very same dualism can be found in Byron; the contrast between the human heart and Nature is one of the main topics of *Childe Harold*, and *The Giaour*, for once, opens with a contrast between the generous smiling Nature of the East and the dark passions and lusts of Man. The beginning of the second canto of *Lara* which Mácha copied in his notebook is another meditation on Nature's indifference to human suffering. Just as in *Parisina* the sun is shining "with a clear and ghastly glitter" on the head of the doomed Hugo and the axe prepared for the execution, so in Mácha's *May* the sun laughs merrily at the dead eye of the decapitated head. But again in Byron, especially in the Shelleyan third canto of *Childe Harold*, Nature may be in harmony with Man. Byron, in any case, never ceased believing that Nature has a spiritual meaning, and usually in Mácha the same feeling of a symbolic expression in her features prevails, whether it is in harmony or in conflict with the mood of Man. Only once Mácha voices a very unromantic doubt, when he seems to realise that he is tormenting himself in vain with a feeling of kinship in Nature, and that Nature after all is "without a face."⁸ But obviously we should not press the meaning of this single verse too closely, since it may be only another formula for Nature's indifference and coldness to man's suffering. It would be dangerous to construe an artificial contrast to Byron in this respect. Though Mácha did not desert the romantic view of the symbolic meaning of Nature, his conception of Nature is considerably different from Byron's. Nature in Mácha is completely dematerialised, a mere whirl of colour, light and sounds, a stream carried away by inexorable time—a conception which could make us think of impressionist painting, if Mácha did not leave any doubt that Nature is to him no inward state of our mind, but an awful reality from which there is no escape. It is hardly necessary

⁸ In the poem beginning "V přírodě jak vše," cf. *Dílo* I, 242.

to say that in Byron's cosmos we feel all the time the underlying conception of the old 18th century world-machine, as it was envisaged by Newton.

These differences of the two poets come out also in their treatment of love. In spite of the hackneyed first lines of *May* which have entered the popular imagination and have inspired the very conventional statue of Mácha by Myslbek as a curly-haired youth with a rose in his hand, Mácha can hardly be called a poet of love. His portraits of women, and even his descriptions of feelings of love in man, are vague, and where he expresses romantic longing at the brink of the grave, as in *Marinka*, he pays tribute to the conventions of his time. He knows nothing of the poignant feeling of guilt in destroying the being most beloved, which is a recurrent theme of Byron's. Only the jealousy which tormented him for the past of the beloved woman found poetic expression in a few passages of *The Gipsies*, especially in the scenes between the young gipsy and the Jewess Leah, and this motive of jealousy is one of the moving forces in the plot of *May*. But Mácha's actual erotic feelings, which he confided to the ciphered passages of his notebooks, did not and could not then find expression in poetry, while Byron, even up to the motive of incest, made sex and love one of the central themes of his writing.

It would be unnecessary to elaborate the differences and agreements with the contemporary who exercised the greatest influence on Mácha's mind. Suffice it that we have shown that Mácha—in spite of many characteristics which he shares with his contemporaries—stands apart as an original author with his own very peculiar point of view, which will always make him the most conspicuous and most interesting figure in the Czech romantic movement.

RENÉ WELLEK.

KAREL OF ŽEROTÍN AND THE ENGLISH COURT (1564–1636)

TRAVELLING in pursuit of higher education and of new knowledge was a fashion in the 16th century. It was regarded as almost indispensable in the education of young noblemen, and frequently in that of the sons of the more wealthy middle-class families. Accompanying these, as tutors, or very often as servants, members of the lower social orders also gained some knowledge of foreign lands. A strong motive for such journeys to distant countries was provided by the growth of certain places of higher education which were either founded at the time of the Reformation, or which again emerged from decadence about this period. Geneva, Basel, Heidelberg, and later on Leyden also, were famous in the countries converted to Calvin's doctrines, together with Wittenberg, Leipzig, and others in the lands that followed Luther. The courts of the rulers also served as attractions if they had a reputation either for spirited social life, or as centres of important political or religious movements. Young people were most eager to travel abroad from those countries where the higher educational centres were not up to the mark, or were in the hands of the adherents of another confession, and where, owing to differences in religion, access to the court, which served as a school of social manners, and of politics, was rendered difficult for them.

In the 16th century the kingdom of Bohemia held a peculiar position in the political and cultural world. In 1526 it was through the person of the ruler united with the kingdom of Hungary and the Austrian hereditary lands. Each of these three state units lived its own internal life, even though with the passage of time their inhabitants were drawn closer together. But foreign policy was determined much more by the interests of the Habsburg dynasty than by the needs and wishes of the individual provinces. After the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs had acquired the Imperial Crown (1558), internal affairs within the Empire came strongly to the front. Close family ties maintained the connection between the Austrian and Spanish branches and their respective dominions. It was a world which for the greater part remained faithful to the Roman Church, or which was soon to be reclaimed by it. The Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs were the leading

supporters of Catholicism in the world as it then was, in spite of occasional political differences with the Papal Court. On the other hand, only part of the inhabitants of the three state units ruled over by the Austrian Habsburgs remained within the Roman Catholic Church. Lutheranism soon found its way into the Alpine provinces and won adherents among the nobility, and also among the other classes. In Hungary Luther's doctrine gained a foothold in the towns which were as yet mostly German, and from thence it spread among the Slovak population of those mountainous districts which had escaped the Turkish yoke. Members of the Magyar nobility, and after them large sections of the common people also, became adherents of Calvin's doctrines, which spread into Transylvania. In the kingdom of Bohemia the Catholics formed a feeble minority, for ever since the 15th century most of the nation had belonged either to the Utraquist party, the inheritor of the Hus tradition, or to the Unity of the Brethren, which in 1458 had seceded and established itself as an independent religious community. In Silesia and in the two Lusatias Lutheranism was almost completely predominant.

Through these differences in religion public life was rendered extremely complicated. In Hungary and Bohemia the new dynasty was out of touch with the nation, and difficulties increased when in both countries the tension between the religious parties developed, and when those who were ready to promote the victory and supremacy of the Roman Court by methods of force began to rally round the Court. From the time when Rudolf II took up permanent residence in Prague (1583) Bohemia became the chief centre of the gathering storm. Members of the Protestant nobility of Bohemia and Moravia were not excluded from holding official and other important positions, but their status was not in proportion to their numbers and importance in the land. The situation became worse as time went on, the monarch and his advisers showing a preference for persons of their own confession. The great tension between the two parties which was to be seen in various parts of Europe at the turn of the 16th century, had its analogy in the inner struggles of Bohemia and Moravia. No wonder that the rivals looked abroad for allies and supporters: the Catholic nobility towards Italy and Spain, and the Protestants to all those countries where the Reformation had gained the upper hand. And it was in accordance with these convictions and sympathies that studious youths often drew up their plans for foreign travel.

In the last quarter of the 16th century the Unity of the

Brethren and some sections of the Utraquist Party fostered contacts with other countries where a mild form of Lutheranism, or Calvinism, had become established. In this way firm ties were created which were not without influence in the religious, cultural, and political spheres. Thus the inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia were brought into touch with the spiritual life of Switzerland, the Rhineland, the Netherlands, England and Scotland, and to some extent with that of France also. In some cases old ties were renewed, in others new connections were established which made of Bohemia a part of that world which saw in the Habsburg dynasty the chief impediment to its political development, and which directed all its efforts towards the downfall of the Catholic party. This matter was the more serious for the kingdom of Bohemia, because owing to its dense population and natural riches it was the main support of Habsburg rule in Central Europe. The manner in which things developed there was not without importance to those who shaped the politics of Europe. Anyone who desired to threaten the position of the Habsburgs was driven to make that country his chief concern, and to look for allies among those who for internal reasons had grown dissatisfied, and were prepared to help. Travel abroad increased and strengthened such bonds. They were of importance to both sides, particularly because it was only members of the leading families who could afford them and who on account of their wealth and social standing were destined for important positions in public life.

The earlier ties between England and Bohemia, symbolised by the names of Wyclif and Hus, had been severed, but their memory was of course still fresh on both sides. In the 16th century it was revived and strengthened by the works of historians belonging to the Reformed camp; but it was not sufficiently fruitful of itself to bring the two countries together again. England in the 16th and early 17th century contained much that was worthy of attention—her active life at home, her growing prestige, especially during the reign of Elizabeth, her successful rivalry with Spain, and her support of the revolution in the Netherlands. To all this were added during the reign of James I his relations with the German Protestant princes, and his contact with the countries of Central Europe under Habsburg rule. The stirring life at the court of London was a strong attraction, especially under Queen Elizabeth. The journey to this island empire gave promise of new impressions and a richer experience to the travellers who were sated with the panorama of life on the Continent. The two English universities

provided an inducement, if not for a longer sojourn, at least for a short visit, in which it was possible to see the colleges and other notable features of interest; it was possible to prolong the stay by visits to the fine castles in the midlands of England, and chiefly to those in the vicinity of London. The reports that travellers brought back acted as a stimulus to others, so that there was never a long period between one visit and the next.

The most prominent agent and supporter of the efforts to bring the England of Elizabeth and James nearer to the leading members of the aristocratic society of Bohemia and Moravia, was Karel of Žerotín (born 1564). He was a member of an old family which had branches in Bohemia and Moravia, and which in the 16th century produced some distinguished soldiers and politicians. He received a careful education in his youth, and this was rounded off by journeys in Western Europe which lasted nearly ten years. He visited Strasburg, Basel, Geneva, Orléans, Heidelberg, and Leyden, and he also went to Italy. He met Theodore de Bèze, Justus Lipsius, and other savants and scientists of renown. He was moved with admiration for the king of Navarre, who afterwards became Henry IV, King of France, and through correspondence he maintained friendly contact with the Electors Palatine, Frederick IV and his successor, Frederick V. He got to know many European noblemen through his travels and visits, and these he welcomed to his castles in Moravia. Among the group of friends with whom he was at any rate in correspondence when no opportunity offered to meet them personally, were the Frenchmen Philippe du Plessis-Mornay and Jacques Auguste de Thou, and the ambassadors at the Imperial court, Guillaume Ancel and Nicolas de Baugy, the Dutchman Pieter Cornelis van Brederode; two of the lesser German princes, Christian of Anhalt and Johann Georg of Jägerndorf; the Pole Andrzej Rej z Nagłowic, Hungarian magnates like George Thurzó and Stephen Illesházy, and the Austrian noblemen Richard von Starhemberg and George Erazim von Tschernembel. He also maintained correspondents in the most important centres of information like Venice, Nürnberg, Basel, Cologne, Antwerp and elsewhere, for he was desirous of being early and well informed of everything that was going on in Europe.

This was also essential in view of the prominent position that he occupied in his own country. His health was not good, and he found little pleasure in managing and improving the estates that he had inherited or acquired. He showed a preference for scientific studies, which he regarded as an essential introduction to public

affairs. When he was thirty years old he became a member of the Moravian supreme court, and he had ambitions for a still more important sphere of action. His rise coincided with the great struggle of the Catholic group of nobility to fill the highest offices in the land. Žerotín was a member of the Unity of the Brethren, and it was known that he had paid long visits to the Calvinist universities. At the court of Rudolf II he was in disfavour, not only on account of his religious opinions, but also because of his numerous foreign connections, especially with Henry IV. His rivals at home had put so many obstacles in his path that he was even driven to withdraw from the supreme court and live in seclusion. But when in 1608, after a successful expedition, Moravia came under the rule of Rudolf's brother Mathias, Žerotín was nominated as Governor. Together with his friends and the Austrian and Hungarian nobility he stood on the side of Mathias, and he anticipated that through the efforts of the new ruler public life would be improved, and that any question, whether of a religious or political nature, that set a barrier between the ruler and the nation would be settled without violence and strife by mutual agreement.

He retained the office of Governor of Moravia for six years, but a succession of well-meant efforts met with repeated disappointments. The differences between the parties became sharper abroad, and still more so in the Bohemian lands, which were more susceptible than other countries on account of their geographical position, their importance in the complex of the Habsburg possessions, and the proximity of the court. Anyone who made efforts to calm the forebodings of the storm, settle disputes, and seek for a common basis for progress was in a more difficult position than the two radical wings. For a long time Žerotín hoped that he would succeed in maintaining peace in the land, and in convincing the court how dangerous it would be to push to extremes the threats against a constitution in which religious toleration figured so prominently. He also rejected proposals for a close alliance between the Bohemian Estates and the Protestant Princes of the Empire; he rightly saw that this might easily provoke a conflict into which the Bohemian kingdom would inevitably be drawn. Although in the course of time he found out for himself that not even Mathias had sufficient strength of character and power to guarantee to his subjects free political and religious life, he was slow in falling in with bold plans for action against the Habsburgs which, if successful, would destroy their influence in the Empire and undermine their

position in Central Europe. When more obstacles accumulated in his path than he was able to surmount, he gave up his office as Governor

This was not the end of his public activities. Although no longer in the main stream, he could see with uneasiness how the current of events was getting stronger, and how affairs were heading in the very direction from which he wished to save the country, namely, towards a conflict between the Crown and the nobility. Fresh motives appeared on both sides. The election of Ferdinand of Styria, who was known for his suppression of the Reformation in his hereditary lands, was for one part of the Bohemian nobility an incitement to aggressive action and for the other a summons to caution. Some of the opponents of the House of Habsburg within the Empire intensified their agitation, and sought for a closer alliance with Bohemia. Here in the meantime for internal reasons a conflict broke out in 1618, which quickly developed into revolution. Karel of Žerotín was, by his confession, in close touch with those who felt themselves in danger by the policy of the court, and who wanted to secure guarantees by force of arms if negotiations failed. He did not join their ranks, however, but he offered them his services as a mediator. He persisted in this standpoint even when it was quite clear that the court had no longer any desire for reconciliation, but that it was planning to make use of a suitable moment to break the power of the Estates, and restore Catholicism everywhere. The revolutionary activities in Bohemia and Moravia in the years 1618-20 were on the whole carried on without Žerotín. He did not alter his standpoint even when his correlative, Frederick V of the Palatinate, the husband of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, was called to the Bohemian throne. When in November 1620 Frederick's rule collapsed, Žerotín risked everything in order to obtain fair terms for Moravia from the victorious Ferdinand II, and to put a stop to the flood of repressive measures. But he could not even save himself. Ferdinand, it is true, did not forget that Žerotín had not broken his allegiance, but he demanded that he should comply with the new regulations. Žerotín had no intention of giving up his religion, and rather than that he decided to go into exile like many other of his compatriots. At least from time to time he could visit his estates, especially Píseck in Moravia. There he spent the last years of his life, and there he died in 1636.

It certainly was of some moment that so prominent a man, who had plenty of contacts with the Czech nobility, had learned in his youth to know England and her public life. He reached England

from France in the spring of 1586, and after a visit to the Netherlands he returned there for a new sojourn in 1587. He was not, however, the first Czech to see Elizabethan London. In the fifth year of the Queen's reign, while negotiations were going on for her marriage with the Archduke Charles, Peter Vok of Rožmberk came to London with a letter of recommendation from Charles's brother, Maximilian II. This gentleman came of an ancient Czech family whose head ranked next after the king, and he possessed vast estates in southern Bohemia. The reception which the Queen prepared to him and his suite, undoubtedly with an eye to its echoes in the Habsburg court, was so magnificent that even thirty years afterwards he recalled it with gratitude. One of the older friends of Žerotín, Václav Budovec of Budov, a member of the Unity of the Brethren, visited England in 1577, and perhaps Scotland also. It was he who in the struggles for religious liberty at the beginning of the 16th century led the Czech Protestant nobility. H. Brtnický Valdštejn, a man of culture and considerable means, also travelled to England.

Several students from Bohemia and Moravia were resident at the English Universities in the seventies and eighties of the 16th century. Among these were the sons of the scientist and astronomer, Tadeáš Hájek of Hájek, who maintained friendly relations with Henry Saville, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and later Provost of Eton. This man's works found their way into English scientific libraries. At Oxford Count Jeronym Šlik studied for a time and was supported by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. This nobleman's favour was also enjoyed by Jan Bernard of Přerov, the Moravian, who studied at Oxford, and in 1584-5 visited Scotland also. Žerotín, however, did not undertake his journey at the instance of any of these men, but came to his decision either in Geneva, where there were many students from England and Scotland, or at the court of Henry of Navarre.

He has not left any detailed account of his personal experiences, and it is impossible to state with certainty which parts of England he got to know, and whether he also went to Scotland. In his later letters only here and there is there a reminiscence either of the dearness and "thin" food at the inn where he lodged, or of the people whom he met. The deepest impressions were caused by his visit to the court. Like Peter Vok, Žerotín also cherished for a long time a memory of the "most serene, and never sufficiently lauded queen" (*serenissima et nunquam satis laudata*). He made the acquaintance of her chief advisers, William Cecil, Lord Burghley,

Sir Francis Walsingham, and the Earl of Leicester Burghley took him under his care, and saw to it that he should not be led astray in the stirring court circles. There is no evidence that Žerotín learned English, or that in his rich library he had any contemporary English books, but a man who knew Latin, French and Italian would have no difficulty in making himself understood with the Queen and her entourage. He set such a high value on his experiences that as a general rule he recommended his younger countrymen and his relatives to undertake the journey to England as a rich reward for further travel.

In his later years Žerotín did not visit England again. Correspondence and occasional meetings or visits from England and Scotland were his compensation. For two years Alexander Hepburn from Scotland stayed with him as a guest, and at times also a companion of his travels. On his recommendation Žerotín acted as host in 1591 to his compatriot Patrick Comyn, one of the Buchans¹ In Geneva, or at some other place, a friendship sprang up between Žerotín and William Dundas. This man some time about the middle of the nineties of the 16th century introduced to Žerotín John Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie² who from Scotland made a tour of the continental universities, and on his way wished to meet the leading correlative religionists in the European countries. Žerotín was brought into touch with Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Essex, in the winter of 1591-2, in the camp before Rouen, where they were both helping Henry IV. Every meeting served to refresh the reminiscences of his sojourn in England, but could not banish his fear that the Queen had forgotten her former guest; he waited in vain for some sign of her favour after his return to Moravia.

He did, however, live to receive a letter from James I in the winter of 1610. It was in the time of great European crisis during which the statesmen of the Palatinate in particular tried to keep alive James's interests in the affairs in the Empire, and in the Central European possessions of the Habsburgs. They made it possible for him to carry on correspondence with the leading members of the Protestant nobility who could send him information either in writing or by means of ambassadors to the Imperial court. Karel of Žerotín as the Governor of Moravia was one of these. Another correspondent was Václav Budovec of Budov, the leader of the

¹ This is obscure. The Cumyn peerage of Buchan became extinct during the Scottish War of Independence.—ED.

² This was evidently the man who afterwards figured in the mysterious Gowrie conspiracy against James VI (1600).—ED.

Bohemian nobility, and a third was the Hungarian Palatine, George Thurzó. Žerotín took up the correspondence, and sent letters not only to the King but also to the Secretary of State, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, recalling the kindness with which the secretary's father had overwhelmed him years before. It was at that time that James I sent Stephen Lesieur to the Imperial court at Prague or Vienna. This man was a Frenchman by birth who had been in the service of the Earl of Leicester, and later in that of Robert Cecil. From 1598 onwards Lesieur was frequently in Prague, and during his visits to the Emperor he had time to spare for conferences with the leaders of the Czech nobility. When James I began to take a greater interest in Czech affairs, he made a point of encouraging Lesieur to cultivate these relations. In the audience which Lesieur had with James I in the autumn of 1612 the name of Žerotín was also mentioned among those with whom the ambassador was to establish contact. It was known that he was thoroughly versed in the political problems of the Habsburg dominions, and that he might be able to give valuable advice to James I's envoy to the newly elected emperor, Mathias. Žerotín did not avoid contact with him, for on his side he was able to learn of James's intentions. The latter's interest in Bohemia increased from the moment that his daughter Elizabeth married the Elector Palatine, for even at that time rumours cropped up here and there of the possibility of his candidature for the Bohemian throne in case of a revolt against the Habsburgs.

The number of those who on Žerotín's advice, or at least with his knowledge, undertook the journey to England was not large, for few could afford the journey across the Channel. Those who could, however, were men of high social standing and receptive to impressions, so that their experiences were not without value from the national point of view. Without Žerotín's encouragement others also went to study there, or for short visits, so that until 1620 the connection remained unbroken.

At different times three members of Žerotín's family visited the British Isles. In 1595 it was his younger brother, Jan Diviš, of whose visit numerous records remain. A letter of introduction from the Emperor Rudolf II, and undoubtedly a letter from Karel also, rendered easy his access to the court. He met Anthony Bacon, and through him Lord Essex. It was most probably on the latter's recommendation that the Queen granted Jan Diviš an audience, and took other steps to make his stay in her kingdom agreeable. As a result, the members of the Privy Council and the courtiers

paid more attention to the Moravian nobleman. The Earl of Essex arranged for an expedition to Scotland, which was only prevented by the illness of Žerotín. In 1608 a more distant relative of Karel of Žerotín, Vilém Bedřich, was travelling in France, England and Scotland seeking in accordance with Karel's wishes to acquire further experience, and a knowledge of foreign languages and customs. In the autumn of 1612, as a member of the suite of the Elector Palatine, Jan Jetřich Žerotín went to London, to the great pleasure of Karel, who reminded him that in England he would find many friends of the family and that "even H.M. the King graciously knows of him." Jan Jetřich of Žerotín was present as page of honour at all the festivities that accompanied the marriage of Frederick V to James's daughter. Several of Žerotín's countrymen were present to welcome the newly married pair to the shores of the Netherlands, among them being two students of Heidelberg University, Mathew Titus and Jan Amos Comenius. The former paid a short visit to London, but it has not been possible to ascertain whether Comenius accompanied him.

We find the name of Žerotín mentioned towards the end of the summer of 1598, when his relative, Vilém Slavata, sailed from the Netherlands to England. This man was still young, and nobody could have foreseen what an overwhelming social and material advance was in store for him after the victory of Ferdinand II over the Bohemian rebels in 1620. He was brought up in the Unity of the Brethren, but shortly before starting on his travels through Europe he became a Roman Catholic. But this did not prevent him from meeting with a friendly reception at the court, where otherwise adherents of the Pope were looked upon with great distrust. Robert Cecil took an interest in Slavata, and at his intercession he was permitted to kiss the Queen's hand when one autumn Sunday at Greenwich she was going from her rooms to the chapel. He presented her with a letter from Rudolf II, and also one from Peter Vok of Rožmberk, recalling his visit to her court in the sixties. As witnesses of Slavata's reception there were two Silesian princes and his countryman, David Střela of Rokyc, who at that time was staying in England, and who soon afterwards died at Gravesend.

Žerotín's compatriot, Zdeňek Brtnický, was received with similar hospitality in June, 1600, for a stay of several weeks. As a clever master of the pen he has left an account of his experiences in the form of a Latin journal. The record of his impressions of Dover, Canterbury, London, Theobalds, Cambridge and Oxford, as well as of the castles at Fotheringay, Burghley, Windsor, Hampton

Court and Nonesuch show that the young Moravian nobleman had an appreciative eye, and found no difficulty in expressing himself in Latin. The most vivid are the reminiscences of his visit to the Queen's residence at Greenwich. Robert Cecil, to whom he brought letters of introduction from the English ambassador at Paris, Sir Henry Neville, delegated Stephen Lesieur to be his companion, and he informed the Queen that they would form part of the crowd of people who were anxious to see her on her way to the chapel. By a Latin speech in which with skilful art he suggested that reports of the Queen's appearance fell far short of reality, as well as by his able manners, Brtnický won her full confidence, so that his way was made easy wherever he went.

From Zdeňek Brtnický's journal we can form a clear idea of the motives which prompted such journeys through England. Some things, such as a thorough inspection of London, and of the castles in the vicinity, along with visits to Oxford and Cambridge, were almost the rule. Otherwise the programme was determined either by questions of expense, or by special individual interests. Jan of Holštejn, who was in England in 1599 with his tutor, Jan Opsimathes, only visited London and Cambridge, and in both places he was introduced to professors and clergymen. He was the son of a wealthy Prague burgher, but he could not afford to travel further.

Three members of the prominent Czech family of Smiřický, who each in turn visited England, of course saw much more. From a material point of view few were their equal in Bohemia, and their social contacts extended far and wide, so that even abroad they were not without supporters. The first of them, Jaroslav, accompanied by his tutor, Cašpar Dornavius, travelled in 1607 through England and Scotland. The second, Albrecht Václav, the Master of Náchod, passed through England and Scotland in 1609, and from there he also went to Ireland accompanied by a Scottish nobleman to whom he was recommended by James I. The third of the Smiřickýs, Albrecht Jan, was compelled because of the unrest in Ireland to restrict his travels to central and southern England, but he consoled himself with frequent visits to the Royal Court. Through the mediation of Stephen Lesieur the way was prepared for the visit of Jan Opsimathes, who in 1616 came for the second time to England, and established contacts with many professors and theologians, one of whom was the former Archbishop of Spalato, Marc Antonio de Dominis, who had been raised by James's favour to the dignity of Dean of Windsor. Petr Fradelius of Štíavnica in Slovakia, a professor of Prague University, also sought James's favour by

verses entitled "*Prosphonesis ad serenissimum et celebratissimum regem Jacobum I.*," and by a letter in which he mingled flattery of the King's abilities and literary fame with assurances that in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Hungary the King also possessed many admirers.

It would be a mistake to attach exaggerated importance to these visitors from Bohemia to Great Britain. The direct participation and support of the English ruler in the impending struggle for political liberty was out of the question, and the nobles had to rely on their own strength, at best with the support of neighbouring princes. For a long time the journeys were undertaken merely for the sake of wider experience and to broaden the minds of the younger generation. But as the struggle in Bohemia grew more intense, and inextricably intertwined with current political problems in Europe, the attitude of the English King could not be ignored, and the connection with the Palatinate was strengthened by the Elector's marriage to his daughter. The Elector's advisers kept a close watch on the course of events in the Empire and in Bohemia, and from time to time sent reports to London, thus serving as a link when there was no English Ambassador at the Imperial court. It was known that the most practicable route from Central Europe to England led through the Palatinate. In 1618 the young Lord of Valdštejn, the son of Žerotín's brother-in-law, the Master of Valdštejn, also went to England with a recommendation from Frederick V: he is not to be confused with Albrecht Valdštejn or Wallenstein, the famous Imperial general of the Thirty Years War.

When in 1619 the Bohemian nobles decided to dethrone Ferdinand and to offer the Bohemian crown to the Elector Palatine, they were moved to do so for many reasons. One of these was the hope that James I would not fail to support his son-in-law and daughter, and that he would give material assistance to the Czech nobility in their struggle with the Habsburgs. It is worth mentioning that one of the leading supporters of Frederick's candidature was Václav Budovec of Budov, who in his youth had visited England, and who remained in frequent contact with Stephen Lesieur, while another was Vilém of Roupov, who may also be regarded as one of Lesieur's friends. It is no less interesting, however, to find that Karel of Žerotín was against the election, although on previous occasions he had been in correspondence with the Elector, whose support of the Reformed Party he valued highly. His standpoint was the outcome of many motives which we are unable to go into here. It

is probably no exaggeration to assume that it was just because of his familiarity with public life and affairs in England that he realised the folly of setting too high hopes on James I, or of expecting substantial support in men and money, when there was scarcely a chance of effective political intervention. Journeys to Great Britain had given the Bohemian and Moravian nobility a certain understanding of that remote kingdom. When faced with important decisions they were moved by memory of what they had seen and of the impressions that they had carried away. Beyond any doubt Žerotín, with his inborn prudence and sobriety of judgment, which were in marked contrast with the impulsiveness of his Czech friends, had a better grasp of realities, and the information that reached him was much nearer the truth than the high hopes of the leaders of the Czech nobility.

OTAKAR ODLOŽILÍK.

MONTENEGRO AND THE FORMATION OF THE BALKAN LEAGUE

THE editors of the British Documents state in the recently published volume on the Balkan wars: "No exact information is available as to the treaties binding Montenegro and the other Balkan Powers. An article in *The Times* of 13 June, 1913, stated that a treaty between Serbia and Montenegro was signed in Switzerland in September, 1912. M. Geshov says that there was no written treaty between Bulgaria and Montenegro, but that there was an oral agreement made shortly after 28 August, 1912."¹ The British Documents themselves throw no light on these agreements, although outside of Russia Great Britain was by far the best informed of any of the Great Powers on the negotiations leading to the formation of the Balkan League. Considerably more facts are available about the Montenegrin agreements than the above statement seems to indicate. While information is needed on certain points, a fairly complete description of the Montenegrin position can be pieced together.

With the accession of Peter Karagjorgjević to the Serbian throne in 1903, the efforts of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro to swing the leadership of the Serbian race to Cetinje received a severe setback. Urged on by the changes in the neighbouring state and desiring not to be left behind, Prince Nicholas, on 19 December, 1905, proclaimed a democratic constitution for Montenegro. Things, however, did not run along smoothly. While Nicholas did not object to the existence of a Skupština, he did not like political parties, especially the Opposition, and in 1907 the constitution was suspended.² Political persecution at once set in, and many of the fugitives found their way to Belgrade, where they did little to further good relations between the two countries. Many of them joined the secret society *Slovenski Jug* and became active propagandists, directing much of their effort against the Montenegrin Government.

¹ *British Documents*, IX, Part II, p. 1006. Otto Bickel also laments the lack of information on this phase of the Balkan League negotiations. (*Russland und die Entstehung des Balkanbundes*, p. 130.)

² The history of this plot is a complicated one and centers on the revelations of Nastić in his pamphlets *Finale* (Sarajevo, 1908) and *Wo ist die Wahrheit* (Sarajevo, 1908). Recent investigations show there was more truth in Nastić's accounts than was formerly supposed. An interesting sidelight on the affair is to be had in the report of the Serbian Minister at Cetinje of 13 Feb., 1910. (Dr. M. Boghitschewitsch, *Die Auswärtige Politik Serbiens*, 1903-1914, no. 133.)

In October, 1907, a plot to murder Prince Nicholas came to light. Three men with bombs, which seem to have come from the Serbian arsenal at Kragujevac, were apprehended, and the incident became a signal for many other political arrests. Everything pointed to propaganda centering in Belgrade, and Nicholas was exasperated with the Serbian Government, since it did nothing to put an end to the organisations²

The relations between the two Governments continued to be very strained. To Russia it seemed scandalous that such a state of affairs should exist between two Slavonic states. In April, 1908, when Nicholas visited St. Petersburg, he was emphatically advised to come to an understanding with Serbia. On the eve of the annexation crisis, Izvolsky told the Serbian Minister in Paris the same thing,³ and on every available occasion Russia let her dissatisfaction over this fraternal quarrel be known.

The annexation crisis did bring at least a temporary understanding between the countries. Both at once protested against the Austrian action,⁴ and on 16 October General Janko Vuković left Cetinje for Belgrade with the intention of negotiating an agreement. On the way he was held up by the Austrian police and military officials in Zagreb, in spite of the letter he carried from the Austro-Hungarian Minister.⁵ He protested, and Aehrenthal sent an apology to Cetinje,⁶ but this could not wipe out the anti-Austrian irritation with which Vuković took up his task.⁷ The negotiations proceeded rapidly, and in a few days the Austrian Minister reported that according to his information Serbia and Montenegro had come to complete agreement on all matters.⁸ At the gala dinner given to the Montenegrin special delegate, King Peter, lifting his glass to Prince Nicholas and to Montenegro, mentioned "with enthusiasm, the real unity and agreement which exist between the two independent Serb states, not only in regard to the present difficult situation, but also in regard to their future common policy."⁹

² See footnote 2 on page 426.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 6.

⁴ H. Schulthess, *Europäischer Geschichtskalender*, 1908, (Munich), pp. 424, 426.

⁵ *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, nos. 283, 342, 347b. (Hereafter cited as *Ö-U.A.*)

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 342.

⁷ In order to avoid Austrian territory on his return to Cetinje, Vuković took the difficult route via the Sandjak of Novipazar. (Dušan Lončarević, *Jugoslaviens Entstehung*, p. 248.)

⁸ *Ö-U.A.*, no. 380.

⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 389.

In fact an agreement was made, and a protocol which was secretly delivered to Vienna is in all likelihood the document signed at this time in Belgrade.¹⁰ It provided for close co-operation between the two countries and stated that a further treaty and military convention should be drawn up. Whether these further agreements were ever concluded is questionable. At least we have no traces of them.

Montenegro now turned her attention to Turkey and attempted to further the Turkish-Serbian-Montenegrin entente which was under contemplation at that time. On 16 November, 1908, General Vuković arrived at Constantinople as a special envoy to negotiate an agreement.¹¹ Here he was not to meet with the same success as in Belgrade, and the whole scheme fell through.¹² Nevertheless it does show that Montenegro was at this time perfectly willing to enter into an anti-Bulgarian agreement.

The close co-operation called forth by the Balkan crisis soon disappeared. In the spring of 1910 evidence of another "Serbian Plot" on the life of Prince Nicholas aroused an anti-Serbian outburst on the part of the members of the House of Petrović-Njegoš in Cetinje.¹³ There never had been any love lost between the rival houses and Prince Nicholas's assumption of the royal title in October, 1910, did little to allay this feeling.¹⁴ Crown Prince Alexander represented Serbia at the festivities, whereas King Ferdinand himself represented Bulgaria. The occasion was a fine opportunity for the manifestation of Balkan spirit, and rumours of a rapprochement circulated.¹⁵ Dr. Nikolaides, who is usually well informed, asserts that an agreement between the two newly-created kings took place, to the effect that if Turkey of her own will or under duress should cede the Sandjak of Novipazar, Montenegro was to receive the western third of this territory.¹⁶ Such a proposal might well have been agreed to by King Ferdinand. It was no more than what was later promised to Montenegro in the summer of 1912. That it was written is very unlikely. In any case, less than a year later King Nicholas appears to have thought it necessary to renew the discussions. Thus it was that at about the same time that Venizelos took his initiative for a Greco-Bulgarian entente,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, nos. 541, 599.

¹¹ *B. D. V.*, no. 449.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 462; *Ö-U.A.*, nos. 668, 742.

¹³ *Ibid.*, nos. 2009, 2025, 2123; Bogitschewitsch, *op. cit.*, no. 133.

¹⁴ *Ö-U.A.*, no. 2236; Baron Giesl, *Zwei Jahrzehnte im Nahen Orient*, p. 213; *B. D. IX*, part I, nos. 201, 217.

¹⁵ *Ö-U.A.*, no. 2254.

¹⁶ Nikolaides, *Griechenlands Anteil an den Balkankriegen, 1912-13*, p. 260.

through *The Times* correspondent Bouchier, Nicholas made proposals for a Montenegrin-Bulgar entente through a Dutch correspondent, Baron de Gruyff.¹⁷ De Gruyff not only delivered the letter to King Ferdinand, but also had a long interview in which he was asked to convey a reply to the Montenegrin king. Not wishing to arouse suspicion by his return to Cetinje, he arranged to meet a special envoy in Trieste and there delivered the message for King Nicholas. Nothing is known of the outcome of this episode. The friendship of Bulgaria, very obvious ever since King Ferdinand's visit to Cetinje, stimulated greatly the hopes and ambitions of the Montenegrins during the Albanian uprisings and Turkish border conflicts of these years.¹⁸

At about the same time King Nicholas also made some attempts to enter into negotiations with the Serbian Government for joint action in Macedonia. These advances were skilfully parried by the Serbian Government. Serbia did not wish to become involved in the Turkish-Montenegrin border conflicts, nor to give King Nicholas the "opportunity to proclaim that while he was prepared to champion Serb interests, King Peter had been reluctant to join him." For various reasons the Serbian Government "did not think the moment opportune" and further negotiations were apparently not undertaken at this time.¹⁹ This is another example of the latent jealousy between the two dynasties.

With the outbreak of the Tripolitan War Montenegro not only offered her aid to Italy, but proposed joint action to the other Balkan States.²⁰ Italy rejected the proffered assistance, as she did the offers of other Balkan States. She wished to have the war localised, and was as anxious as any of the other Powers to keep the Balkan Peninsula quiet. With Serbo-Bulgarian negotiations (of which Montenegro was to know little) just getting under way at Sofia, the proposal for joint action was somewhat premature and was not taken up. Meanwhile Nicholas decided to blow the bellows on another iron. On 1 November, wishing to assure himself the possession of Northern Albania, if "entirely against his or Austria's will the liquidation of Turkey should begin," he made a direct bid

¹⁷ M. Edith Durham, *Twenty Years of Balkan Tangle*, p. 222; A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd Europas, 50 Jahre Balkan-Erinnerungen*, p. 340. Miss Durham, who has the most complete account, says this was in June, 1911, while Mr. Kutschbach places it after the start of the Tripolitan war.

¹⁸ Durham, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 220

¹⁹ B.D., IX, part I, nos. 469, 470, 470 encl. (April, 1911). See also no. 514.

²⁰ *Krasny Arkhiv*, VIII, nos. 6, 17 as quoted in *Berliner Monatshefte*, VII, 707, 784; Bouchier in *The Times*, 13 June, 1913.

to Vienna for an offensive and defensive alliance.²¹ He was full of admiration for Francis Joseph and expressions of his own loyalty. The Austro-Hungarian Minister, however, realising why the offers were made and the war-like effects which such an agreement would have, showed great reserve towards the proposal—a policy which Aehrenthal fully endorsed.²²

The relations between Montenegro and Serbia were still very bad. In fact, when Danev in May, 1912, discussed with Sazonov the possibility of permitting Montenegro to join the Serbo-Bulgarian alliance, the latter advised against it, since open enmity existed between Montenegro and Serbia and every political treaty between them would be insincere.²³ In addition, an alliance of this kind would immediately become known to Austria-Hungary. Although the Russian Foreign Office had continually expressed the view that it wanted the Bulgaro-Serbian treaty drawn so that the other Balkan States might join, and though as late as April, 1912, it informed France that it did not even exclude the possibility of Turkey joining the League,²⁴ Sazonov now executed a *volte face*. Not only did he veto the adherence of Montenegro to the treaty, but he also expressed his approval when Danev told him that although Bulgaria was negotiating with Greece, Greece had not been informed of the alliance between Sofia and Belgrade.²⁵

Thus, when Bulgaria and Montenegro did enter upon negotiations, Montenegro was not asked to join the Serbo-Bulgarian alliance as such. The first exchange of ideas took place in Vienna, where the Bulgarian Cabinet had temporarily established its headquarters. Geshov had arrived with King Ferdinand for an official visit, Todorov was just returning from financial negotiations in Paris, Danev from his mission to Russia and Rizov was specially summoned from Rome.²⁶ Ferdinand and Geshov soon left for Berlin. Immediately King Nicholas and his Prime Minister arrived at Vienna and moved into the guest apartments at the Hofburg.²⁷

²¹ *Ö-U.A.*, no. 2857, Giesl, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

²² *Ö-U.A.*, no. 2903, Giesl, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

²³ *Benckendorff's Diplomatischer Schriftwechsel*, ed. B von Siebert, no. 618.

²⁴ *Documents diplomatiques français*, 3rd series, II, no. 304.

²⁵ *Benckendorff's Schriftwechsel*, no. 618.

²⁶ The discussions of the Bulgarian statesmen centered on making advances to Italy relative to the participation of the Balkan States in the Italian-Turkish war and for the conclusion of a common peace. Italy, however, did not wish to enter upon negotiations and nothing came of the Bulgarian plan. (Conversation with M. Danev.)

²⁷ For a description of this visit, which took place on 9-10 June, 1912, see Giesl, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-9. On this occasion King Nikita was greatly flattered and pleased by being made Commandant of the 55th Infantry Regiment of the Austro-Hungarian army.

Rizov, who had spent many years in Montenegro and was married to the daughter of Vuko Vuković, proprietor of the Grand Hotel in Cetinje, utilised his acquaintance with the Montenegrin Premier to arrange a meeting. Danev was drawn into the meeting and here in the Hofburg under the very eyes of the officials of the Ballhaus, Montenegro pledged her willingness to act with Bulgaria.²⁸ Gregorović, the Montenegrin Minister, knew of the existence of the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty, and was not only willing to co-operate, but was ready to start the war some days earlier. He, however, insisted that Montenegro must have financial aid, and this was the main topic of conversation. The settlement of this point was not reached until the following August. As to territorial settlement, Bulgaria promised Montenegro that she should have all the land she might capture.²⁹

Some weeks later King Nicholas ratified the agreement and sent a proposal for common action to Sofia.³⁰ Geshov, still wishing to avoid all suspicion, planned to talk the matter over with M. Kolushev, the Bulgarian Minister to Montenegro, in Munich, but events were moving with such rapidity that the latter was summoned to Sofia instead.³¹ Kolushev brought with him Nicholas's offer for immediate action and, in a Crown Council held at Cham Kurya on 26 August, 1912, the Bulgarian Government decided to accept Nicholas's proposal.³² The financial support which Montenegro was to receive was also agreed on. Kolushev went back to Cetinje, where the results of the discussions found acceptance. On

²⁸ I. E. Gueshoff, *The Balkan League*, p. 41. On these negotiations see also the very well informed article, "The Balkan League, History of its Formation," by M. in *The Fortnightly Review* (March, 1913), pp. 430-40.

²⁹ Whether this promise was made in June or later in the summer was not clear from my conversation with M. Danev; he simply stated: "In the summer Bulgaria promised . . ." On being asked if Serbia had also given these assurances M. Danev answered that at that time they were not discussing such matters much, since first of all there was the problem of how decisively Turkey would be defeated, and besides there was plenty of land in the Sandjak and neighbouring regions.

³⁰ Gueshoff, *op. cit.*, p. 41; *Doklad na Parlamentarnata Izpitatelna Komisnia*, I, 193, 197 (July, 1912). (Hereafter, *Bulgarian Parliamentary Inquiry*.) These apparently are the documents which the editors of the British Documents were unable to obtain. *BD.*, IX, part II, pp. 1074 f.

³¹ Gueshoff, *op. cit.*, p. 42. That Gueshov's precaution was in order, is shown by the interest Kolushev's departure from Cetinje aroused in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Italy. (*Ö-U A.*, nos. 3727, 3730, 3733, 3745, *Grosse Politik*, No. 12107.)

³² Gueshoff, *op. cit.*, p. 50; A. Toshev, *Balkanskite Voini* (Sofia, 1929), I, 360 f.

16 September the Russian military agent in Montenegro sent to the General Staff in St. Petersburg, the following telegram which sums up the results of the negotiations :

" The military convention which has been concluded between Montenegro and Bulgaria in the form of an exchange of opinions is at present in Sofia awaiting confirmation. Its content is, in brief, as follows. Both sides pledge themselves to begin the war with all their forces, Montenegro not later than 28 September, Bulgaria not later than one month after the Montenegrin action ; Montenegro is pledged to involve as great a number of Turkish troops as possible, Bulgaria pledging to pay 70,000 (francs) during every month of the war,³³ in consideration of the fact that Bulgarian preparations are not yet complete, a postponement of the beginning of war operations is possible.

It has been agreed to confront Serbia with the alliance with Bulgaria and the beginning of hostilities as a *fait accompli* ; our foreign minister must be informed of the above, as well as of the fact that they have begun to transport war material to the frontier "³⁴

The verbal agreement was thus distinctly an offensive instrument, and it was definitely planned that Montenegro should start the ball rolling by her independent declaration of war ³⁵

How far the policy outlined in the last paragraph of the above telegram was followed, would be interesting to determine. When Kolushev left for Sofia, the Serbian Minister at Cetinje told his German colleague that Montenegro was probably sounding for common action. She had made a similar move in Belgrade, but had been refused. Boghičević told Kiderlen the same.³⁶ Whatever was the reception of these early Montenegrin advances, Serbia willingly accepted King Nicholas's bid for an alliance, made on 21 September, 1912.³⁷ In order to avoid suspicion, it was decided to conclude the negotiations either in Switzerland or Italy.³⁸ Switzerland was finally decided upon,³⁹ and on 23 September/6 Octo-

³³ M. Toshev states, Bulgaria promised to pay 35,000 leva daily to Montenegro, which amounted to about one leva per day for each soldier in the Montenegrin army. (Toshev, *op. cit.*, I, 361.)

³⁴ *Krasny Arkhiv*, XV, no. 12, as quoted in *Berliner Monatshefte*, VIII, 973 f.

³⁵ Conversation with M. Danev ; Toshev, *op. cit.*, I, 400 ; *Bulg. Parliam. Inquiry*, I, 193.

³⁶ *Die Grosse Politik*, no. 12107. Montenegrin advances to Serbia were reported by the Russian Minister at Belgrade, 30 July and 13 August. (Boghitschewitsch, *op. cit.*, II, 592.)

³⁷ Toshev, *op. cit.*, I, 383.

³⁸ *Ibid.* ; *Bulg. Parliam. Inquiry*, I, 202.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 140 ; Bouchier in *The Times*, 13 June, 1913.

ber, 1912, a formal treaty of alliance was signed. The treaty, consisting of a political section and a military convention, was to last for three years, and was ratified on 2/15 October, 1912.⁴⁰ According to Bouchier the treaty had among its provisions a stipulation for separate military action, joint occupation of any Turkish town or village by Serbian and Montenegrin troops being forbidden.⁴¹ The complete treaty has never been published, but indications are that it resembled to a great extent the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty. Not only was it directed against Turkey, but also against Austria. The first article of the Military Convention stated,⁴²

"In case of war with Austria-Hungary, Serbia and Montenegro will adopt a system of defensive tactics, which does not exclude in certain directions and at favourable moments strategical offensive measures"

There appears to have been a territorial arrangement for the partition of the Sandjak, certain regions being declared disputable and their allotment being reserved for the arbitration of one of the other Balkan rulers.⁴³ Whether there was a provision that Montenegro should start the war first, which would correspond to that portion of the Montenegrin-Bulgarian agreement, it is impossible to say. In any case, by the time the treaty was signed, the Montenegrin chargé at Constantinople had already in his hands the declaration of war.

With the Montenegrin agreements the Balkan Bloc was completed. Formal alliances existed between Bulgaria and Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, Serbia and Montenegro, and a verbal agreement equal to alliance between Bulgaria and Montenegro. There were no alliances

⁴⁰ The writer was able to verify the existence of the treaty in the treaty register at the Serbian archives in Belgrade. He was, however, unsuccessful in his attempts to obtain a copy of the document or any summary of its content. It is to be included in the forthcoming publication of the Serbian documents.

⁴¹ *The Times*, 13 June, 1913.

⁴² Lettre de M. Pierre Plamenatz, ancien Ministre des Affaires étrangères du Montenegro à M.M. . . ., Londres, 23 mai, 1917. (Boghitschewitsch, *op. cit.*, no. 977.) M. Plamenatz was one of the men who negotiated the agreement. (*Bulg. Parham Inquiry*, I, 202.) M. Toshev (*op. cit.*, I, 361) states that Serbia as well as Bulgaria and Greece paid Montenegro a subsidy to aid in carrying on the war. Whether this was part of the military convention, it is impossible to say.

⁴³ "The Balkan League," in *The Fortnightly Review* (March, 1913), p. 438.

between Greece and Montenegro⁴⁴ or between Greece and Serbia,⁴⁵ although there were apparently some oral agreements. Future disclosures will perhaps throw light on these. The hub of the whole was Sofia, and, as the hub turns, so turns the wheel. And Sofia pressed for a war with Turkey.

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⁴⁴ On 19 Sept., 1912, the Bulgarian Minister at Cetinje reported that Montenegro had no agreements with Greece. (*Bulg. Parliam. Inquiry*, I, 201) The British Minister at Sofia reported on 10 Oct., 1912: "Neither Bulgaria, Servia, nor Greece has yet signed any treaty with Montenegro, but it is understood that they will support Montenegrin claims, either to territorial aggrandisement or to monetary indemnity, at the conclusion of the war." (*B.D.*, IX, part II, 1018). In November the French Minister at Athens reported the existence of only oral agreements between Greece and Montenegro. (*D.D.F.*, 3rd series, IV, no. 360) Mr. Gibbons states that a defensive arrangement without a written treaty was made between Montenegro and Greece in June, 1912 (H. A. Gibbons, *Venizelos* (London, 1921), p. 115) No other evidence of importance has been found on the Greek-Montenegrin agreements.

⁴⁵ In October, 1912, the British Minister at Sofia reported that an alliance between Greece and Serbia was signed at Athens on 6 Oct., 1912. Later, however, he refers to this agreement as an entente (*B.D.*, IX, part II, 1018 f) Hartwig, Russian Minister at Belgrade, reported on 24 Sept., 1912, a Greek offer of alliance to Serbia (Boghitschewitsch, *op. cit.*, II, 593.) In November, 1912, the Greek Minister at Vienna spoke of the defensive alliance between Greece and Serbia against Turkey. (*Ö-U.A.*, 4572.) In April Venizelos told the British Minister he was bound by the alliance with Serbia and Montenegro. (*B.D.*, IX, part II, no. 810) The French Minister at Belgrade reported negotiations for a Greco-Serbian agreement and the signing of a military convention several days after the opening of hostilities. (*D.D.F.*, 3rd series, IV, no. 347.) On the other hand the French Minister at Athens reported the existence of only oral agreements. (*Ibid.*, no. 360) Mr. Gibbons says Greece had no agreement with Serbia. (Gibbons, *op. cit.*) In answer to an inquiry at the Greek Foreign Office the editors of the British documents received a statement that "no Treaty, defensive or military, was signed between Greece and Serbia before the first Balkan war . . ." (*B.D.*, IX, part II, no. 1018.) All told, the references indicate the existence of an oral agreement between Greece and Serbia, although the first definite written alliance treaty between the two countries was the one of 19 May/1 June, 1913.

ZLATARSKI AND BULGARIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

VASIL N. ZLATARSKI, Bulgaria's most noted historian, who died after a long illness, in Sofia, on 15 December, 1935, at the age of sixty-nine, was born on 14 November, 1866, the youngest son of a prominent Tirnovo teacher and patriot, Nicola Zlatarski, and brother of George N. Zlatarski, who became Bulgaria's first and leading geologist. Vasil Zlatarski received his elementary education in his native town during the last years of Turkish rule and the first years of free Bulgaria, and then went to Russia, as so many of his countrymen had done, attending the First Classical Gymnasium in St. Petersburg and the University, where he was a pupil of Lamanski and Vasilyevski, under the latter of whom he specialised in Byzantine history and prepared his dissertation on the letters of Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus to Tsar Simeon, which was his first published work (1894). Following his return to Bulgaria in 1893, he was given a government fellowship for two years of further specialisation in Berlin, and in 1895 he began his teaching career in Sofia, in the First Boys' Gymnasium and in the High School, which in 1904 was reorganised as the University of Sofia. Here he held the chair of Bulgarian history to his death, and on several occasions held the rectorship. At various times Zlatarski also lectured in other institutions of higher learning in Sofia.

Professor Zlatarski was not only the most eminent, but also the first specially trained Bulgarian historian, whose field of labours lay entirely in Bulgaria and her history. His achievements are the more notable in view of the relatively recent origins of native Bulgarian historiography. The "father of Serbian historiography," Christofor Zhefarovich, was a Bulgarian monk from Doiran, who published in Vienna in 1741 his *Stematografia*, a little book on Illyrian heraldry, which was a translation of Paul (Vitezovich) Ritter's *Stemmatographia, sive armorum illyricum* (Vienna, 1701), who in turn had drawn his material from the famous work of the Ragusan Mavro Orbini, *Il regno degli slavi*, published just a hundred years before.¹

¹ Zhefarovich has also been called the "father of modern (Orthodox) Serbian literature." For lack of movable type, being an engraver by profession, he engraved the whole of the *Stematografia* on copper. In the library of Zograph monastery, there is also a second edition, presented by the Tirnovo Metropolitan Climent (Vasil Drumev).

The first native work on Bulgarian history was the *Istoriya slavenobolgarskaija* of the Hilandar monk Paisii, completed in 1762 at Zograph, and based to a considerable extent on the Russian version of Orbini, made by Sava Vladislavjević also of Ragusa (*Kniga istoriografija*, St. Petersburg, 1722). Paisii's chronicle circulated in manuscript, even after it was finally published in altered form, under the title *Carstvenik*, in 1844. In the meantime Paisii had found at least one imitator in another Bulgarian monk, Spiridon, and his manuscript *Istoriya vo kratce o bolgarskom narode slavenskom* (edited by Zlatarski, Sofia, 1900).

While Paisii had been at work on his history, Joan Raich, whom there is some reason for considering at least partly of Bulgarian origin and who later also became a monk, was engaged on his much more ambitious and scholarly *Istoriya raznyh slavenskih narodov*, completed in 1768, but not published until 1794, the first volume of which contained a history of Bulgaria. In 1801, a hundred years after Rutter and two hundred after Orbini, at the request of some Bulgarian merchants, Atanas Neshkovich, who may also possibly have been of Bulgarian origin, published the Bulgarian portion of Raich's work in a more popular form of Slaveno-Serbian as *Istoriya slaveno-bolgarskog naroda*, which was translated into Bulgarian and published by Sapunov in 1844, the same year that Paisii's history first saw print.

During the eighteenth century a number of other works were published, but these were in Latin or Western European languages and only incidentally dealt with the earlier history of Bulgaria from a Catholic or Hungarian point of view, or were concerned primarily with racial origins. Then came the meteoric career of the Ukrainian Venelin, whose first work, *Drevnie inynieshnie bolgare* (Moscow, 1829), not only caused a revolution in the historical outlook of the Bulgarian intelligentsia of the 'thirties, quite overshadowing the influence of Paisii, but also transferred the centre of gravity from the West to Russia. Venelin succeeded in arousing a keen interest in history among Bulgarians, and especially in Aprilov, the amateur scholar and merchant of Odessa, who wrote a pamphlet in 1841 on the Cyril and Methodius problem, which may be considered the first native original historical work with some pretence of scholarship. Another product of the Odessa historical school was Spiridon Palauzov (*Věk bolgarskago carja Simeona*, St. Petersburg, 1852). He also wrote in Bulgarian.

Venelin was the victim as well as the product of the same romantic enthusiasm which characterises the first period of amateur

Bulgarian historiography, in which pseudo-scientific methods and an uncritical attitude served as a means to patriotic national ends, which is best exemplified by that restless revolutionary, Rakovski, by the scientist Beron, or Verkovich the archeologist, all of whom championed the Slavonic as opposed to the Tatar, etc., theory of Bulgarian origins, and in order to do so, identified the Bulgarians with many an ancient race, just as Orбини long ago had done.² Also of the Venelin school was Gavriil Krstovič, a Paris-trained lawyer, who began his historical work in 1858, and in 1869 published in Bulgarian the first (and only) volume of the most extensive history of Bulgaria till then, under the significant title *Istoriija blgarska pod imia Unnov*.³

The same year, 1869, saw the appearance of the first historical work of Marin Drinov (*Pogled vrh proishozdaneto na blgarski narod* and *Istoričeski pregled na blgarskata crkva*), who attacked the theories of Krstovič and his school, pointing out, as had Šafařík, that the history of the Bulgarians and the Bulgarian Slavs were two separate problems. Drinov was the first Bulgarian historian to achieve a European reputation as a scholar. He was trained in Russia and devoted his whole professional career to his adopted country, as professor at Kharkov University, except for the critical years 1877-1884, which he spent in various official capacities in his native Bulgaria. Consequently, though he was the author of many other works both in Bulgarian and in Russian, they may be left out of consideration here. For similar reasons an extended mention of Jireček may be omitted, as he was a foreigner and also spent only a part of his life in Bulgaria. It is sufficient to emphasise that he was the first to write a scientific account of the whole of Bulgarian history (*Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague, 1876), and that he, together with Drinov, laid the scientific foundations of Bulgarian historiography on which Zlatarski could build.

Zlatarski's work is difficult to appraise. Like several other noted Bulgarian scholars, Milev, Šišmanov, Penev, and Conev,⁴

² Two recent books by Gantscho Tzenoff, *Die Abstammung der Bulgaren* (Berlin, 1930) and *Die Geschichte der Bulgaren und anderer Sudslaven* (Berlin, 1935), indicate the vitality of these supposedly long since exploded theories.

³ This book had the unusual number of 1,769 advance subscribers, a compliment to the author's political position as well as an indication of historical interest. Krstovič, the most eminent Bulgarian in the Turkish service since the death of Stefan Bogoridi (Vogorides), became the second, and last, governor of Eastern Rumelia.

⁴ The unfinished work of Šišmanov, Penev and Conev is being ably carried on by their successors Arnaudov, Iocov and Mladenov.

Zlatarski died in the midst of his great life-work, the *History of the Bulgarian State during the Middle Ages*, which was to have been in five parts (three volumes), extending to the Turkish Conquest. The first part appeared in 1918, covering the period from 679 to 852, the second in 1927, completing the history of the first Bulgarian Empire, and the third in 1934, including the Byzantine domination (1018 to 1187). The fourth part was ready for publication when Zlatarski died, and covers the first phase of the second empire. Only the materials for the last part were ready.⁵

A second difficulty is that Zlatarski's work is scattered through the principal Bulgarian periodicals for the past forty years. From the beginning historical work in Bulgaria has lacked systematisation and centralisation. Drinov had promoted scientific work in general, with the formation of the Braila Literary Society in 1869 (which grew into the Bulgarian Academy of Science) and its journal, the *Periodičesko Spisanie*. Zlatarski went a step further by founding the Historical Society of Sofia, in 1905, of which he was the president from 1912, which publishes an annual Bulletin, and by starting a periodical, *Blgarska istoričeska biblioteka* (1928), devoted to popularising Bulgarian history, of which he was co-editor with Professor Nikov. Under Professor Zlatarski's direction at the University a new and brilliant school of Bulgarian historiography may be said to have formed.

Zlatarski was primarily a Byzantinologist,⁶ having followed the advice of his teacher Vasilievski, who believed that in order to comprehend Bulgarian history one must know thoroughly the history of the East Roman Empire. Yet his interests ranged from Bulgarian archæology to the second Balkan war, including especially questions connected with Bulgarian historiography, the period of national revival, and Russo-Bulgarian relations. Zlatarski was an industrious worker and is the author of over 175 books, articles, reviews, etc. Though most of his work appeared in Bulgarian, he contributed to some of the leading European journals in his field,⁷ and was frequently called on to contribute to *Festschriften* and *Mélanges*.

Though not all of Zlatarski's contributions to historical know-

⁵ In 1918 he wrote a short preliminary survey of the whole period in German, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (679-1396), published in Berlin.

⁶ He was president of the committee of organisation of the Fourth Byzantine Congress held in Sofia in 1934, the proceedings of which are dedicated to his memory.

⁷ An article of his appeared in *The Slavonic Review*, "The Making of the Bulgarian Nation," IV (1925-6).

ledge have gone unchallenged, and though at times he has engaged in controversies with Bury, Runciman, Banescu, and others, few have denied his thorough use of sources and wide knowledge of the literature of his field, and he has always been an example of a scholar and gentleman, at all times willing to be convinced of error. Only those who have had the good fortune to know him personally realise how courteous, obliging and genial he was. In the lecture room he was inclined to be formal, but it was in the seminar where his personality appeared to best advantage. He was pre-eminently a teacher and a scholar, seldom going outside the bounds of his country and the field of his research. But among his extra-curricular activities may be mentioned his work on a commission appointed in 1923 to revise Bulgarian orthography as first established by Drinov in 1869, and on a commission appointed in 1933 to substitute Bulgarian for Greek and Turkish place-names. He was vice-president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the School of Slavonic Studies and member of many other foreign and Bulgarian learned societies. His death, coming at a time when he was nearing the completion of his monumental history, was a great loss both to Bulgaria and scholarship in general, and it is to be hoped that one of his able successors, such as Professor Nikovs or Mutafchiev, will complete the life-work of the master of Bulgarian history, and perhaps collect some of his other work in the same way that Zlatarski did for Drinov.

JAMES F. CLARKE.

OBITUARY

MAXIM GORKY

1868-1936

Few names have aroused more passion—of hatred or admiration—than that of Maxim Gorky. Practically from the outset there was vehemence in any discussion of his work or life. At the very beginning of this century the gamut of reaction to Gorky ran from the rhapsodic adoration of college students to hysterical vituperations by Prince Meshchersky and others of his ilk. The same divergence of opinion, and emotion, obtained to the day of his death: genuflection and worship in the USSR, gnashing of teeth and virulent scorn among most of the emigrants. Neither of the two camps is likely to subscribe to an unbiassed appraisal of Gorky, such as this brief note is intended to be.

The unevenness of Gorky as a writer can hardly be gainsaid. His initial success was due not so much to his literary merit as to the novelty of theme and tone, and to the sensationalism of his biography. By dint of tireless reading of good authors and merciless pruning of his own compositions, he gradually rid himself of such glaring defects in his early writings as gaudy verbosity and sentimental romanticism. He came to realise that his talent was empirical, not imaginative, and prudently began to draw on the abundance of his observations and experiences for subject-matter. That is where his strength lay, in the presentation of the Russia he knew so well and intimately—tramps and outcasts, the lower middle class, and the wealthy Volga merchants. With his prodigious memory for details, his unexcelled faculty of drawing a memorable portrait with a few strokes, and his rare gift of a *raconteur*, Gorky has peopled his pages with robustly alive men and women, as typical of Russia under Nicholas II as Gogol's characters were of Russia under Nicholas I. At the same time, even some of his best works are marred by obvious sermonising and editorialising, or by efforts to prove some thesis or other.

Gorky's theme was decidedly pre-revolutionary Russia. His intentions and reiterated hopes for painting a broad canvas of Soviet Russia, were not fulfilled. I doubt whether he would have been able to accomplish this, even if he had lived much longer. He was in his native element when describing the vast stretches of uncouth, unwashed, semi-Asiatic provincial (*uyezdnaya*) Russia.

Matvey Kozhemyakin and *Okurov Town* are masterly portrayals of the quintessence of that Russia, regardless of the author's sympathies and antipathies. They are definitely superior to Gorky's attempts at depicting the intelligentsia and the revolutionary movement. In conversation he admitted the lack of conviction in the characters of his much overrated *Mother*. Neither in life nor in fiction did Gorky ever feel at home with the intelligentsia. As to his unfinished *Klim Samgin* (in English: *The Bystander; The Magnet; Other Fires*), it is, on the whole, a dreary novel, tiringly dragged out, and cluttered with details, episodes, and persons that flash for a moment and vanish like heat-lightnings. To be sure, in the last eight or ten years he fully embraced the new order, and wrote numerous articles in its behalf, but he failed to produce a single work of art, in which this order might be reflected. Gorky the artist lagged away behind Gorky the citizen.

Indeed, it was as man and citizen that Gorky gained the unrivalled acclaim of Soviet Russia. His whole life, his legendary rise from the bottom of society to the peak of national popularity, served as a challenge to environment. In honouring Gorky, in giving his name to cities, theatres, public institutions, airplanes, the masses seemed to symbolise their own victory over circumstances and tradition. The enthronement of Gorky as the supreme authority in matters pertaining to culture, was a gesture of significance for the erstwhile disinherited classes, from whose midst he had emerged so miraculously.

In the history of Russian letters the position of Gorky, toward the end of his life, was rather extraordinary. Like most of his illustrious predecessors and contemporaries, he had been a non-conformist, a Nay-sayer. The halo of martyrdom hovered over him not only during the *régime* of the Tsars, but far into the present order. He was the last, and for some time the only publicist who dared arraign the Bolshevik leaders in terms which today would be regarded as *lèse-majesté*. After the suppression of his daily paper, *Novaya Zhizn*, Gorky continued to hold himself aloof from the political issues of the country. He concentrated his efforts on safeguarding cultural values. During the years of blockade, intervention, famine and epidemics he was personally responsible for rescuing from destruction scores of institutions and hundreds of scholars and artists. It was only in 1928, upon his final return to Russia, that Gorky aligned himself unreservedly with the *régime*, appearing as its fiery champion against all critics at home and abroad. This was a new *rôle* for a Russian man of letters, since

the days of Catherine II. Gorky a Yes-sayer, an enthusiastic conformist, editor of *Our Achievements*, disseminator of orthodox optimism!

Gorky's home-coming did not result in additional laurels to his creative endeavour. As man and citizen, he grew continually in authority and influence. One must remember that he was largely responsible for the abolition of the fanatical RAPP, in 1932, and the inauguration of a more liberal policy toward writers. He remained the only man who had the temerity to raise his voice against the mighty. Thus he successfully defended D. S. Mirsky against inquisitorial fault-finders. He put Budenny in his place, when the redoubtable cavalryman launched into an attack against Isaac Babel. It was Gorky's lone protest that pilloried the mistreatment of Pilnyak on the part of literary politicians. The loss of Maxim Gorky as a courageous and effective dissenter and protestant under a dictatorial *régime*, is irreplaceable.

ALEXANDER KAUN.

ANTOINE MEILLET

WITH the death in his 70th year of Professor Antoine Meillet (11 Nov., 1866-12 Sept., 1936) France has lost not merely her greatest philologist, but also a son who was typical of all that is finest in French thought and scholarship. Meillet possessed to a very high degree those qualities for which the great among his countrymen have ever been famous—logic, clarity, vision, and caution.

Nor is it France alone who mourns. The whole world of linguistic research is greatly the poorer by being deprived of the service of one who has, gradually but surely, come to be regarded as the doyen and the arbiter of Indo-European philology. Meillet's immense knowledge was almost unique, whether we have regard only to the present generation of philologists or also include past generations. There is hardly any group of importance in the Indo-European family, the history of which he has not traced with illuminating insight and brilliance of exposition. Of the Iranian, Armenian, Greek, Italian, Teutonic and Slavonic groups he had a knowledge which was detailed for their past and often also for their modern developments, and on all of them he has written textbooks which, in his unassuming way, he called sketches or outlines or introductions. They are, however, far more than is suggested by so modest a designation. The only justification

for their simple titles is that Meillet's endeavour was always to bring out the salient characteristics of the group or language he was treating, and to give it its proper place in the synthesis to which it belonged. He never allowed the trees to obscure the forest. All that was unessential in a language's evolution was omitted in Meillet's terse, serried, even description; the brunt of his exposition was always concentrated on the historical and social factors which led to the formation of the particular type of language under consideration.

What he did for the groups enumerated he could undoubtedly have done with the same economy and artistry for Indian (Sanskrit), Baltic and Celtic. The absence of "sketches" for these groups is a great loss to scholarship. For Baltic, and more particularly for Lithuanian, there is nothing which surveys the trend of development as Meillet alone could have surveyed it. The threads which link Baltic with the surrounding groups have not been gathered up and disentangled. It may be that the lack of a historical and comparative dictionary and grammar made him hesitate to embark on the task. The death of Būga, who was the only native Lithuanian with the equipment enabling him to produce a work comparable to Endzelin's for Lettish, would also act as a deterrent. Be the reason what it may, we must regret that there is nothing of Meillet's to set alongside his *Le slave commun*.

In sureness and fineness of touch he stood alone. Whatever problem he wrestled with, he graced it and vividly illumined it by his great knowledge of comparative grammar and linguistic theory, practice and history, by his acuteness of perception and by his maturity of judgment.

Although he has not erected such monumental edifices as those of Bopp, Schleicher, Brugmann and Hirt for the history of Indo-European as a whole, he has done more spade-work for individual groups and languages than any of his predecessors and contemporaries. Apart from Armenian perhaps, his main interests were centred in the Slavonic field.

He became attached to the staff of the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* of Paris in 1891, and in 1897 his *Recherches sur l'emploi du génitif-accusativ en vieux slave* appeared. This detailed and original investigation marked him out as one of the most distinguished Slavists of the day, and the reputation it brought him was enhanced by the publication a few years later of a fine work on the nature and origin of the vocabulary found in Old Church Slavonic texts.

Both these works were meant in the first place for the Slavonic specialist, but his last great production in the Slavonic domain, *Le slave commun* (1924 and, enlarged, 1934), was of a more general appeal. As the title shows, the book does not compete in scope or in detail with Vondrák's Comparative Grammar of the Slavonic Languages. It traces out that particular evolution of an Indo-European dialect which was destined to lead in historic times to Slavonic, rather than follows the fortunes throughout the historic period of the individual languages. It is the one book to put into the hands of a student of Indo-European who has decided to add to his repertory a knowledge of the main characteristics and lines of development peculiar to the Slavonic group and shared by it with its compeers. Meillet is here at his great best: nowhere else, so well as in this book, is so clear a picture drawn of the regularisation and simplification which are typical of Slavonic. The essential strands in the pattern of Slavonic are all unravelled by a master hand, and the student is spurred on to a study of the modern languages.

Aids for the practical acquisition of the Slavonic languages have also appeared from Meillet's pen. In collaboration with Wilmann-Grabowska he produced a grammar of Polish in 1922 and, with Vaillant, of Serbo-Croat in 1924. Both are models of clarity.

His activity was enormous. Not only did he control the *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, write innumerable articles and many books, but he also was an indefatigable reviewer. To realise the width of his interests and the size of his output a glance at the *Bulletin de la société de linguistique* is all that is necessary. Every issue is crammed with reviews by him on the most diverse languages. His criticisms, searching and sometimes scorching, invariably shed light on the problems of the particular language under discussion and are stamped with the imprint of his vast general knowledge of linguistics. His restraining and wise influence, due to this knowledge and experience, is everywhere apparent.

Although his written work was more or less confined to Indo-European, his interest in other families was profound, and it is therefore not surprising that his name has the first place in the great compilation entitled *Les langues du monde*.

He received his early linguistic training under de Saussure, from whose breadth of outlook and understanding of the philosophy of language he learnt much that stood him in good stead throughout all his life. The combination of de Saussure's teaching with the

solid results gained for science by the *Junggrammatiker* gave him a sure touchstone with which to judge the true from the false.

His work on the dialectical elements present in the parent Indo-European, his observations on the culture of the "Indo-Europeans," his account of the social and political inconveniences arising from the multiplicity of standard languages in modern Europe, his researches into the effects of taboo on language—these are but a few of the wide and also the specialised interests for which he has made himself famous.

In addition to being a great philologist—some will say the greatest ever known—he was a great teacher. The French school of philology, with a prestige second to none, is to a large extent his creation. The wealth of books dedicated to Meillet by his pupils is a mark and an indication of their reverence for their master.

Although he was honoured at home and abroad by being elected a member of numerous learned societies and by the dignities conferred upon him he was comparatively little known to the outside world. This was due to his retiring nature and perhaps also to the fact that, like many other notable linguists, he had not the inclination to try for distinction as a second Mezzofanti.

N. B. JOPSON.

IGNACY DASZYNSKI 1866—1936

THE death, in October 1936, of Ignacy Daszynski removes another of the group of veteran workers for the independence of Poland who were privileged to see years of struggle crowned at last with success. After a tedious illness, which entailed much suffering, he met his end in the same spirit in which he had lived: and men and women of all parties and opinions rallied to honour his memory. The city of Cracow gave him a public funeral.

Born in the Ukrainian borderlands, he showed from his youth an unusual combination of ability and energy in public causes. Already in high school he was in trouble with the authorities, his patriotism and his keen sense of the demands of social justice being already a ripening product. He studied in Cracow and in Zurich, and finished law in Lwów. At twenty-four he ventured to found a Socialist party in Galicia, and three years later he became a member of the Austrian Reichsrath. Here his eloquence, as well

as his intimate knowledge of conditions, won him attention at once, and for long years he was vice-president of the Polish Club in Vienna.

For him collaboration with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a straight business proposition : he saw in it gains for his own ideals for his nation, and made no secret of his devotion to those ideals. In keeping with them he became vice-president of the Supreme National Committee (N.K.N.) in Cracow on the outbreak of the World War, and was active in his support of the Legions; convinced, like Pilsudski, that the first obstacle in the way of Polish freedom was Tsardom. On the collapse of the Dual Monarchy, Daszynski was a member of the committee formed to take over such Polish troops as could be salvaged from the ruins of the Austrian forces, and he used his presence in Cracow to proclaim something akin to social as well as national revolution. Shortly afterwards he headed a "republican" government set up in Lublin to replace the war-time administration; which in effect was preparing to bring Poland, as another Soviet Republic, into the great union to the east. Summoned by Pilsudski to Warsaw, to be the first Premier of the reunited nation, he encountered such opposition, as was natural, that he declined the nomination, and Moraczewski accepted the post instead by order of the Chief of State.

Elected to represent Cracow in the first Diet, he remained as a member of all the succeeding parliaments until 1935, being the recognised leader of the Polish Socialist Party, and until 1930 Chairman of that Party's club in the Diet. At the time of the Bolshevik threat in 1920 he held the office of Vice-Premier in the Government for National Defence. Again, from 1928-1930, he was chosen Marshal, i.e. Speaker of the Lower House. Throughout these troubled years he never lost sight of his long-cherished ideals; which in the opinion of many were not suitable for Poland. It was this consistency which compelled him, after the *coup d'état* of 1926, to break with Pilsudski; although in the previous year he had published a book of note about him, called *Poland's Great Man*. The reason was that he saw his one-time chief ceasing to be a Socialist (if he ever was one!) and putting the nation before the class. That such a break was more or less certain to come sooner or later might have been foreseen already in war-time, when, as Commander of the Legions, Pilsudski revealed betimes impatience with the Liberalism which was Daszynski's life dogma, indeed impatience with the methods of democracy in general. Only the verdict of history can decide who was right; at the present time it

must be said that Pilsudski's judgment met the need better than Daszynski's could have.

But it would be amiss to think of the leader just lost as only a politician. He showed more than once all the hall-marks of a statesman, and throughout thirty years he was one of the builders of democracy in Poland. It was for this that he lived, and for this he will be chiefly remembered. On this point, then, something must be said, the gist of which will be that the work of a few men in the last pre-war generation made possible the measure of stability and unity which the Polish people as a whole has revealed to a somewhat sceptical world, since it recovered its political freedom in 1918.

All observers of conditions prevailing in Europe east of the Rhine before 1914 knew very well that, in spite of the existence of parliaments and Diets—to whose number the Duma was added after the 1905 revolution—there was at best only oligarchy there to temper the despotism of imperial dynasties. Nowhere did the masses possess any real power, in many lands they had not even the rudiments of school education. In Poland the traditional liberties of the gentry passed for "equality"; and were as much democratic as were those of the Athenian city-state, but no more. The fact was that serfdom obtained in the lands ruled by Austria till 1848, in those ruled by Russia till 1862. Clearly the biggest need everywhere was popular enlightenment—that "going among the people" which was so popular for a couple of decades—and then the more thorough enlightening of the younger generation by the use of the common school and the printed page. Daszynski belonged to this generation, and was quick to realise how little chance popular enlightenment had, when (in effect) both state and church were indifferent, or even in opposition. As a result he turned to the ideas and ideals of Marx, and advocated under the differing Austrian conditions very much the same thing as did the first champions of the common people of Polish blood and speech across the Russian frontier—notably Joseph Pilsudski himself. Yet he could not see eye to eye with his colleague in the Polish Club in Vienna, Wincenty Witos, leader of the peasant movement. He went much further, and used his powers, whether of speech or of pen, in advocating what were very radical transformations—for those days.

"He was, without doubt," says *Czas* (a Conservative journal that could seldom agree with him), "one of the most gifted men of the age of transition; which had the privilege of working for the emancipation of Poland, and of seeing its efforts crowned with

success. Perhaps he did not realise the hopes placed in him, seeing that he was caught in the narrow framework of class-doctrines and never could quite free himself from them. Yet he leaves behind him the memory of a tireless warrior for certain ideas, and of a sincere patriot."

Apart from the life of Pilsudski mentioned, Daszynski published a good deal of political material: he was the pioneer founder of *Forward*, the Socialist daily in Cracow, and a collaborator with *The Workman*, the organ of the Socialist Party, still published today in Warsaw. He left in two volumes his *Memoirs*, which are an invaluable document to the historian of the last half-century of Central Europe. He left also, on unnumbered friends and acquaintances, the impression of a very perfect gentleman, who might make mistakes, but who never thought of himself. *Sic sit semper*.

WILLIAM J. ROSE

SOVIET LEGISLATION (XVII)

(*Selection of Decrees and Documents*)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki).

On the Work of the Higher Schools and on the Management of Higher Schools.¹

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) think that the position in regard to the training of students in the Higher Schools still remains unsatisfactory.

When the new Higher Schools were organised and the old ones enlarged, some very essential conditions were very often not observed, such as engagement of suitable scientific and teaching staff, construction of laboratories, scientific cabinets, libraries; the result was that the level of training in a number of Higher Schools is practically the same as in secondary (specialised) schools.

The curricula contain too many subjects and are changed together with the programmes annually. There are no stabilised text-books for

¹ This decree, which will seem commonplace to English readers, is selected for that very reason, because it marks a return from propaganda to objective methods in education. A regularly conducted entrance examination supercedes restrictions for political purposes, based on birth origin. The old system of marking is re-established.—ED.

Higher Schools, and in many most important subjects there are no textbooks at all. The publication of books on special subjects translated from foreign languages is entirely insufficient to meet the demand.

The extreme amount of detail and the large number of subjects and parallelism in the training of students of the same speciality result in the dispersion of scientific and teaching staffs and material resources and in a decline in the quality of teaching in the Higher Schools. Organisation of training is suffering from many defects, and the authorities have not dispensed with the so-called method of "laboratory brigades"—that is, group training under poorly qualified instructors is taking place instead of lectures, the students are overburdened with other kinds of work to the detriment of their own independent studies.

In violation of the decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR of 19 September, 1932, which stipulated that practical training at the works should be an organic part of the general training, the authorities neglect this all-important part of the training. The relevant People's Commissariats send the students, for their practical training, to insufficiently equipped laboratories, clinics, factories, etc. There is no control in passing the students through practical training. Students are not requested to present detailed reports on their practical training when they return to the schools. All this cannot result in anything else—and it does very often result in practice—than the inability of students to unite theory with practical work and to test by experience the theoretical knowledge which they receive in the schools.

The order issued by the Party and by the Government on the introduction of the single authority of the directors of Higher Schools, is not being observed. The single authority of the directors is superseded by administrative orders of public organisations, on the other hand, the directors hand over many important administrative functions to their subordinates. There is no persistent care on the part of directors and public organisations in the general education of students, who must be exemplary Soviet citizens as far as their political conscientiousness, culture and discipline are concerned.

Admission into the Higher Schools is organised quite unsatisfactorily. There are no unified and firmly established rules regulating the admission. Directors very often hand over the most important matter of admission of students to their subordinates. Entrance examinations, in the majority of cases, are conducted in a desultory manner, without direct control by the directors of the Higher Schools and the Main Educational Boards of the relevant People's Commissariats. Instead of carefully testing the level of knowledge of each aspirant, directors of Higher Schools, wishing to fill up all available vacancies, lower the standard of knowledge for new students. Owing to this, many insufficiently prepared and poorly equipped students are admitted to the Higher Schools.

Responsible workers of many People's Commissariats do not, so far, pay practical attention to the Higher Schools, apparently underestimating

the highly important work of the proper training of students, and hand over the supervision of the Schools to their subordinates. The Higher Schools, generally, do not enjoy the same attention which the People's Commissariats pay to their other undertakings.

All these shortcomings in the supervision of Higher Schools have manifested themselves with especial force in the last months in connection with the Stakhanov movement in industry and at the transport works. The Stakhanov movement has established the fact of a deep abyss between scientific and theoretical training in schools and the practical instruction given. Hence the necessity for revision of obsolete programmes, text-books, reference books, encyclopædias and technical appliances, in correspondence with the results of the Stakhanov movement and the need of a complete utilisation of technique and a rapid increase in the productivity of labour.

Under the conditions of success for Socialism, where "the men who have mastered technique, are of paramount importance," new and higher demands must be made on the Higher Schools, which must guarantee the training of highly-qualified, thoroughly educated and cultural men and women who have mastered "the knowledge of all those matters in which humanity has interested itself" (Lenin) and who are capable of assimilating the latest achievements of science, of fully utilising technique and of binding together, in a Bolshevik manner, theory and practice and uniting practical experience with science.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) decree :

1. *On Admission to Higher Schools.*

1. The right of admission into Higher Schools for a free training belong to all citizens of the Soviet Union of both sexes, aged between 17 and 35 years, who hold certificates testifying to their having passed through a complete course of the secondary schools and successfully passed the entrance examinations established for the Higher Schools.

2. All candidates for the Higher Schools are to pass the following entrance examinations: (a) Russian language (a paper), (b) grammar, (c) literature (in those Higher Schools where instruction is given in other languages also, the examination in language which is adopted in the given school), (d) political science, (e) mathematics, (f) physics, (g) chemistry, and as from 1937 one of the following foreign languages: English, German, French. Candidates for Higher Schools of agriculture and political economy are to pass a supplementary examination in geography and those who seek admission into Higher Schools of the humane studies (historical, philological and legal)—in history and geography. Candidates for Higher Schools of civil engineering, architecture and arts are to pass supplementary examinations in drawing and tracing, and those who seek admission to musical and dramatic Higher Schools—supplementary examinations in special subjects. Preference for admission into the Higher

Schools goes to those persons who have received highest marks at the examinations. Those persons who have finished secondary schools with the mark "excellent" for principal subjects and with a mark not less than "good" for other subjects (drawing, tracing, singing, music, physical culture) are to be admitted into the Higher School without an entrance examination.

3. Candidates have to send a special application to the director of the school, supplemented with a life record and the following documents (originals): (a) certificate of finishing the secondary school, (b) passport (to be presented personally), (c) those who are liable for military service, apart from the above documents are to present also the certificate as to their position in respect of service.

4. In alteration of the existing practice, where each Higher School fixes its own time-limits for admission, to establish the following unified time-limits for admission into all the Higher Schools of the USSR: presentation of applications for admission into Higher Schools is allowed between June 20 and August 1; entrance examinations—between 1 and 20 August; matriculation—between 21 and 25 August. To forbid admission at any other time.

5. The director of each Higher School is to make all preparations for and organise the admission and bear the responsibility for the correct carrying out of the entrance examinations, a special commission composed of the vice-director of the teaching staff, the deans and two professors under the chairmanship of the director (not his substitute) is to be formed at each School to control the admission of students. The directors of the Higher Schools and the members of the special commissions are to interview each applicant personally and check all the documents of the applicants.

6. To instruct the People's Commissariats to exercise strict control over the procedure of admission of students to the Higher Schools and to assist the directors in the correct organisation and timely carrying out of the admission and to correct shortcomings which may appear during the actual process of admission.

7. Transfers from one Higher School to another of the same type are to be permitted only before the beginning of the academic year and on permission of the directors of both schools. The transfers of students in schools of different types are to be permitted only to students of the first two years before the beginning of the academic year and on permission of the directors of both schools.

2. *On the Organisation of the Time for Instruction.*

1. To cancel the existing practice where each School has its own arrangements for the beginning of the academic year, vacations and termination of the academic year, and to establish the beginning of the academic year on 1 September and the termination—on 30 June, with intervals: winter vacations—from 24 January to 6 February and summer

vacations from 1 July to 31 August. For the senior students (3rd, 4th and 5th years) of the Higher Schools who are to undergo practical training, to permit the beginning of the academic year as from 1 November. The list of these schools is to be drawn up by the All-Union Committee on Higher Schools, attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

2. To abolish the existing practice of overburdening the students with obligatory work (40 hours for a six-day week) and, as from the beginning of the academic year 1936-1937, to limit the number of hours of obligatory work done under instruction by the teachers, during the six-day week as follows: 1st and 2nd year—not more than 30, 3rd and 4th—not more than 24, 5th—not more than 18. To allow the 3rd and 4th year students one day and the last year students two whole days in the six-day week, apart of the rest-day, for their own independent studies. To instruct the Heads of Educational Boards and the directors of Higher Schools to guarantee all the necessary conditions for independent work of the student, such as uninterrupted daily work in libraries, studios, laboratories, scientific cabinets and consultations. To fix the duration of the academic hour at 45-50 minutes, with an interval between lectures of 10-15 minutes. All work must be organised under a rigid time-table, which is to provide for continuous instruction during the day. The time-table of each Higher School must be fixed for the whole academic year and published before the end of the current academic year. The number of subjects studied during the term, as a rule, must not exceed six and the number of subjects studied during the day must not exceed three.

3. *On the Organisation of Academic Work.*

1. In order to raise the standard of teaching and of the quality of instruction in Higher Schools, and also to develop aptitude for independent work in the students, to abolish the group studies which are still practised in a number of schools in spite of the existing categorical restrictions, which studies represent the remnants of the so-called "brigade-laboratory" method of instruction. To establish the following forms of tuition; (a) lectures conducted by professors or lecturers, (b) practical instructions in laboratories, cabinets, workshops, clinics, etc. (to be carried out and conducted by the students under the supervision of professors, lecturers and readers, &c.), practical training, conducted in conformity with the plan, under the supervision of specially appointed instructors for each kind of training. In the organisation of academic work, the authorities must pay special attention to independent studies by students themselves in reading rooms, libraries, archives, laboratories, cabinets or at home, and arrange facilities for students to consult the instructors and professors.

2. To abolish the existing practice of arbitrary estimation of students' proficiency, and establish as the only criterion of their proficiency the passing of examinations in the subjects studied and in practical training. All students are to pass examinations in the full course of each subject of the curriculum and also pass tests in practical training after the corresponding

course has been completed by the students. Examinations in compound subjects which have separate subdivisions, are to be held in such subdivisions, but not more than twice a year. The examinations are to be conducted by professors and lecturers (who give the corresponding courses) confirmed in their rank.

3. To establish in all the Higher Schools the following grades of marks for the estimation of proficiency of students: (1) Unsatisfactory, (2) Satisfactory, (3) Excellent.

4. To abolish the existing regulations on work for the diploma by students of the last year, because these regulations do not provide a real test of the ability of the candidates to carry on independent work in their speciality, and to establish, as a rule, in all Higher Schools, except technical colleges, the system of State examinations, and in technical colleges the system of diploma theses; these examinations are to be conducted by the Commissions for State Examinations appointed every year by the People's Commissariats. The State examinations and the presentation of diploma theses are to take place every year between 1 and 30 June and between 1 and 30 October. Only those students are permitted to enter the State examinations and present diploma theses who have passed the academic examinations and tests established by the curricula of each Higher School. Those students who have failed to pass the State examinations and whose diploma theses have not been approved, are permitted to sit for such examinations in the following year. To instruct the All-Union Higher School Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissaries to prepare, within two months, regulations for the Commissions for State Examinations and to fix, in accordance with the various types of Higher Schools, the list of subjects in which such examinations should be held and also to draw up regulations on the presentation of diploma work, and to submit these regulations for confirmation by the Council of People's Commissaries.

5. To introduce in all Higher Schools a unified student book and a unified curriculum book. All subjects which are studied in the school are to be entered in the curriculum book, as well as notes on the passing of examinations and tests. The right to make entries in the curriculum book on the passing of examinations and tests belongs only to the professor who has carried out the examination or to the lecturer who has checked the test. To instruct the All-Union Higher School Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissaries to prepare, within one month, the unified type of student book and curriculum book and to present them to the Council of People's Commissaries for confirmation.

6. To establish for Higher School graduates diplomas of two grades. The first-class diploma is awarded to those graduates who have passed academic examinations with the mark "excellent" in three-quarters of all subjects and with the mark "satisfactory" in the remaining subjects, and who have passed all the State examinations with the mark

“excellent.” The second-class diploma is awarded to all other graduates who have passed all academic and State examinations

7. Graduates who have been awarded the first-class diploma have the following privileges: (a) preferential appointment to all vacant posts in their speciality and also scientific or research duties in Higher Schools or in research institutes; (b) appointment to the academic staff in the relevant Chairs in Higher Schools; (c) inclusion in the number of candidates for scientific missions both in the USSR and in foreign countries.

8. To instruct the All-Union Higher School Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR to prepare the unified form of diploma (1st and 2nd class) and to present it to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR for confirmation and also to issue instructions on the manner in which the diplomas should be given to the graduates.

9. Considering that practical training should represent an organic part of the whole Higher School education and to help students to better assimilate the theoretical knowledge and to apply this knowledge in their practical activities: (a) to establish that students, while engaged in practical training, must cover the whole range of their specialised studies; (b) to send the students for practical training in groups under the supervision of specially appointed Higher School instructors; (c) to instruct the People's Commissariats to choose for the Higher Schools for a period of not less than four or five years, well equipped and organised industrial undertakings where the students can carry out their practical training; (d) to instruct the All-Union Higher School Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissaries to prepare, within three months, regulations on practical training, in such manner as to provide in the new school curricula not less than 30 per cent. of the time for practical training of students of the last two years, increasing the time, in correspondence with the speciality, up to 40 per cent.; (e) to instruct the People's Commissariats, within four months, to prepare a programme of practical training for the Higher Schools of various specialities.

4. *On the Supervision of Higher Schools.*

1. To establish that the People's Commissaries and the directors of the various government departments are fully and personally responsible for the condition and work of the Higher Schools which are included in their systems.

2. To instruct the People's Commissaries and the directors of government departments to make themselves personally acquainted with the condition of the Higher Schools and systematically receive reports from the Higher School directors, and also to consult the Councils attached to the Commissariats on the main problems of training highly qualified specialists (plans of training, quality of training, etc.).

3. To organise School Boards in each Commissariat or a Government department in whose system there are Higher Schools; these Boards are

to direct the work of training and re-training specialists of higher and ordinary qualifications and supervise the Higher Schools in all their work. The School Boards are to be subordinated directly to the People's Commissaries or to the directors of government departments.

4. To instruct the People's Commissaries and the directors of government departments to include in the personnel of the School Boards highly qualified specialists who have experience of scientific teaching and of practical training.

5. To establish that the directors of Higher Schools are fully responsible to the Soviet State for the direction of their Higher Schools, for the admission and teaching of students, for the organisation of their political education, for scientific and research work in the Higher Schools, for their economic management, for selection and correct utilisation of the teaching staff, for training young scientists and professors, for cultural and social service in respect of students and teaching staff.

6. Having in view that the task of training highly qualified specialists in Higher Schools must be on the level of the requirements of modern science and that the directors of Higher Schools must be of the corresponding standard, and also in view of further strengthening the authority and responsibility of the directors, to establish for the future that (a) the posts of Higher School directors must be filled only with such persons who have graduated from Higher Schools, possess experience of scientific and teaching work and of practical training in the given branch of science; (b) Higher School directors are appointed and removed by the All-Union Higher School Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR, on representation made by the People's Commissariat, (c) the administrative punishment of directors can be inflicted only by the corresponding People's Commissary.

7. The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) instruct the People's Commissaries to provide, for the Higher School directors, all necessary facilities for raising their scientific and technical qualification (leave, commissions, literature, leave of absence for preparing dissertations in order to obtain academic degrees, and so forth).

8. Vice-directors are selected from the most qualified professors of the main subjects and are appointed and removed by order of the relevant People's Commissary.

9. Deans of Faculties are selected from the professors of the main subjects taught in the given Faculty, are appointed by the Head of the Commissariat's School Board on presentation by the Director of the Higher School. The Deans are to be the sole authority on the scientific and teaching work of the Faculty.

10. The holders of Chairs are selected by competition and are appointed by the All-Union Higher School Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissaries, on representation made by

the Directors. The right to participate in the competition belongs to those who have the rank of professor and the doctor's degree

11. Lecturers are selected by competition and are appointed by the Head of the Commissariat's School Board, on representation made by the Director of the Higher School. The right to participate in the competition for a vacant lectureship belongs to those who have the rank of lecturer and the Bachelor's degree.

12. Other members of the teaching staff—assistants, scientific collaborators, laboratory assistants—are selected by the Professor of the Chair personally, on consultation with the Dean of Faculty, and appointed by the Directors of Higher Schools.

13. In order to provide facilities for the members of the teaching staffs, systematically to raise their scientific and teaching qualifications, the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) instruct the directors of Higher Schools and the Heads of the School Boards not to allow a plurality of offices for lecturers, assistants and scientific collaborators, and to provide for them facilities for raising their scientific qualifications. To instruct the Professors of the Chairs to settle for each collaborator an individual and practical plan of research work and to provide facilities for raising their scientific and teaching qualifications.

14. The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) condemn the view shared by a certain section of educational workers, that the Higher Schools should not engage in scientific and research work but limit their activities purely to teaching work. The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) point out that without scientific and research work the Higher Schools cannot train specialists in accordance with the requirements of modern science, the training of the teaching staffs and raising of their qualifications is also impossible under such circumstances. The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) instruct all the People's Commissariats and the directors of Higher Schools to provide for practical development of scientific and research work in each branch of science.

15. To forbid party, soviet and economic organisations to interfere in any way with the work of scientific and teaching staffs of Higher Schools or to utilise the members of the staffs for any work outside their speciality.

16. To forbid the People's Commissariats to move members of the teaching staffs of Higher Schools during the academic year.

5. On Order and Discipline in Higher Schools.

1. The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) point out

that the high quality of training of fully qualified specialists in Higher Schools depends on strict order and firm conscientious discipline established in the Higher Schools. Having this in view the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) instruct the directors of Higher Schools to establish a strict time-table of studies and its strict observance; good order in lecture-rooms, cabinets, laboratories, libraries and reading rooms, providing for normal academic work; apportioning of adequate premises for each Chair; provision for necessary repairs and supply of laboratories and cabinets with scientific appliances, equipment, chemicals, drawing appliances, etc.

2. To establish a strict time-table of days and hours of reception by directors, vice-directors and deans, separately for the members of teaching staff and for students, outside lecture hours. To establish that the right of entrance into the school premises and the hostels of Higher Schools must belong only to students and members of the teaching and administrative staff of the given Higher School. Other persons can be admitted only on the presentation of a special pass.

3. To instruct the directors of Higher Schools to provide, on all the premises of the school, for the necessary repairs and cleaning, and also for comfortable furniture in the halls and waiting rooms, and good service in cloak-rooms, buffets and refectories.

4. The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) instruct the directors of Higher Schools to take good care of the physical education of students and to take measures for keeping the students' hostels in exemplary order and cleanliness, providing all essential sanitary and hygienic facilities. The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) instruct the directors of Higher Schools and the Heads of the School Boards (a) to establish strict order in students' hostels and not to fail to prosecute offenders; (b) to establish that meetings in students' hostels and on school premises may be held only on permission of the director; (c) not to allow any arbitrary lowering of the floor space fixed by the state for students, overcrowding of hostels, quartering of unauthorised persons in students' hostels or on school premises.

5. To instruct People's Commissariats and Town Soviets, before September, 1936, to free all students' hostels and school premises of any unauthorised tenants whatsoever. Those guilty of non-fulfilment of this order are to be legally prosecuted.

6. To instruct the All-Union Higher School Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissaries to present to the Praesidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR for confirmation a new Statute for Higher Schools drawn up on the basis of the present decree.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) instruct

the Higher School Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the People's Commissariats to provide for the execution of the present decree, and the party and soviet organisations to render every assistance to directors of Higher Schools in the organisation of academic work, in the establishment of order in Higher Schools, in order to create the necessary conditions for training highly qualified specialists who will fully satisfy the modern requirements of socialist reconstruction

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR

V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)

J. STALIN.

23 June, 1936.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 24 June, 1936, No. 146 (6003).)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On the Prohibition of Abortions ; Increase of Material Assistance to Mothers ; Establishment of State Assistance to Large Families ; Increase of the Number of Maternity Homes, Crèches and Kindergartens ; Increase of Punishment for Non-payment of Alimony, and some Amendments of the Divorce Law.

The October Socialist Revolution which laid the foundations for the abolition of all class exploitation, the abolition of classes themselves, at the same time was the beginning of full and complete liberation of women. In no other country of the world does woman enjoy such complete equality in all branches of political, social and family life as in the USSR. In no other country of the world does woman, as mother and citizen, bearing the great and responsible duty of bringing into the world and bringing up citizens, enjoy such legal protection as in the USSR. But the economic chaos which was prevalent in the years immediately after the Civil War and armed intervention, and the insufficient cultural standard of women inherited from the pre-revolutionary epoch, prevented them from the immediate and full utilisation of the rights guaranteed to them by law and from fulfilling, without fear for the future, their duties as citizens and mothers responsible for bringing into the world and educating their children. In connection with this, the Soviet Government on 18 November, 1920, permitted the performance of abortions (artificial interruption of pregnancy) for women, as stated by the People's Commissariat of Health and the People's Commissariat of Justice, so long as "the moral traditions of the past and the difficult economic conditions of the present force a certain portion of women to decide on this operation." (See the "Collection of Laws," No. 90, p. 471.)

In 1913 Lenin wrote that conscientious workers are "confirmed enemies of neo-malthusianism, that doctrine for a lower-middle-class couple who anxiously say: "we have hardly enough for ourselves and we had better have no children." But protesting against abortion as a social evil, Lenin thought the laws forbidding abortions entirely insufficient for fighting this evil. Even more. He pointed out that under capitalism these laws only reflect "hypocrisy of the dominant classes" because they "do not heal the ulcers of capitalism, but make them especially malignant, especially painful for the oppressed masses" (Vol. XVI, pp. 498-499).

It is only under conditions of socialism, where there is no exploitation and where woman has equal rights and where the increase of the material well-being of toilers is the law of social development, that the question of a fight against abortions, including means of prohibitive legislation, can be seriously considered.

The abolition of capitalist exploitation in the USSR, the growth of material well-being and the gigantic rise of the political and cultural standard of the toilers allow of a reconsideration of the decree passed by the People's Commissariat of Health and by the People's Commissariat for Justice on 18 November, 1920.

The adequate material security of women and their children, the State assistance to large families, the maximum development of maternity houses, crèches and kindergartens, the establishment by law of a minimum of money to be paid by the father of the child for its maintenance when the parents are separated, the prohibition of abortions, the increase of penalties for intentional non-payment of money for the maintenance of children by husbands and the amendment of some articles of the divorce law, with a view to combat an irresponsible attitude towards family and family obligations—such are the measures which are to be passed, in order to solve this big problem which concerns the whole population of the Soviet Union. In this respect the Soviet Government is quite prepared to meet numerous requests presented by working women.

In connection with the above, and also taking into consideration certain remarks made by citizens during the discussion of the project, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decree:

1. On the Prohibition of Abortions.

1. Having in view that abortions are harmful to health, to prohibit the performing of such operations in hospitals, special clinics, doctors' houses and the houses of pregnant women. The performing of abortions is justified exclusively in such cases when the continuation of pregnancy threatens the life or may seriously undermine the health of a pregnant woman, and also when there is a danger of serious diseases of parents being passed on to children; the operation may be performed only in hospitals and maternity homes.

2. A doctor who performs an abortion outside a hospital, or in the hospital but infringing the conditions stated above, is liable to imprisonment from one to two years; the performing of abortions in anti-sanitary conditions or by persons not possessing the special medical training is to be punished by imprisonment for not less than three years.

3. Those guilty of compelling a woman to have an abortion are to be punished by imprisonment up to two years.

4. As to pregnant women who, in violation of the above prohibition, allow an abortion to be performed on them, the penalty is severe reprimand and, in case of recurrence, the penalty is a fine up to 300 roubles.

2. On the Increase of Material Assistance to Mothers and on the Establishment of State Assistance to Large Families.

5. In order to improve the material conditions of mothers, manual as well as office workers, who are insured through the organs of Social Insurance, to increase the amount of the grant which is paid from the funds of the State Social Insurance for purchasing the necessary articles for a newly-born child, from 32 roubles to 45 roubles.

6. To increase the amount of grant to the mother for feeding the child from 5 to 10 roubles a month.

7. In regard to non-insured toiling women, members of co-operative societies and enterprises, to order the issue of the above grants from the funds of the co-operative mutual assistance societies.

8. To abolish the limitation fixed in the Labour Code in respect of women office-workers (Art. 132) and make them equal with women manual workers as to the duration of leave granted before and after delivery (56 days before delivery and 56 days after delivery).

9. To establish a penalty for refusing to engage women on account of their pregnancy, or lowering their wages for the same reason; the law must provide for securing the same wages calculated on the average received during the preceding 6 months, for a pregnant woman, at the same time employing her on a lighter duty.

10. To establish a State grant to mothers of large families who have six children, at the birth of each next child two thousand roubles a year for five years from the day of birth of the child, and to mothers who have ten children, the grant of five thousand roubles at the birth of the next child and three thousand roubles a year from the second year during the consecutive four years; this regulation is to be applied to those families which, at the time of the passing of the law, have the required number of children.

(Section 3 deals with the development of maternity homes; Section 4—with the development of crèches; Section 5—with kindergartens;

Section 6—with the management of kindergartens; Section 7—with financial matters relating to these measures. We omit these details.—ED)

8. *On the Increase of the Penalty for Non-Payment of Alimony and on Some Amendment of the Divorce Law*

27. Aiming at combating an irresponsible attitude towards family and family obligations and in amendment of the existing laws regarding marriage family and protection of children, to establish that both parties, seeking a divorce should be personally present in the Office for Registration of Acts of Civic Status (ZAGS) and that a corresponding entry should be made in the passports of both parties.

28. To increase the fee for the registration of divorces; the first divorce—50 roubles, the second—150 roubles, the third and consecutive divorces—300 roubles.

29. When fixing the amount of alimony, the courts should stipulate that the defendant must pay one quarter of his wages for the maintenance of one child, one third for the maintenance of two children, and one half for the maintenance of three or more children.

30. The calculation of alimony due to women who are members of kolhozy, is to be made in working days at the same scale. If the woman, member of a kolhoz, is working in the same kolhoz as the defendant, the management of the kolhoz must, when calculating the number of working days, enter the corresponding portion of the working days due to the father (in correspondence with the number of children) in the account of the mother. If the mother is working in another kolhoz, the entry in the account of the mother of the corresponding portion of the working days due to the father, is made by the management of the kolhoz in which the defendant is working.

31. To increase the penalty for non-payment of alimony for the maintenance of children up to imprisonment up to two years; the cost of tracing a person who tries to escape from the payment of alimony, is to be borne by that person.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR

M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR

V. MOLOTOV.

For the Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR

I. UNSCHLICHT

27 June, 1936.

Moscow, Kremlin.

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CHRONICLE

RUSSIA. (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.)

INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

The New Constitution.

The new constitution has been occupying the minds of the Communist leaders and of Soviet citizens. Discussions of the draft of the Constitution, which has been compared to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and to Magna Carta, were organised in every factory, farm and village. In his speech at the opening of the last All-Union Congress of Soviets on November 25, Stalin introduced the draft constitution with these remarkable words :

“ The draft constitution is the expression of already existing conditions guaranteeing to the workers work, education and rest. This distinguishes it from bourgeois constitutions, since the latter only declare their rights but do not provide for the realisation of them.

“ The Socialist millennium has already come, because all landlords and capitalists have been expropriated and the exploitation of man by man abolished. The only social groups remaining are workers, peasants and intellectuals, but here there is no hostility among them as there is in other countries.”

Among other speeches delivered at the same Congress that of Admiral Orlov deserves attention. He said that the Soviet fleet has been increased since 1933 as follows : submarines, sevenfold ; battleships, threefold ; coastal artillery, by 75 per cent. ; anti-aircraft, doubled ; and naval air force, fivefold.

Zhdanov, who succeeded Kirov as head of the Leningrad Communist Party, in his speech at the Congress took the opportunity of warning the small Baltic states against all forms of Fascist conspiracy, saying :

“ Round us are small countries which dream of great adventurers or allow great adventurers to manipulate their territory. We are not afraid of these little countries, but if they do not mind their own business, we shall be compelled to open our borders and it will be unfortunate if we are compelled to use the Red Army on them.”

All the amendments to the new constitution, proposed by Stalin, including the organisation of a new Commissariat of Military Industries and the right of the Executive to declare war in case of the necessity to fulfil international obligations, as laid down by mutual assistance pacts, were approved by the Congress. The Constitution was accepted with great enthusiasm, and December 5 was proclaimed as the Constitution Day of the USSR.

The Moscow Trial.

In August 1934 began a drastic campaign against the anti-Stalin opposition in the Communist Party, and on August 24 sixteen persons, including Zinoviev and Kamenev, accused of conspiring with Trotsky to murder Stalin, were sentenced to be shot. Michael Tomskey, the former Trade Union Leader and Chairman of the State Publishing Department, committed suicide. As a result of the trial, Rykov was acquitted of complicity, but released from his duties as People's Commissary for Communications, and G. Yagoda, who was the Commissary for Home Affairs and Head of the Police, has been appointed in his place, E. Ezhov being appointed to Yagoda's former post at the Commissariat for Home Affairs.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The Soviet Union and Spain.

On October 7 the USSR made an important announcement to the International Non-Intervention Committee set up in London. "It violations of the agreement," said the Soviet representative on the Committee, "are not immediately discontinued, the Soviet Union will consider itself free from the obligations resulting from it." The following proposal was sent to the Chairman of the Non-Intervention Committee by the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in London: (1) an impartial committee should be sent out to the Spanish-Portuguese borders to investigate on the spot the true state of affairs there; (2) the committee should leave some of its members there to control the fulfilment of the non-intervention agreement on the borders in the future.

Lord Plymouth, the Chairman of the Non-Intervention Committee, also received, on October 23, an important letter from M. Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador, of which the following is an extract:

"In adhering with other States to the agreement for non-intervention in Spanish affairs, the Government of the Soviet Union expected that the agreement would be fulfilled by its participants, that as the result of this the period of civil war in Spain would be shortened and the number of victims reduced.

The time that has elapsed, however, has shown that the agreement is being systematically violated by a number of its participants, that the supply of arms to the rebels goes on unpunished. One of the participants to the agreement, Portugal, has become the main base of supply for the rebels, while the legitimate Government of Spain has turned out to be in fact under boycott, deprived of facilities to purchase arms outside Spain for the defence of the Spanish people.

Thus, as the result of violations of the agreement a privileged situation for the rebels has been created, which situation was in no case within the purpose of the agreement. As the result of this

abnormal situation, there is a prolongation of the civil war in Spain and an increase in the number of its victims.

The efforts of the representative of the Soviet Government to put a stop to the practice of violating the agreement have not found support in the committee. The last proposal of the Soviet representative in regard to control over the ports of Portugal, which is the main base of supply for the rebels, has also not found support, and has not even been placed on the agenda for today's meeting of the committee. Thus the agreement has turned out to be an empty, torn scrap of paper. It has ceased in practice to exist.

Not wishing to remain in the position of persons unwittingly assisting an unjust cause, the Government of the Soviet Union sees only one way out of the situation created, to return to the Spanish Government the right and facilities to purchase arms outside of Spain, which rights and facilities are enjoyed at present by the Governments of the world; and to extend to the participants of the agreement the right to sell, or not to sell, arms to Spain. In any case the Soviet Government, unwilling to bear any longer the responsibilities for the clearly unjust situation created in regard to the legitimate Spanish Government and Spanish people, is compelled now to declare that in accordance with its statement on October 7, it cannot consider itself bound by the agreement for non-intervention to any greater extent than any of the remaining participants of the agreement."

The Soviet Union and Germany.

Tension between the USSR and Germany has in no way abated during the past months. The continuous attack on Soviet Russia made by Herr Hitler and the German press was met by a counter-attack on Germany in the Soviet press. In November several Soviet citizens and Germans were arrested in the USSR and charged with plotting Fascism. The German engineer Herr Stickling and eight Soviet citizens were accused at Novo-Sibirsk of organised sabotage, and were sentenced to death. On representations being made by the German Government, Herr Stickling's death sentence was commuted to penal servitude for ten years.

REVIEWS

Changing Man: The Soviet Education System. By Beatrice King. London. Victor Gollancz. 10s. 6d.

THIS is not a book to be damned with faint praise and then dismissed; it deserves the heartiest of welcomes and the widest publicity. All those who are interested in emergent Russia will welcome it, and especially those who are studying the strange evolution of Russia's history in these later times, and are wondering what will be the permanent result

of an amazing experiment—an experiment in which the leopard Humanity seems to be changing his spots before our very eyes.

Most of us know more than a little about the "Five Year Plans" in their relation to commerce and industry; but very few people have any clear idea concerning Education in Soviet Russia or any inkling of the great strides it has made since 1924.

In that year your reviewer was in Moscow, intent on the study of its urban and rural education, and through the kindness—never to be forgotten—of Commissary Lunacharsky, Minister of Education, was able to read and take back to England the detailed official programmes of Primary and Secondary Education in Russia, "Instruction to Teachers," a large number of pamphlets on the theory and practice of Soviet Education in general and of the "Complex" system in particular, which was then in force, and other useful matter. These, together with frequent visits paid—sometimes without previous notice—to urban and rural schools, made it possible to submit to our Board of Education an account, imperfect, but trustworthy, of Education as it then was in the Soviet Union.

Tragi-comedy is the word which perhaps best describes the "Enlightenment" of Russia in those days: visionary theories put into practice with boundless energy; teachers of good will, but sadly overworked and bewildered; higher education lavished on the unfit, who could not conceivably profit by it, but refused to the fit and intelligent if they happened to be born of bourgeois parents. In the universities were illiterate peasants, in the schools flocks of children learning nothing of fundamental value, and precociously, ludicrously "political." Discipline had disappeared, and the boys and girls apparently worked—if they worked—at what they pleased when and how they pleased. Often a class would make and send to the school authority a report on an unpopular teacher and clamour for his dismissal. There were also very precocious marriages and other disasters due to sex undisciplined. In the forests roamed gangs of children who had escaped from home and lived by theft, sometimes accompanied by murder: in 1924 a case was reported in the *Izvestia* of two boys, aged respectively eleven and twelve years, who had killed an old man in his sleep and subsisted for two months by selling the books which they had stolen from him!

This youthful brigandage, however, was not so much the fault of the authorities, who strove hard to check the evil by the provision of children's homes, etc., for orphans and waifs and strays, as of the general state of the country and the unfortunate situation of "bourgeois" parents. If both parents of a child were at work during the day and the child, being "bourgeois," was not admitted to a school, he was left quite alone,—hired service being illegal—and often through boredom and high spirits ran away and never returned.

In the schools the "Complex" system flourished: no "subjects" at all were taught, no reading and writing, no history, no geography, no

arithmetic. Arithmetic was "picked up" through contact with the school economy, reading and writing from notices on the blackboard, the class diary and the written plans of work, geography was the study of the local topography, and history consisted in an account of the struggles of the proletariat throughout the ages.

All the same it was amazing how much the young things did pick up! In the place of subjects "groups of concrete phenomena" were studied, and snippets of astronomy, geology, chemistry were doled out as they were called for. For example: each child in a village school had his own garden plot, which he was taught to cultivate; parallel with this went instruction about gardening, with a little astronomy thrown in—seasonal changes and their causes—and a little chemistry and geology when the nature of different soils was discussed.

The "Complex" system was tried out, found wanting and finally abandoned. A new start had to be made.

At that time efforts to educate the swarming children and illiterate adults of Russia were necessarily tentative and hasty. An education had to be raised at once and anew from the ghastly wreckage left by war, civil war, famine, pestilence and financial crises, and adjusted to totally new social and political conditions; in the national budget the amount of money allotted to education, was, as Lunacharsky complained, pitifully small (the average salary of a teacher was eleven roubles a month!); there were hardly any competent teachers, trained or otherwise; the great progress which was being made in the time of the late Tsar had been stopped dead by the Revolution and the whole framework of pre-war Education had been shattered from top to bottom.

The task of reconstruction was tremendous and daunting. But it was shouldered, and has been—or at any rate is being—accomplished with considerable success. Russia is now in process of becoming a civilised and highly educated country.

How this was done; how order slowly emerged from chaos, and discipline returned, and sanity, sense and moderation came back to school and university programmes and teaching; how illiteracy was fought and vanquished; how real "enlightenment" was provided, even for "bourgeois" children—these are matters which may be learned from the carefully written and well-documented account of contemporary Russian education which Mrs. King has presented.

Your reviewer, although he disagrees with the authoress on several counts, eagerly and insistently commends *Changing Man*, not only to those who would understand the mind of modern Russia, but also to those—of all shades of opinion, from crimson to true blue—who are interested in education or international politics or the life and thought of the human race, of which Russia comprises a tenth, a no longer "submerged tenth." Is any one a Gallio in these matters?

Soviet Communism. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. (Longmans.) 2 Vols. 35s. net.

THE authors of this monumental work have long been known in the capacity of social scientists; and have indeed been best sellers (with the exception of Shaw) for the last two generations in this sphere. Now, when husband and wife are both nearing their ninth decade, the Webbs have found the civilisation which in the modern world approximates most closely to that they have laboured so pertinaciously to create. It is possible therefore that the observations so painstakingly recorded are tinged with an inherent favouritism sponsored by 50 years devotion to a similar though divergent faith. Otherwise those twelve hundred pages are as thorough as an ignorance of the Russian language permits and are backed by an unrivalled record of social study.

The broad purpose of this work may be said to be to record (so far as its rapid changes allow) the Soviet constitution as it stands, together with a detailed survey of the administrative methods employed in putting the implied philosophic and economic structure into effect. After a brief outline of the astonishingly short written constitution, the authors pass at once to detail. No citizen in the USSR "reaches manhood without having incurred a considerable personal debt to the community in which he has been born and bred for the expense of his nature and training. That debt he is held bound to repay by actual personal service by hand or brain. Moreover, he is required throughout his able-bodied life to employ in the services of the community the faculties he has derived from it." Here stands the new philosophy not, one might think, differing, except in a single fundamental point, from the citizen's obligation in a Western democracy. That factor is of course the inducement offered to the citizen by private profit to obtain and hold property of one kind or another. It is an index to this philosophy's permanence that at least for those comparatively few million members of the Communist Party, really hard work is not only done but done willingly and with enthusiasm. Personal ambition among members of the Communist Party has disappeared, and there seems reason to suppose that this significant lack is spreading among other sections of the population. The ambition now (in Gorky's phrase) is to be a participator in great deeds. Human nature in this important respect has been profoundly modified and perhaps even changed. If this can be accomplished, those theorists who have held Utopia unattainable on account of human nature's constancy, are by this metamorphosis discredited. Thus it becomes possible to envisage, as do the Webbs, that something in the nature of a new civilisation is arising in the USSR. This new order should, in present world conditions, have as great an effect, and more rapidly, as the impact of Christianity on the Roman world.

It might be thought that this discovery, if it may be so termed, and the arguments dependent upon it, would occupy a large proportion of these stolid volumes. However, the concluding chapter alone suffices, and the

remainder is devoted to the multifarious activities which every individual (or cog) is obliged to undertake.

Man has essentially three separate yet connected functions in the Soviet State. First, his duty as a citizen to take a part (however ineffective) in Government, secondly, to assist in producing what the State requires, thirdly, to consume that part of the State's production not ear-marked for export or other purposes. Each function demands a separate organisation to control the plans thus entailed. Each organisation is built upon the same model: an elaborate pyramid, working upward from the elected group representatives by indirect representation to an All-Union Congress. Here at once is shown the method by which, under democratic appearances, a virtual dictatorship is established. The greater the number of steps, so to speak, from bottom to top, the greater the proportion of the majority on the final committee. This same process can of course be observed both in this country and the U.S.A. in a modified degree. One of the most die-hard of living British pro-Consuls was once heard to say that had he been allowed to remain in Egypt a few years longer he would certainly have introduced there Soviet electoral methods. There is, however, one important difference in this apparently similar electoral practice: that is, the existence of the Communist Party.

The authors aver that the mainspring of the Communist Party activity lies in their self-conceived vocation of leadership. Here is the modern parallel to the activity of the Jesuit order in medieval Europe. Indeed, through the whole hierarchy of planning, production and consumers' organisations (as is well known) the Party has the initiative, though nominally without the control. The Webbs may hazard the opinion that it is principally example which the members of the Communist Party provide for their more backward co-citizens. In fact, that example is crudely but practically enforced by the GPU (now re-named). Many readers of the *Slavonic Review* have no doubt read the books by Professor and Mme. Chernavin; others will recall the contributions of the former to the *Slavonic Review*, in which he clearly set forth the methods and often the commercial purpose of the GPU. On the other hand *White Sea Canal* by a group of Soviet authors, gives another picture of the same scene. The Webbs have preferred to depend rather upon the latter rendering for their view-point of this aspect of Soviet Communism.

It is in the second volume that the more contentious parts of the authors' interpretation are to be found. It is probably fair to say that few will quarrel with the Marxists' wish to re-distribute the benefits which labour and knowledge combined have given to the world as a whole. The methods by which this desirable end can be achieved are, however, a most debatable subject. That misery and starvation followed the second Revolution of 1917 no one can deny, and it would be unjust to attribute this entirely to White activities coupled with foreign intervention. Here, clearly Bolshevik method should receive its fair share of blame. An objective study similar in treatment to Mr. Chamberlin's *The Russian*

Revolution, dealing with the decade 1920/30, might at least prevent young revolutionaries elsewhere from repeating the errors of their Bolshevik predecessors, thus perhaps saving the world some measure of the horror predicated by the seemingly inevitable social and economic unrest.

The following five chapters covering more than five hundred pages, deal admiringly with the undoubted achievements of the Soviet Government for the majority of its citizens. The planning of production for community consumption must, experience has shown, be impossible for a democratically constituted capitalist country; hence involuntary unemployment presents an insoluble problem to such governments except in time of war. It is the elimination of unemployment (whether 90 per cent., more or less, does not affect the issue) which challenges the discerning critics of democracy in the Western model. It is agreed by most economists that unemployment, as such, may not be wholly eliminated even by a revival of world trade. It would appear therefore that the factor of private profit, lying between the producer and consumer, must be the principal factor preventing the absorption of the unemployed into the economic structure throughout the world. If world opinion is agreed that unemployment is the greatest single cause of human misery, then these volumes should go far to convince (if prejudice be not too deep) that a planned socialism of this kind had better be inaugurated forthwith.

It is only fair to admit, however, that those who regard the differences of race and geographical circumstance as of importance would find in any kind of socialism the destruction of their interests. Perhaps the worst that can be said of any kind of Marxian theory is that its application must necessarily make for instance the Khirgiz and Moscow factory worker as alike as possible. And materialism, if logically followed (which the Bolsheviks do not), must ultimately destroy the cultural background of two thousand years. All this, however, is as nothing, if the one premiss be admitted: that human happiness can be achieved by the culturally ignorant if they are comfortably fed and comfortably housed.

It cannot be suggested that the remarks above are anything like a complete survey of the Webbs' volumes. The remarks are in fact primarily intended to raise a few of those questions which must arise from a study of these books. Within the limitations already given (to which must be added the inordinate length) the work is comprehensive and as objective as the authors' principles permit. But, as they say themselves, Soviet Communism is changing daily—since the books were written some of the leaders have been shot; others may be expected to share this fate. More important perhaps, world affairs are changing and there seems some reason to suppose that in due course an armed issue may be the end of the ideological struggle. It is reasonable to suppose that so great would be a disaster of this kind that no civilisation now known to man would be likely to survive.

BOSWORTH GOLDMAN.

Quelques aspects du nationalisme et du christianisme chez Tolstoï (les variations Tolstoviennes à l'égard de la Pologne). By Venceslas Lednicki. Cracow, 1935. xiii + 100 pages.

IN this book Professor Lednicki analyses in detail, with most careful documentation, Tolstoy's varying attitude toward Poland and the Poles, a topic which, as he himself frankly admits (p. 2), is one of those "dont l'importance était futile, secondaire aux yeux de ce grand seigneur russe." But he makes his analysis throw light on Tolstoy's personality, his emotional reactions, his artistic methods and his intellectual opinions.

The young aristocrat Tolstoy shared in the general attitude of the Russian gentry toward the Poles. The infrequent allusions to them in his early works show not so much active antipathy as contempt, "une légère et dédaigneuse ironie" (p. 7). In *War and Peace* (1863-69) he exhibits throughout a certain patriotic, even chauvinistic attitude, but his distaste for the Poles is more evident than his distaste for any other nation. He disliked particularly the Polish parade of military valour, the Polish fondness for theatrical display. To the Russian government in Poland, to Russian oppression of the Poles he was supremely indifferent, as he was to political questions in general. Tolstoy's religious crisis changed all this. Tolstoy, as he told Biryukov (pp. 48, 54), became conscious that he had been unjust in his earlier attitude, and he strove to correct it and to make amends for it. In *Resurrection* (part 3, ch. 6) he gave a sympathetic portrait of the brave, handsome Pole Lozinski, condemned to death for an attempt to escape when under arrest for distributing proclamations. In the same novel (part 2, ch. 16) he wrote of Senator Wolf: "To destroy and ruin hundreds of innocent men, to be the cause of their exile and imprisonment in consequence of their attachment to their own nation and to the religion of their fathers, as he had done when he was governor of one of the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, he did not regard as dishonourable conduct, but as a splendid proof of nobility, courage, and patriotism."

Tolstoy's most striking act of penitence was his tale *Why?* (*Za chto?*), written in 1906 and included in his *Course of Reading* as the "Sunday reading" for September. This story of twenty-five pages is the only work in which he makes Poles his chief actors. He based his plot on a narrative of actual events that he found in the *Sibir i katorga* of Maximov (1871). Maximov relates that Migutski, a Pole exiled to Uralsk, was joined in his captivity by his fiancée Albina. They married and had two children, who died young. They then formed a plan of escape. Migurski feigned suicide. Albina gained permission to carry home with her the remains of her children, dug them up, and hid her husband in the coffin together with them. Her Cossack escort detected the ruse before the party reached Saratov. In Saratov Migurski and Albina fell on their knees in the Catholic church before the coffin of their

children. Migurski was exiled to Nerchinsk, whither Albina followed him. Tolstoy, without warrant from his source, and contrary to the facts of the case, makes Migurski a soldier in the insurrection of 1831, and among his many additions to the story are details concerning Albina's family and her early relations with Migurski, some of which suggest his own relations with the Behrs family. Most important, he makes Albina only pretend to dig up the remains of her children, here, to quote Professor Lednicki, he is guided by his own instinct: " Dans le monde qui apparaît dans ses romans la mort appartient aux morts et la vie aux vivants " (p. 76). Thus, when Migurski is discovered, there is no opportunity for the melodramatic scene in the church. Albina, when she sees her husband in the clutches of the police, merely exclaims " Why? Why? " and falls on the empty coffin in which he had been concealed. Tolstoy has russified and tolstoyanised his tale, departing from the truth of history in order to avoid a theatrical atmosphere and so create a situation that seemed to him of greater dignity. He concludes his story with the following paragraph:

" Nikolay Pavlovich rejoiced that he had crushed the hydra of revolution not only in Poland but in all Europe, and he was proud that he had not infringed on the principles of Russian autocracy and that for the good of the Russian people he had retained Poland under the power of Russia. And men wearing gilded uniforms and bedecked with stars so praised him for this that he sincerely believed that he was a great man, and that his life had been a great blessing for humanity and especially for the Russians, to corrupt whom and to make whom stupid and silly all his efforts had been unconsciously directed."

Such was Tolstoy's emotional and artistic reaction to Polish patriotism during his later years. With this attitude his intellectual convictions were in sharp contrast. True to his principle of non-resistance to evil, he condemned patriotism among the Poles as strongly as among the Russians; even conquered nations, he maintained, should suppress all patriotic feeling as contrary to Christianity. As Professor Lednicki justly remarks: " Ce qui nous frappe c'est l'abstractivité écœurante de la pensée de Tolstoj vis-à-vis de la réalité " (p. 87).

Thus Tolstoy's varying attitude toward the Poles is only one phase of his varying attitude toward the world in general. The light that Professor Lednicki throws on the " great writer of the Russian land " is not exactly new, nor is it brighter than that shed on him by previous sympathetic critics. But it is from a new angle. By his detailed analysis the Polish author gives reasons for " l'hommage de la profonde vénération que j'ai résolu de faire au sublime artiste, à l'homme merveilleux, à cet *homme divinement humain* en l'année du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de sa mort " (p. xiii).

G. R. NOYES.

The Testimony of Kolchak and Other Siberian Materials. (Hoover War Library Publications, No. 10.) Edited by Elena Varneck and H. H. Fisher. Translated by Elena Varneck. Stanford University (California), 1935. Pp. xi + 466. \$5.00.

THE tenth volume of the Hoover War Library Series of "Publications" is devoted to events in Siberia and in the Russian Far East in 1918-1922. The translation of the Testimony of Kolchak, published in 1925 by K. A. Popov, the Vice-Chairman of the Investigation-Commission, constitutes the first half of the book. It is difficult to add anything to Sir Bernard Pares' analysis in these columns, which was drawn from his personal experience in Siberia, of the psychological and political importance of these statements.¹ This edition, prepared by Mrs. E. Varneck and Dr. Fisher, will be used with the greatest satisfaction by every student of these events. The explanatory and supplementary notes are written with an admirably intimate knowledge of the facts and persons concerned; they must be regarded as indispensable for any further detailed study of this troubled period.

The next part publishes for the first time a translation of a Russian manuscript deposited in the Hoover War Library, A. Z. Ovchinnikov's *Memoirs of the Red Partisan Movement in the Russian East*. The most complicated inner-political, diplomatic, and military history of Siberia seen through the eyes of Kolchak as Commander-in-Chief and virtual dictator of Siberia is followed by the amazing story of a man of humble origin who tells vividly how he has been unwittingly embroiled in the Siberian struggle. He was involuntarily enrolled as a soldier in the first Russian-Czech Regiment; he deserted from Kolchak's army and later on played a prominent part in the revolutionary movement at Sakhalin. He became Chairman of the People's Court which, in July, 1920, tried Tryapitsyn, the partisan leader who took the responsibility for the mass executions in the Sakhalin Province and for the massacre at Nikolayevsk on the Amur. The third part gives quotations from or summaries of the accounts of the Nikolayevsk affair in March, 1920, namely, the complete annihilation of the Japanese garrison and the Japanese civilian population of Nikolayevsk and its influence on the beginning of the final phase of Japanese policy of intervention in the Russian Far East. The last section of the book gives varying accounts of the events which followed the collapse of the Kolchak Government and the Nikolayevsk incident, i.e. the Japanese occupation of Vladivostok in April, 1920, and the further occupation of the entire Maritime Province and the Ussury Railway.

More than fifty pages of bibliography and lists of serials and newspapers on every aspect of the civil war in the region with which the volume deals give some idea of the unequalled wealth of material in this special field in the collection of the Hoover War Library. It is to be noted

¹ *The Slavonic Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 22, pp. 225-230.

that Georg von Cleinow should be Georg(e) Cleinow, and that "Werner Daya" is to be regarded as a pseudonym of Karfunkelstein.

The editors did not confine themselves to printed materials; on controversial points they attempted to secure fresh information. This is proved by quotations from letters written by Colonel B. O. Johnson regarding the question of General Janin's responsibility for the surrender of Admiral Kolchak, and from V. A. Maklakov concerning the relationship between the Russian Political Conference in Paris and the anti-Bolshevik Governments. It may be especially noted that in the bibliography hints are to be found on various unprinted sources in the Hoover War Library, as, for instance, manuscripts written by N. A. Andrushkevich, V. P. Antonenko, V. M. Chernov, D. I. Fedichkin, D. L. Horvath, General Kolobov, E. Kh. Nilus, Sir Bernard Pares, D. P. Pershin, N. M. Ryabukhin, S. A. Shchepikhin, B. N. Volkov, V. I. Vyrypayev, and V. A. Zubets.

The volume has a hitherto unpublished photograph of Kolchak and four maps of Siberia and the Russian Far East.

F. EPSTEIN.

La Pologne d'Aujourd'hui. By Vaclav Fiala. Paris (Hartmann) 1936. Pp. 280.

HAVING been afflicted with too many books on Poland which were the result of a week's visit, and contained either indiscriminate eulogy or uncompromising indictment, we can greet a book like this from the pen of a Czech journalist as a welcome change. Mr. Fiala has spent years in the country of which he writes and knows both the people and the conditions intimately, and his book deserves more attention than can be given in this short review. Much that he has published in his mother-tongue about Poland was not conceived in too friendly a spirit; but in this book the historian in him has come out, and the journalist has been thrust into the background. The result is a candid study, with which one will not always agree, but for which every serious student will be grateful.

Only the title is misleading. The *Poland of Today* is a complex picture, in which country and town, age and youth, poverty and wealth, work and play, agriculture and industry, art and science, school and church, press and pulpit, are all busily engaged in the task of living together; but Mr. Fiala passes them all by with just here and there a reference or a nod. The reader is conscious of these agencies and institutions in the background, he senses that a people of thirty-odd millions is on the march, but the book is an essay on Polish public affairs. Rather it is a series of essays, most of which appeared in *Le Monde Slave*, and they treat in detail—sometimes with repetition, the course of events at home and relations with the outside world, since the Polish nation recovered its political independence at the end of the world war. In the main the picture is a clear one, it is never dull. I am only sorry that

nothing is said of the great strides made in popular education, or the rise of Polish industry; or of the consequences for the nation of the world depression. Not the Minorities problem, but the low standard of living in the rural areas of Poland is the major anxiety which the authorities in Warsaw face today

Of course the chief figure in the picture is that of the late Marshal Pilsudski. Mr. Fiala has much to say about him, and most of it is sound; though Pilsudski was not quite the gambler he is made out to be. In general the book has a lot of news and views about the "romantic" mentality of the Poles; which distinguishes them from their western neighbours. But even Mr. Fiala says truly that this is not the whole story. I wish he had left out the tag from Mickiewicz's *Wallenrod*; it has got a bit stale!

Mr. Fiala has given Poland's geographical position its true place of importance, when trying to appraise fairly the shaping of Polish policy. Roughly, it seems to be away from a French and towards a German "orientation." Actually he makes it quite clear that the one aim of the Warsaw Foreign Office is to get its hands free, and to keep them free as far as possible. But he sees the wish going beyond the hope of realisation, and, in this connection, he makes the slip of forgetting the existence of England altogether. Just on that side may lurk hopes of something of quite another sort.

There are a few errors in fact in these pages, and not a few unacceptable propositions; but even when one differs from the author, one must respect him. He has quoted the Opposition's point of view too freely, perhaps; and when he comes to the events following May, 1935, he becomes rather sceptical. His dislike for the Polish Foreign Minister gets the better of his judgment, but he supports his views by quoting people of note both within and without the country. He sees the Koscialkowski régime as an *interim*, and emphasises properly the fact of the economic strain. In the end he refrains from predictions, but sees the failure or success of the present "experiment" as a matter of concern for the whole continent.

December 1935.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

The Peace Settlement in the German-Polish Borderlands. By Ian F. Morrow, assisted by L. M. Sieveking. London (Humphrey Milford, 1936). (Issued under the auspices of the R.I.I.A.) Pp. 558. 25s.

THIS is a welcome and valuable book by two serious students of international relations. Its only fault is that it is far too long, and as a result, too expensive.

All this, however, is no deterrent to the soundness of the study. My comments in this review will limit themselves to the two greater issues: the admirable analysis of the Danzig problem, covering just 180 pages, and the less artistic but no less thorough account of the difficulties associated with the "Corridor"—a term used under protest.

The conclusions reached in both cases—the Danzig ones on pp. 172 ff, the others on p. 418—are so good that no comment is necessary.

Mr. Morrow has sketched with sure hand the past of Danzig up to 1920, reminding us that the settlement of 1919 ("Danzig is a sovereign state under the protection of the League of Nations") satisfied neither the Germans nor the Poles—the two peoples most concerned. It seems clear that the Danzigers themselves were not satisfied either. In any case their views counted for little—the very Fate that had placed their city so suitably to be the port and window on the world for the nation inhabiting the basin of the Vistula, had also long since created a cultural gulf—that of modern nationalism—between the city and its hinterland. The tragic clash of irresistible forces is strikingly exemplified in the rivalry of German and Polish interests at the mouth of the Vistula. Danzig is caught, like a bird in a trap, her material interests drawing one way, her cultural and spiritual inclinations another.

Things have not been made easier by the way Berlin, resolved from the outset not to accept the Peace Settlement in the east, set about using Danzig as a tool; and, as many think, making not easier but harder the prospects of such arrangements with the new Poland as would safeguard the claims of both parties. Almost the whole officialdom of the Free City has been composed of Germans from the Reich, and there has from the first been a regular "exchange" of such officials (e.g. Dr. Sahm). Thus Danzig "has been a miniature stage on which the tragedy of German politics since the World War has been played." This fact has undoubtedly influenced the attitude of Warsaw in demanding at every turn the letter of the law, in regard to the rights of the new Poland, or of Polish nationals in the Free City.

Mr. Morrow gives us a clear account of certain "incidents"—the wretched strike of 1920 which blocked much-needed imports of materials when Poland was fighting for her life, the futile dispute over the post-boxes; the currency question of 1932—and adds a section on the relations with the new neighbour, Gdynia. His conclusions make it quite clear that a big share of the responsibility must rest with the Peace Conference, and with the League also. The solution found in 1919 was too vague (*see* pp. 175-6). From the start the High Commissioner was in an almost quixotic position, and the Council of the League was heading for trouble. It's unwillingness to grasp the nettle, when resoluteness was the only counsel, has not made things easier. On the other hand, both Danzig and Poland, says Mr. Morrow, have failed to show at times a spirit of understanding and collaboration. "The peacemakers in Paris certainly intended Danzig and Poland to be partners in a business and economic association for their mutual profit" (p. 90 *infra*). It is hard to do other than cry, at this stage, *Sancta simplicitas!*

Turning to the question of the "Corridor," we shall agree with Mr. Morrow that it should be kept separate from the Danzig issue, but in the nature of things is bound up with it in the popular German mind. Not the loss of territory but rather the cutting off of East Prussia from

the Reich is seen to be the crux of the whole matter. Yet the economic plight of that isolated land, so commonly ascribed to the Peace Settlement, is shown to be due to other and far older causes, and is also shown to be shared by other parts of the German world as well. It is then pre-eminently the psychological factor, the injury to national prestige that counts, and this the book brings out very well. Nevertheless the part which the East Prussian situation has played in German politics since fifteen years is rightly ascribed to the unwholesome predominance of the Junkers, whose task was made easier by the holding of the Presidency of the Reich by one of their own number, Marshal Hindenburg.

A word of criticism is in order just here in regard to the Corridor itself. Apart from the single page 183 there is nothing said of any value in this book about the people living in it. In other words, what certainly bulked not a little in the minds of the peace-makers, the existence of the Cassubian branch of the Polish "race" (the name of the Cassubes is only mentioned twice). Neither Mr. Morrow nor his collaborator know any Polish, and this was a serious handicap when it came to getting into close touch with the people on the spot. Even so, surely more space should have been given to this essential point, especially in view of the amount of room accorded to what is of less significance, the Grenzmark Posen-West Prussia province.

It is doubtless, too, for lack of knowledge of the Polish language, and of the literature on the subject not to be found in English or French translations, that Mr. Morrow takes three pages (193 ff) to decide whether there is "a Polish opinion" about this outlet to the sea. Any educated Pole who reads these pages will smile. Only a few talks with simple people, whether sub-Carpathian peasants, or pitch-burners in the eastern fens, to say nothing of miners and foundry-workers, would convince even the most sceptical that when the outlet to the sea is involved there is in Poland no Opposition.

From page 489 onwards we have one of the briefest and most compact sections of the book—scarcely 2,000 words in length; but unhappily marred by a confusion of terminology. At every step we meet such phrases as "racial feelings," "racial aspect of the problem," "racial antagonism," "racial emotion," "racial animosity," "willingness of races to co-operate," "racial and commercial superiority," etc. All the time what is meant is not "racial," but "cultural," or at best "national," and not "race" but "nation" or "people." This usage is very common in our time, it is quite unscientific, and plays right into the hands of the foolish Nazi gospel, which Mr. Morrow certainly does not accept. Surely we must keep the term "race" for the purely biological side of things, in which case there is no Polish race, and certainly no German race. Nothing is surer than that a hopeless mixture of "breeds" has been universal on the plains of central Europe for fifty generations. Mr. Morrow himself says on page 489: "The problem confronting Europe today is not an academic controversy; *it is a conflict of beliefs.*" But in that case "race," rightly understood, has nothing to do with it.

"The Peace Settlement" is an encyclopædia rather than a book, what the Germans call a *Handbuch*—by which is meant a work of reference whenever needed. In this respect it can serve most useful purposes, and should be in every library dealing with present-day Europe. And it is to be hoped that other such studies of vexed regional areas in Europe, sponsored by the Royal Institute, will follow speedily.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

The Cassubian Civilisation. By Fr. Lorentz, Ph.D., Adam Fischer, Ph.D., and Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński, Ph.D. London, Faber and Faber. 407 pp. with illustrations. 21s.

THE enterprise of a firm willing to publish a good-sized volume on the civilisation of a community whose very name is unknown in England to all but scholars is truly remarkable. Many of the subjects dealt with in the book have, to be sure, more than a specialist interest: this, and the fact that the contributors all stand in the highest repute, no doubt explains Messrs. Faber and Faber's splendid initiative, which, the reviewer earnestly hopes, will be rewarded by good sales.

On a people, whose *habitat* is so close to Danzig-Gdańsk, active and acrid, or, at least, subtle and insinuating propaganda might have been expected. It is a joy to state that nothing of an objectionable nature is noticeable. Scholarly objectivity is the keynote throughout.

The chapters on Cassubian (but why not Kashubian or Kashube?) civilisation, forming nearly half the book, are by Dr. F. Lorentz, whose work on Slovincian speech has long been known to Slavonic philologists as a model of meticulous dialectical research. In his new book he may lay claim to being a Niederle in miniature. The part concerned with Cassubian ethnography is by Dr. A. Fischer, and although it to some extent overlaps with Lorentz's, it is so vivid that any omissions could ill be spared. The contribution of Dr. Lehr-Spławiński, on the dialects of the Baltic Slavs, is of especial interest to the linguist. Outside of scattered articles in philological reviews there is no such comprehensive account as is here presented. This detailed discussion by a most distinguished scholar on the relationship of the present and past Baltic dialects of Slavonic to the other Lechish languages is rendered still more valuable by the appendix of place names and, above all, by the complete bibliography.

Professor Malinowski writes an excellent and sober introduction, largely political in content, which will naturally be read with great interest by all those familiar with his work and name. If he helps to make the average monoglot Englishman aware of the sacred fervour with which small communities cling to their language, he will have rendered a great service.

N. B. J.

Roumanian Art from 1800 to our Days. By George Oprescu. Malmö (Ljustrycksanstalt) 1935. Pp. 62. 126 Illustrations.

No one is better qualified than Professor Oprescu, a distinguished art critic and collector and keeper of the Stelian Museum in Bucarest, to write this first introduction of Roumanian Art to English readers. Until a century ago, political conditions in the two vassal Principalities were absolutely inimical to artistic development, save in one direction, the frescoes which covered the walls of churches and monasteries and in the main followed conventional Byzantine lines. But with the beginnings of emancipation from the Phanariot and Turkish yoke, and the rise of a younger generation devoted to French culture and in part educated in the West, the cultural influences of Paris, Vienna and Rome rapidly spread throughout the small leisured class and for the first time made secular art possible. The pioneer was a German Austrian named Wallenstein (1795-1859), who though "of unquestionable mediocrity was the teacher of Teodor Aman, the first native artist of real merit. The author gives a brief but sympathetic sketch of the two really great painters of the mid-19th century, Andreescu, who died at the early age of thirty-two, and Grigorescu (1838-1907), both of whom belong to the Barbizon school. Andreescu's depth, M. Oprescu writes, his constant sincerity, the mastery and steadiness of his execution, his virile energy with a strong tinge of melancholy are of a higher quality. But Grigorescu has a gift of grace, a *joie de vivre*, a heedlessness, a deftness of hand and that ability to enjoy the passing hours without heed for the morrow, which characterise the true voluptuary, those artists who are favoured of fortune. The Roumanians saw their own likeness in him and thrilled at the contact with his art."

The second section is devoted to contemporary art, from Grigorescu's disciple, Luchian (d. 1916), Mirea and Petrascu, to Steriadi Dărăscu, and Stoenescu, and the young peasant painter, Ghiatza. There are also sections on sculpture and architecture, which, though one of the most original and attractive in south-east Europe as is yet virtually unknown in the West. There is a series of excellent reproductions.

R. W. S.-W.

Székely Népközládák. (Szekler Folkballads). By Gyula Ortutay. Budapest, 1935. Pp. 312. Illustrated.

THE introduction of this beautifully printed and important book contains a scholarly, well-ordered account of the development of the ballad in general, and shows the increase of interest throughout Europe for this genre of literature (it is gratifying, incidentally, to note the attention paid to British work in the field). The characteristics of the ballads from the Szekler district are dwelt on, and a valuable contribution to ethnographical knowledge is provided by the careful and thorough discussion of their subject matter, style, local and historical importance.

The introduction is supported by a full bibliography, in which the main, but not exclusive, stress is laid on Hungarian research. The fifty-four ballads which form the body of the work then follow.

The text is adorned with numerous woodcuts of György Buday, a distinguished lecturer on art at Budapest University, whose special knowledge of the area and its traditions enable him to reproduce with conspicuous success and artistry the stark poignancy of the written word.

As the ballads are in dialect and have been drawn from various sources it might have been a matter of some difficulty for the compilers to decide upon the orthography and exact form of words to be used. The original collectors to some extent touched up their texts and so did not always record them in the exact form known to the peasants; as, however, any "falsification" was slight and was done for stylistic purposes only, the present compiler, whose work is not primarily meant for the philologist, has contented himself with giving a faithful reproduction of the texts as he found them recorded by his predecessors.

Not the least valuable part of the work are the notes which set out the sources from which the ballads are collected, the variants and the parallels, the melodies, and all known translations or adaptations. In addition, the notes on the historical ballads contain much useful information otherwise available only in learned periodicals.

N. B. J.

Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878. By Dwight E. Lee, Professor at Clark University. Cambridge (Harvard University Press), 1934. \$3. 230 pp. (Harvard Historical Studies, vol. xxxviii.)

PROFESSOR LEE is to be congratulated upon his scholarly, fair and exhaustive treatment of a subject which had been allowed far too long to remain buried in the archives, and which not only throws a vivid light upon Britain's Eastern policy under Beaconsfield and Salisbury, but is even in our own day still far from being a merely academic question. He has applied a fine comb to the material in the Record Office and British Museum, and it is hard to believe that anything of very vital importance, or likely to change the main lines of his narrative, has been overlooked. In particular, he has made full use of the papers of General Sir Lintorn Simmons (who was then inspector-general of fortifications, and would probably have directed operations under Lord Napier, if it had come to war against Russia), Colonel Home, Captain Ardagh and other officers—for the most part engineers—whom the British Government had sent out to Constantinople in 1876 to report on technical questions of defence, and whose presence there, becoming

known, did more than anything else to stiffen the backs of the Turks and convince them that Britain would help them as in 1854. In the late Mr. Buckle's standard biography of Disraeli there are only the most casual references to these men, though Mr. Lee shows very clearly the extent to which they were listened to at the War Office and Foreign Office alike. It was Home in particular whose investigation into places suitable for a British *place d'armes* in the Near East led to the whole Cyprus project.

Mr. Lee's other main unpublished source is the Layard MSS., and several of the Ambassador's confidential reports to the Prime Minister and to Lord Salisbury are published as appendices. The last chapter is devoted to the abortive efforts, following on the Congress of Berlin, to develop Asia Minor as a kind of British Protectorate—efforts which were foredoomed to failure on the financial side, and for which there never was the slightest hope of winning Sultan Abdul Hamid (whom Layard radically misjudged). There are also interesting new details as to an Euphrates Valley railway project, put forward by an influential British syndicate, under the Duke of Sutherland, Sir Arnold Kemball and others.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

Life and Death-Struggle of a National Minority (The Jugoslavs in Italy).

By Dr. Lavo Čermelj. Translated by Fanny S. Copeland. Ljubljana (Jug. Union of League of Nations Societies), 1936. 260 pp.

IN our last number we published an important article on the lamentable situation of the Jugoslavs in Istria under Italian rule. This volume covers a wider field, and gives a full and authoritative account of the whole Jugoslav minority in Italy since the war. After a summary of the numerous specific pledges given by Italy to her minorities (now all completely reversed), Dr. Čermelj describes in detail the gradual destruction of the Slovene and Croat schools, the elimination of all nationally conscious Jugoslavs from the public service, the suppression of their press and cultural societies, the Italianisation of personal and place-names, and the long series of acts of Fascist terrorism and outrage. Of quite special interest are the chapters devoted to denationalisation through the medium of the Church, and to the methods employed by the Italian police and the "Tribunale Speciale." It is a tragic, overwhelming indictment, and the reader is left to marvel at the claim to "culture" put forward by a Government capable of such barbarism, and at the Duce's effrontery in simultaneously championing the cause of treaty revision on behalf of other minorities whose plight, though not perfect, is ideal compared with that of Italy's victims.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

The Balkan States: I.—Economic. Prepared by Information Department of Royal Institute of International Affairs. Oxford (University Press), 1936. 5s. net. 154 pp

CHATHAM HOUSE has performed a most valuable service by publishing this closely documented survey of economic development in the five Balkan States. It falls into two parts—the first dealing with the “structure of production” and the effects of agrarian reform in each state, and with the main characteristics of foreign trade and financial policy, while the second describes the effects of the economic blizzard of 1931–2, especially upon Balkan agriculture, the impoverishment of the peasantry, and the state of the foreign debt problem. A survey of “attempted solutions” leads to the conclusion that for all the Balkan States the main problem still remains “that created by the fall of agricultural prices since 1930,” and that a solution has actually been rendered more difficult by the extent of agricultural indebtedness and by the increased restrictions on foreign trade. As a matter of fact, even since this handbook appeared, the tide has turned both in Yugoslavia and in Greece in favour of a rise in prices, with the result that the purchasing power of the peasant is again increasing.

There are a number of very useful statistical tables both in the text and in five appendices.

R. W. S.-W.

To readers interested in Yugoslavia, but unable to read its rich poetry in the original, we cordially commend *Anthologie de la Poésie Yougoslave des xix et xx siècles* (Collection Pallas, Paris, Delagrave, 1935), prepared by Professor Miodrag Ibrovac and his late wife, Mme. Savka Ibrovac. It is on the whole very representative of all schools, but the poets of our own century are treated with special generosity. There is a short and scholarly introduction, and thumbnail biographies of all the poets included.

R. W. S. W.

La Ruthénie Subcarpathique. By René Martel. Paris (Hartmann), 1935. 15 francs. 188 pp.

IN all Europe there is no more complex problem than that presented by the little semi-autonomous province of *Carpathian Ruthenia* or *Podkarpatská Rus*, which used to be the most remote and neglected corner of pre-war Hungary, and which now forms the extreme eastern section of the Czechoslovak Republic. Here a most fascinating experiment has been in progress since 1919, and the end is not yet. The bulk of the population (446,916) are Ruthenes or Ukrainians, and as they had no secondary and virtually no primary schools under the Magyar regime, the first task of their new rulers was to provide them with the necessary educational groundwork, without which there could be no trained officials, clergy, teachers or, indeed, a middle class in any real sense of the word. The task was complicated by the rivalry of the Uniate and Orthodox churches, and by dissensions between rival linguistic theories, the majority favouring complete uniformity with the modern Ukrainian literary language in

Kiev or Galicia, but others leaning to the adoption of Great Russian, as giving access to the immense Russian world, while a third group favours greater insistence upon the local dialect. As everything in that part of the world turns to politics, these linguistic quarrels have long since passed from the philological to the political sphere. A cynical observer has remarked that wherever there are 4 Ruthenes, there are 3 parties, and, indeed, while the nationalists fall into 3 groups, there are 4 distinct sub-divisions among the Russophiles alone. But these fissiparous tendencies are not confined to the Slavs, for the Jews, of whom there are 91,000, are also torn by internal dissensions (Orthodoxy, Zionism and Magyarophilism), and the 110,000 Magyars are also far from presenting an united front. The soil being very poor, save for the strip along the river Tisa, and the population being already too large and yet growing very rapidly, and having lost the vent-hole of American emigration, there has been acute distress even long before the world crisis began, and it has vented itself in Communism, which cuts across all parties and races and complicates the political issue still further. If the Prague Government has not yet fulfilled its pledge to establish a Diet at Užhorod, it is mainly because it does not see its way to anything like stable parliamentary government. But no one who knows the country at first hand can accept the ludicrous accusation of "Czechisation," and it comes with a special bad grace from the mouth of any Magyar advocate of the former régime. To take but a simple instance, in 1931 out of 71,000 Ruthene children, only 1,200 attended Czech schools: the school attendance figures have in 15 years risen from 25 to 90 per cent. In 1917 there were 517 primary schools in what is now Ruthenia—of these only 34 were Ruthene and all the rest Magyar. In 1931 there were already 433 Ruthene schools, as well as 110 Magyar, 61 German, 160 Czech and 34 mixed.

M. Martel is a safe guide, and his book, while necessarily polemical in places (for instance, he deals faithfully with certain French, Polish and Magyar propagandist writers, e.g. Maître Desbons of the Aix Trial), contains a mass of statistical and other material on which to form a judgment.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

A LIST OF BOOKS IN ENGLISH ON RUSSIA PUBLISHED IN 1935

(Compiled by S. Yakobson and F. Epstein.)

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Banerjee, Nityanarayan. Russia to-day. Calcutta. Rs. 3.

- Brown, John. I saw for myself. L. 277 pp. Illus. 10s. 6d.
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THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW.

VOL. XV. No. 45.

April, 1937

NAPOLEON

Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN by BERNARD PARES.

THIS very remarkable poem was written by Pushkin on the death of Napoleon in 1821. Pushkin was then only twenty-two and still in the more Byronic stage of his development: four years later came the Decembrist rising, the effects of which did so much to govern his maturer genius. For all that, if Thiers had wanted to put epigraphs to various chapters of his *Consulat et Empire*, he could hardly have chosen better than many of the verses of this ode.

Four other poets of the time gave on the same occasion their estimates of Napoleon—Victor Hugo, Byron, Manzoni and Béranger. Manzoni's is perhaps the most lyrical. The passage of Byron is to be found in Canto III of *Childe Harold*, immediately after the far better known passage on the Battle of Waterloo. At some points his is almost in striking identity with the estimate of Pushkin. Béranger's contribution contains at the end of each verse the well-known refrain:

“ Pauvre soldat, tu reverras la France,
La main d'un fils te fermera les yeux.”

It is more simple and affectionate, but it has also some remarkable lines, and in the verse in which he summarises Napoleon's place in history he is very suggestive of the end of Pushkin's ode:

“ Sa gloire est là, comme le phare immense
D'un nouveau monde et d'un monde trop vieux.”

This translation is inscribed to Hon. Maurice Baring who alone has enabled Pushkin himself to speak in English.

The marvellous destiny is spent.
He is gone. The great man is no more.
Sunk in the gloom of banishment,
Napoleon's age of storm is o'er.

He is gone, the sovereign dethroned ;
 Gone, Victory's most favoured son ;
 And for the man the world disowned
 Now has posterity begun.

Thou who in blood didst write the name
 Which long, full long, will fill our minds,
 Sleep in the shadow of thy fame
 Amidst thy waste of waves and winds—
 A most magnificent of graves :
 Where rest thine ashes in their urn,
 No more the hate of nations raves,
 The immortal fires of glory burn.

So late o'er our dishonoured lands
 Thy ravening eagles held their course ;
 So late the kingdoms on all hands
 Went down beneath thy fatal force.
 Alert to thy capricious mood,
 The rustling standards boded ill,
 And thou upon a world subdued
 Didst lay the bondage of thy will.

When in the dawn of hope at last
 The world from slavery awoke,
 And when the idol of his past
 The Gaul threw down with furious stroke,
 When on the place of riot lay
 The royal dead of ancient name,
 And the inevitable day,
 The great, glad day of freedom came,—

Thou, while the raging people stormed,
 Thine own amazing part couldst find
 And, in the noblest hopes it formed,
 Couldst feel contempt for all mankind.¹
 Thy daring spirit could assure thee
 Of thy strange lot, with all its harm ;
 The dream of boundless power could lure thee,
 Even with its disenchanting charm.²

¹ Compare Byron :

“ For sceptred Cynics Earth were far too wide a den.”

² Compare words attributed to Napoleon : “ I found a crown in the dust, and I picked it up.”

The people to new vigour stirred
 Was stemmed in its tumultuous course;
 The new-born freedom at thy word
 Fell straightway dumb and lost its force;
 Amidst thy slaves thou couldst allay
 Thy thirst of endless power unchecked,
 Didst lead their legions to the fray,
 Their glittering chains with laurels decked.

And France, to glory now a prize,
 No more those noble hopes would claim,
 And fixed her fascinated eyes
 Upon her own resplendent shame.³
 To bounteous feast their swords were led;
 At thy approach all crashed in doom;
 Europe was falling : o'er her head
 Was borne the slumber of the tomb.

'Twas done ! In majesty of shame
 We saw the Titan o'er her stride :
 Tilsit ! at that opprobrious name
 No more need pale the Russian's pride ;
 Tilsit the arrogant hero crowned
 With his last glory : but the chill
 Of rest, the irk of peace profound
 Stirred Fortune's child to venture still.⁴

Vain dreams ! Thy marvellous mind to ply
 And goad to doom, who found the art ?
 Throned in thy daring thoughts so high,
 Couldst thou not read a Russian heart ?
 Unwarned of that great-hearted fire,
 Thou still couldst idly calculate
 That peace we wait at thy desire
 And learnest Russia all too late.⁵

³ Compare Napoleon's declaration . " The sentiment of national honour is never more than half extinguished in the French. It takes only a spark to rekindle it."

⁴ Compare Ségur's account of Napoleon at Vitebsk, when he decided to go further with what was practically a new campaign : " Do you think, then, that I have come so far to conquer these huts ?"

⁵ This is really an exact reproduction of Ségur's account at first hand (for he was on the personal staff of Napoleon) of the Emperor's attitude at the gates of Moscow : " Perhaps these inhabitants do not even know how to surrender."

Russia, our queen of war, take heart !
Again thine ancient rights reclaim !
Bright sun of Austerlitz, depart !
Rise, our great Moscow, rise in flame !
Gone are the times of bitterness ;
Our tarnished honour still we save ;
Russia, thy glorious Moscow bless ;
War ! War ! Our pledge is to the grave.

With hands benumbed that grasp the prize,
Still clutching fast his iron crown,
He sees the gulf before his eyes
And reels and reels and so goes down.
The hosts of Europe are in flight,
And all around the bloodstained snows
Proclaim the ruin of their might,
And thaws with them all trace of foes.⁶

Then all the world flamed up in wrath ;
Europe at last threw off her yoke ;
And straight upon the tyrant's path
The curse of all the nations broke.
The people's vengeful hand upraised
The giant sees across his track,
And every wrong is now appraised,
And every injury paid back.

Redeemed are all his tyrannies,
The wounds his feats of war have left,
By exile under foreign skies,
Of freedom, life and joy bereft ;
And to the sultry prison isle
Comes some day one⁷ of northern race
And there in words that reconcile
A tribute on that rock shall trace,—

⁶ The main body of the Grand Army entered Russia at Kovno and went out at the same point. A monument there records its figures at the two passages, over 600,000 when they came in, and some 50,000 when they came out. Sir Robert Wilson, who was with Kutuzov, gives the most astonishing figures of the ravages of the frost on both sides in the last stage of the retreat.

⁷ Pushkin did not go further in the conditions of the Russian censorship than : " A northern sail shall come," and " the traveller will trace."

Where, ever gazing o'er the sea,
 He called to mind the clash of arms,
 The icy midnight misery,
 The sky of France with all its charms,—
 Where sometimes in his wilderness,
 Forgetting war and fame and throne,
 He mused alone in deep distress
 On that sweet infant of his own.

Yes, cover with deservèd shame
 That poor-souled creature who this day
 Shall trouble with his stupid blame
 The uncrowned spirit passed away.
 Praise him ! For he our people showed
 How high the lot which ours should be,
 And from his prison gloom bestowed
 The gift of lasting liberty.⁸

⁸ Napoleon said that in ten years Europe would be either Republican or Cossack. I think it may be claimed, beyond dispute, that it was the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon that together created the liberal period of the 19th century in Europe. It is less easy to understand how the Russian censor could pass these lines.

EVGENY ONEGIN

Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN by
OLIVER ELTON

CANTO FOUR

La morale est dans la nature des choses.—Necker.

VII¹

The less we love her, when we woo her,
The more we please a woman's heart
And are the surer to undo her,
And snare her with beguiling art.
Men once extolled cold-blooded raking
As the true science of love-making :
—Your own trump everywhere you blew,
And took your loveless pleasure too.
Such grave and serious recreation
Beseemed old monkeys, of those days
(Our grandsires') that have won such praise ;
But now the musty reputation
Of all the Lovelaces is dead,
With gorgeous wigs, or shoe-heels red.

VIII

Who is not sick of canting—saying,
In other phrase, things said before ?
Of solemn efforts at conveying
Assurance ?—when we all were sure !
Hearing the old objections ever ;
Dispelling prejudice—though never
A vestige of it had there been
In any damsel, turned thirteen !
Who is not sick of execrations,
Of threats and prayers, affected fears,
Gossip, deceptions, rings, and tears,
Six-folioed communications,
And aunts and mothers watching you ?
—The husband's onerous friendship, too !

¹ Stanzas I–VI are lacking in the original.

IX

You've had Evgeny's meditations.
The victim, from his youth, of old.
Of his tempestuous aberrations,
Ridden by passions uncontrolled,
His pampered way of life had harmed him.
For one thing, for a time, had charmed him,
But the next disenchanted him.
Then, slowly tired of lust and whim,
And tired of flighty, cheap successes,
He feels, amid the hush, or din,
A ceaseless murmur, deep within,
And, with a laugh, his yawn suppresses.
So, for eight years he killed the time,
Wasting the blossom of his prime.

X

Though love of ladies fair now swayed him
No more, he dangled—glad enough
To breathe again, when they betrayed him,
And soon consoled for each rebuff.
Quite without rapture, he pursued them,
And then, without a pang, eschewed them;
Almost forgot their love, their spite
—So some indifferent guest, at night
To play a game of whist arriving,
Sits down; and when the rubber ends,
He promptly now departs, descends,
And homeward, to his nap, goes driving.
Next morn, himself he does not know
Where, that same evening, he will go.

XI

But keenly was he touched and shaken,
When Tanya's missive he perused.
Her girlish dreams had power to waken
A swarm of troublous thoughts confused.
That charming Tanya, he reflected,
Had seemed so pallid, so dejected—
And deeply now immersed was he
In sweet, in blameless reverie . . .
Though heats of old familiar nature

Perhaps possessed him, for a while,
He was not minded to beguile
An innocent and trusting creature.
—But now unto the garden let
Us fly, where he and Tanya met.

XII

Two minutes pass, and yet they speak not.
Then, drawing near, Onegin said :
“ ’Twas you that wrote to me—and seek not
To disavow it. I have read
Your trustful spirit’s free confession ;
And this outpouring, the expression
Of guileless love’s sincerity,
So lovable, has stirred in me
The pulses of long silenced feeling.
I would not offer praise ; but now
Will, in repayment, all avow
In words as artless and revealing.
So, hear my shrift ; myself, and it,
Unto your judgment I submit.

XIII

“ Now, had the life I chose confined me
To the domestic round ; and should
Some pleasing fortune have designed me
For marriage, and for fatherhood ;
Had I, one instant, been enchanted
By pictures of a home :—I grant it,
I would have sought for none beside
Yourself—’tis true !—to be my bride.
I speak no tinselled verse, no fiction ;
’Tis true !—as my first dream, my own,
I would have chosen you alone,
To share the days of my affliction,
As pledge of all things fair and bright,
And won—what happiness I might !

XIV

“ I am not made for joy ; my spirit
Is alien to that blissful lot ;
All the perfections you inherit
Are useless ; I deserve them not.

For us—and take my word's assurance—
Marriage were torment, past endurance.
However strong my love may be,
Custom will quench it, speedily.
Next, will come tears; but all your weeping
Will never touch my heart to ruth;
—Will simply madden it, in truth.
What roses, then, is Hymen keeping
In store for us? bethink you well!
Perhaps for long? ah, who can tell?

XV

“ What home on earth is sadder-fated
Than when the wife must make her moan,
To an unworthy husband mated,
All day, each evening, left alone?
Where her bored man, while duly rating
Her virtues, still goes execrating
His lot? In scowling silence, he
Rages with frigid jealousy.
—Even such am I!—and were you seeking
This, in that letter where is seen
Your pure and fiery spirit speaking,
Your heart so frank, your wits so keen?
Can such a doom have been assigned
To you, by destinies unkind?

XVI

“ Past years, old dreams, no resurrection
Can find, nor I my soul renew.
I give you brotherly affection,
And, maybe, something tenderer too.
So, be not angered; lend me hearing:
—A young girl's visions, often veering,
Lightly from dream to dream may range;
Just as a sapling tree will change,
New leafage every springtime bearing,
For such is heaven's apparent will.
You, too, will love again; but still . . .
Learn self-control! Will all be sharing
My comprehension, my belief?
No: inexperience leads to grief.”

XVII

Thus was Evgeny sermonising.
 Meantime Tatyana, though she heard,
 Was blinded by her tears arising,
 Scarce breathed, and answered not a word.
 He gave his arm ; and, silent wholly,
 She leaned upon it, melancholy ;
 " Mechanically " (as they say),
 Home, round the garden, went her way.
 Her little head in languor bending.
 Though seen together, no one thought
 Of disapproving them in aught.
 Our country manners unpretending
 Their happy right of freedom claim
 While haughty Moscow does the same.

XVIII

You, reader, will agree precisely
 With me :—to Tanya, in her woe,
 Our friend comported himself nicely.
 He had been known, before, to show
 That noble, upright disposition,
 Though people's malice and suspicion
 To him were wholly merciless.
 Onegin's foes—his friends no less—
 (There may be little difference, say you ?)
 Abused him, up and down. All men
 On earth must have their foes,—but then,
 Lord, save us from our friends, I pray you !
 Those friends ! those friendships, above all,
 I have good reason to recall.

XIX

Yes, well ?—this idle rumination,
 So gloomy, now may sleep, for me.
 One parenthetic observation :—
 There is no scurvy calumny
 Hatched in a loft ; no liar's babble,
 Encouraged by the social rabble ;
 No imbecile remark or hint,
 No epigram of vulgar mint,
 But your good friend, who smiles so gently,

Will, in a ring of decent folk,
 Ten times (all wrong) repeat the joke
 All without spite, all innocently,
 Yet stay, through all, your partisan;
 He loves, as only kinsmen can !

XX

Ahem ! Most honoured reader, let me
 Ask,—are your family all well?
 And might it please you to permit me
 This opportunity to tell
 The accurate signification
 Of the words *family, relation* ?
 —With love and kindness we are bound
 To treat relations; with profound
 Respectfulness; to go to see them
 At Yule—our custom national;
 Or, through the post, to greet them all.
 Thus, for the twelvemonth, you will free them
 From giving you one thought; and so,
 Long years God grant them, here below !

XXI

Yet lovely women's love, so tender,
 Gives brighter hopes than friends or kin;
 Your claims on love you'll not surrender
 Through all life's tempests, with their din.
 No doubt :—and yet the whirl of fashion,
 The wilfulness of woman's passion,
 The tide—of what the world thinks right
 Ah, that dear sex is feathery-light !
 And then a virtuous dame, moreover,
 Utmost consideration vows
 To the opinion of her spouse;
 Thus, our true mistress from her lover
 Is in a moment swept away;
 With love, the Devil makes great play !

XXII

Who can be loved, and who be trusted ?
 Who will keep faith with us?—not one.
 Who has each act, each word, adjusted
 To ours, in sweet compliance? none.

Who sows no slanders to offend us,
 Or cares to cherish us or tend us?
 Who, in our faults, no harm can see?
 Who, never once, can cause ennui?
 —No, honoured reader! I advise you,
 Just love—yourself! No more in vain
 Be wasting all your toil and pain
 Or chase a phantom-shape that flies you;
 Believe me, you will never find
 An object worthier, or more kind.

XXIII

Ah, you are easily divining
 The sequel of that interview?
 How that young soul continued pining,
 Thirsting for love, and wretched too,
 And frantic?—Nay, still more her passion
 Is that of hopeless desolation,
 And fills poor Tanya's fevered head.
 For slumber now forsakes her bed . . .
 Her health is gone, her smiles are shrouded;
 Life's bloom and sweetness, maiden peace,
 Are but a hollow sound, and cease;
 Dear Tanya's youth is darkly clouded.
 So shadowing storms enwrap the morn
 While day is struggling to be born.

XXIV

Alas, she withers, ever whiter;
 Her flame is quencht;—and mute is she!
 Nothing can interest, delight her,
 Or rouse her soul from lethargy.
 The neighbours wag their heads, look serious,
 And pass the whispered word mysterious,
 "High time to marry her, high time!"
 —Enough: for now, in haste, my rhyme
 Must liven your imagination
 With scenes of love and happiness.
 My friends, compassion and distress
 Constrain me, not my inclination;
 So pardon me, if all my love
 For my dear Tanya I would prove.

XXV

Lensky, each hour more subjugated
By Olga, youthful, fair, and good,
With all his soul capitulated
To that delicious servitude.
They are inseparable—whether
They sit within her room together
At dusk, or to the gardens fare,
Clasp hands and take the morning air.
And then?—By love enraptured, greatly
Confused and shamefaced,—just at whiles,
Emboldened by his Olga's smiles,
He ventures, shyly, delicately,
To dally with a loosened tress,
Or kiss the fringes of her dress.

XXVI

Sometimes to Olga, to delight her,
He reads a moral, sage romance ;
(A better knowledge has the writer
Of Nature, than Chateaubriand's !)
Yet some few pages of pure fable
And empty stuff—which still is able
To harm a maiden's heart, no doubt,—
Vladimir, blushing, leaves out.
Or, from the world themselves secluding,
The pair, above the chessboard bent,
With elbows on the table leant,
Are seated, and profoundly brooding
He, his attention far withdrawn,
Takes—his own castle, with a pawn.

XXVII

And rides he home? At home, intently
He thinks upon his Olga still ;
And with her features diligently
Loose leaves of album he will fill.
Views, shrines to Venus consecrated,
Tombstones, are there delineated ;
A dove, upon a lyre aloft,
In ink, or colours light and soft.
One page for souvenirs ! below it,

Where many another name is signed,
 A tender versicle you find,
 —Mute record of the dreaming poet.
 Long leaves a passing thought its trace,
 Which all the years cannot efface.

XXVIII

You surely will have seen a blotted
 Girl's album, in some district town,
 By her dear friends all soiled and spotted
 From start to finish, up and down.
 Herein, with words all spelt at pleasure,
 Time-honoured lines, quite void of measure,
 They stick, too short,—too lengthy, too,
 To prove that friendship can be true.
 On the first leaflet you are reading
 "*Qu'écritez-vous sur ces tablettes ?*"
 Subscribed with "*t.à.v., Annette.*"
 And then, upon the last, proceeding :
 "Let him who loves thee more than I
 Write more—if room is left—just try !"

XXIX

And there, assuredly, shall meet you
 Two hearts—a torch—and flowers in bloom ;
 And there, believe me, vows shall greet you
Of love, true-hearted to the tomb ;
 There too some poet-captain, jibing,
 A villanous verse has been subscribing.
 I too, my friends, am happy, quite,
 In such an album to indite ;
 My heart assures me, doubt I dare not,
 That this my fervent, foolish stuff
 Will earn a friendly glance enough,
 —Not spiteful smiles—from folk, who care not
 To ask, all gravely,—Do I show
 Some wit, in all my stuff, or no ?

XXX

But you, odd volumes ! ever finding
 From shelves of libraries your way ;
 Ye albums in your splendid binding,

That vex the rhymesters of the day;
 Books by Tolstoy² once decorated,
 By his swift magic brush created,
 Or Baratynsky's³ pen :—I call
 On heaven :—may lightning scorch you all !
 And is some brilliant dame conferring
 On me her book, in quarto page ?
 Why then, I shake, am swept with rage,
 And deep within my soul feel stirring
 A biting epigram.—But still,
 Go, make them madrigals, at will !

XXXI

No madrigals is Lensky wreathing
 In dear young Olga's album, where
 His pen of truest love is breathing ;
 No frosty, glittering smartness there !
 For all that he had heard or noted
 Of Olga, is to her devoted.
 His floods of elegiac verse
 Do but the living truth rehearse.
 Thus doth thy passionate heart impel thee,
 Inspired Yazykov,⁴ when thy muse
 Sings someone's charms (God knoweth whose),
 And thy choice elegies can tell thee
 At moments, of thine own hard fate,
 And all its history relate.

XXXII

But silence, hark ! a critic urges
 Us all, severely, to fling by
 That miserable wreath of dirges ;
 And to our rhymesters hear him cry
 (Our brethren) : " Now, give over soaking

² Fedor Petrovich Tolstoy (1783-1873), the painter, sculptor, medallion maker, &c., and Hellenist, whose influence greatly raised the social position of artists in Russia.

³ Evgeny Abramovich Baratynsky (1800-1844); for a poem from his " pen," see *Oxford Book of Russian Verse*, pp. 68-9, 194-5.

⁴ For Nikolay Mikhailovich Yazykov (1803-1846) see *Oxford Book of Russian Verse*, pp. 69-71 and 195. Pushkin, in a charming verse epistle of 14 June, 1827 (*Works*, ed. Morozov, vii, 193-4), tells of their meeting long ago in Germany, where they drank together, laments his own debts, and bids Yazykov not to pay *his*, let him, instead, feast and gamble and cultivate Kypris—and Bacchus !

In tears, and your eternal croaking
 And moaning about *days of yore*;
 Chant other themes, or chant no more ! ”
 —Too true : ’tis thy command unerring
 To chant of bugle, mask and knife
 And our dead thoughts to bring to life,
 That scattered treasure disinterring ?
 Friends, am I right ? —“ Quite wrong ! ” —How then ?
 —“ You must write odes,—odes, gentlemen,

XXXIII

—“ The ode⁵ established, as men writ it
 In puissant days of long ago.”
 —What, only festal odes permitted ?
 Stop, friend, it matters not ; you know
 That saying of the bard satiric :
 Now, are a poet’s artful lyric
 and “ meaning strange,”⁶ more hard for thee
 To bear, than our sick rhymesters be ?
 —“ Nay, but the elegy is hollow ;
 Its purpose woeful, empty, vain ;
 The ode can boast a lofty strain,
 A noble purpose.” —Here might follow,
 For us, two centuries of dispute.
 I cannot quarrel ; I am mute.

XXXIV

Vladímir, vowed to fame and freedom,
 Would, in the turmoil of his mind,
 (Except that Olga would not read ’em)
 Himself have many an ode designed.
 Has ever a tearful bard recited
 To her, in whom his soul delighted,

⁵ A retort by Pushkin (see *Works*, ed. Morozov, 1887, III, 315, note) to a writer in the journal *Mnemosyne*, who had urged that “ elegies,” and Pushkin’s in particular, were a species inferior to the ode, which contained more rapture (*vostorg*) and more poetry. In a prose note of 1824 (Morozov, v, 21) Pushkin returns to the charge, saying that the ode is the lowest kind of poem, being destitute of “ plan,” and that mere “ rapture ” excludes the kind of “ tranquillity ” (*spokoiustvie*) which is “ an indispensable condition of the highest beauty ”—a remark reminding us of a famous one by his contemporary, Wordsworth. In the above stanzas, “ elegy ” means any short meditative lyric—not necessarily melancholy.

⁶ *Chuzhoy Tolk*, a work of I. I. Dmitriev, Krylov’s rival in fable-writing, and a literary enemy of Pushkin.

His compositions? We're assured
 That such is life's supreme reward.
 Ay, when his dreams he readeth to her,
 Lovely, beloved, besung, admired,
 And—pleasantly—a little tired,
 How blest is then the modest wooer !
 Blest he—although, perhaps, her thought
 May be quite otherwise distraught.

XXXV

One hearer only am I choosing
 For my attempts at tuneful verse
 And all my fruits of lonely musing :
 —My friend in youth, my ancient nurse.
 No : once the weary meal concluded,
 Where some stray neighbour has intruded,
 Abruptly then his skirts I twitch,
 Breathe tragic speeches in some niche;⁷
 Or else (and here I am not jesting)
 Weary of rhyming, full of ache,
 I ramble out along my lake
 And scare the wild ducks from their nesting :
 They, when my dulcet lines they hear,
 Take flight from shore, and disappear.

XXXVI⁸

[I watch them far : they fade from vision . . .
 The sportsman, stealing through the trees,
 Damns poets, whistles in derision,
 And cautiously uncocks his piece.
 To each his special inclination,
 For each his favoured occupation !
 Some point at ducklings with a gun ;
 Some rave in rhyme—and I am one ;
 Some flap pert flies, destruction dealing ;
 Some guide the mob's inconstant mind,
 And some in war their pastime find ;
 Some revel in each mournful feeling ;
 Some take to drink, and take their fill :
 Thus are compounded good and ill.]

⁷ Morozov, *id.*, refers to Pushkin reading *Boris Godunov* aloud to his friend, A. N. Wolff.

⁸ This stanza, which was in the first edition of the poem, Pushkin discarded.

XXXVII

What of Onegin?—Friends, I owe you
 A prayer for patience, by the way;—
 I will describe him closely; show you
 How he employed the livelong day;
 Lived hermit-wise; was up and doing
 At seven in summer, soon pursuing
 The path to where beneath the crest
 The river flowed; went lightly drest,
 And soon that Hellespont was swimming
 Like him⁹ who sang Gulnare the fair;
 Drank off his coffee then and there,
 Some miserable journal skimming,
 Then, got him clothed . . .¹⁰

XXXVIII, XXXIX

Walks, reading; slumbers deep; and flowing
 Waters that gurgle; woodland shade;
 At times, a fresh young kiss bestowing
 Upon some blonde and dark-eyed maid;
 A steed that's docile, though he prances;
 A dinner, served to suit one's fancies;
 A flask of vintage, clear and good;
 Tranquillity, and solitude—
 Thus lived his saintly life Evgeny,
 And so became its devotee
 Insensibly; nor knew how many
 Fine summer days he passed, carefree,
 At ease, forgetting city haunts,
 And friends, and tiresome festive jaunts.

XL¹¹

Now, this our Northern summer season
 Gleams, and is gone—a travesty
 Of Southern winters; for some reason
 We will not own it, no, not we!
 Too soon, with daylight ever sparer
 And blinks of sunlight ever rarer,
 We feel the tang that autumn brings.

⁹ Byron, *The Corsair*.

¹⁰ Rest of stanza missing in the original.

¹¹ Stanzas XL and XLI were printed in this REVIEW for July, 1933.

The woods, with mournful murmurings,
 Are stript of secrecy and shadow;
 And the wild geese, with shrill parade,
 Make for the South, in cavalcade;
 The low mist settles on the meadow.
 A weary time we must await;
 November's knocking at the gate!

XLI

The dawn comes all in mist, and coldly;
 No sound of work—the fields are dumb;
 And out upon the highway boldly
 The wolf and famisht she-wolf come.
 The horse that passes knows him, snuffing,
 And snorts, the wary traveller, puffing,
 Pelts up the hill. At break of day
 No herdsman now can drive away
 His cattle from the shed; or calling
 At noontide with his horn, can bring
 Them round to muster in a ring.
 The maid¹² spins in her cottage, drawling
 Her song; the matchwood crackles bright,
 Good company for wintry night!

XLII

Behold, the fields are silvered thickly;
 The earth is crackling where it froze;
 (Reader, the rhyme—and take it quickly—
 That you are waiting for, is—*rose*!)
 The ice-clad waters flash and glimmer
 (No stylish, scoured parquet is trimmer);
 The youngsters in a joyous crowd
 Score deep the ice; the skates ring loud;
 The ponderous, red-toed goose, designing
 Upon the river's breast to swim,
 Just ventures on the icy brim,
 Then slips, and tumbles; whirling, shining,
 Gaily the year's first snowflakes pour
 In starry showers upon the shore.

¹² " Surprise was expressed in the journals at it being possible to call a simple peasant *deva* ["maid, virgin"], while gently-bred young ladies were termed a little later *devchonki* ["wenches," canto IV, stanza XXVIII] (*Pushkin's note*).

XLIII

In these far wilds, this season dreary,
 How pass the time? In walking?—Why,
 Just now, the country can but weary;
 Its naked sameness jades the eye.
 —A gallop on the grim steppe, say you?
 But see your steed do not betray you!
 The ice will catch his blunted shoe,
 And he may founder—so may you.
 —Well, under your lone roof sit reading;
 Pradt,¹³ Walter Scott, are just the men.
 —Not wanted? Check expenses, then,
 Or chafe, or drink; and so proceeding,
 Spend the long evening, and next day;
 And finely winter slips away.

XLIV

All idly—and Childe Harold making
 His model—will Onegin brood:
 He sits in icy bath, half-waking,
 Then stays at home, in solitude,
 All day, in his account-books dipping;
 Or, with blunt cue himself equipping,
 From early morn Evgeny falls
 To dummy billiards, with two balls.
 The country evening now is nearing;
 The cue's forgot, the game is played;
 The table by the hearth is laid.
 Evgeny waits; and now appearing
 Is Lensky's troika, with three roans.
 —Look sharp, and see the table groans!

XLV

That blessed wine, produced by Moët
 Or Widow Clicquot, in a trice
 Was brought to table for the poet,
 Chilled, in the bottle, off the ice.
 Like Hippocrene it gleams and flickers;
 The way it foams and plays and bickers
 (Like—choose your own similitude!)

¹³ Dominique de Pradt (1739–1831), abbé, archbishop of Malines; ambassador at Warsaw; favoured by Napoleon, then royalist; publicist and copious writer.

Charmed me; in days of old, I would
 My last, poor, smallest coin be spending
 (Do you remember, friends?) on fizz.
 That flow of magic liquor is
 The source of follies never-ending;
 Of jests and verses in a spate,
 Of joyful dreams, and gay debate !

XLVI

But, with its riotous foam, I find it
 Soon plays my stomach false; and so
 At present I am greatly minded
 To stick to sensible Bordeaux;
 —And for Ay¹⁴ still less am fitted:
 Ay is like a feather-witted
 Mistress, all sparkle, sprightliness,
 Caprice, and whim,—and emptiness. . . .
 But thou, Bordeaux, art like a steady
 Friend, in our griefs, our evil days;
 A comrade everywhere, always,
 To render us fair service ready,
 Or quiet hours with us to spend.
 And so, long live Bordeaux, our friend !

XLVII

The fire is dead, with just a shining
 Gold film of ashes on the coals;
 All but invisible, and twining
 Upward, a wisp of vapour rolls.
 Warm airs are from the fireplace breathing,
 Pipe-smoke is up the chimney wreathing;
 Upon the board the beaker bright
 Still sputters, and the mists of night
 Are on us. . . . How I love the season
 When friends may chatter as they will,
 And friends once more the wine-cup fill !
 (They call that hour, for some strange reason)
Between the wolf and dog.—Now we
 Will hear our friends, in colloquy :—

¹⁴ Pushkin in a note quotes verses from a *Message to L. P.* :—" In my fair years, /poetic Ay/ pleased me with its noisy foam, /with this likeness to love/ or to senseless youth," &c. Ay is a small town in the present department of the Marne.

XLVIII

"What of our neighbour ladies, say you?
 Tatyana, and the sprightly one,
 Your Olga?"—"Fill me up, I pray you,
 One half-glass more—there, friend, have done!
 They all are well: they send their duty.
 —Ah, Olga's shoulders! Still their beauty
 Increases: such a bosom, too!
 And—what a soul! . . . One day—with you,
 Or you'll offend them—I must call there.
 Tell me—I put it to you now—
 (You've looked in only twice, I vow)
 Why you scarce show your nose at all there?
 Dolt that I am . . . see here! and know
 You're askt, this very week, to go."

XLIX

"I?"—"Yes, a nameday celebration,
 Tatyana's, comes next Saturday.
 I bring dear Olga's invitation,
 Her mother's, too; you must obey
 That summons; come!"—"A mob will be there!
 What rattle-taggle shall we see there?"
 "'Who will be there?' No soul will be,
 I'm sure, save Tanya's family.
 Let's go; I ask it as a favour;
 You will?"—"Agreed."—"How dear! How good!"
 And he to *her*, his neighbour, would
 Empty his glass; a pledge he gave her;
 And next began, in lover's vein,
 To talk of Olga once again.

L

Lensky is joyous; fixt and dated
 The happy day, three weeks from this;
 Day of the raptures long awaited,
 The lover's coronal of bliss,
 The secret nuptial bed.—Nor dreamt he,
 Even for a moment, of those empty
 Cold fits of yawning, or what pain
 And worries come in Hymen's train.
 To us—we're Hymen's foes, I own it—

The life domestic merely means
 Rows of exhausting, boring scenes,
 Much as La Fontaine's¹⁵ tales have shown it.
 To such a life was, I'll be sworn,
 My poor, warm-hearted Lensky born.

LI

For he was loved ;—or, so conceiving,
 Was happy. Blest, an hundredfold,
 The man who, heart and soul believing,
 Has pacified his reason cold,
 And in his heart's delight lies sunken,
 Like some night-lodging traveller drunken,
 —Or (to be gentler) butterfly
 Quaffing spring blossom thirstily.
 But wretched he who, never dizzy,
 All things foresees, and who will hate
 Each gesture he can mistranslate,
 Each word,—with fancy ever-busy.
 Experience chills his heart today,
 Forbids it to be swept away.

¹⁵ "Auguste La Fontaine, author of a number of domestic romances" (*Pushkin's note*). Not the great Jean de la Fontaine, the fabulist.

CANTO FIVE.

O thou, my Svetlana, experience not these dreadful dreams!—
 ZHUKOUSKY.

I¹

That year the autumn was belated,
 The weather held so long; and still
 The world awaited winter, waited
 For January to come; until
 On the third night, fell snow. Awaking
 Early, Tatyana saw it making
 The courtyard and the rooftree white,
 And fence and flower-bed; saw the light
 Ice-tracery on the panes, the cover
 Of silver on the trees; the court
 Gay with the magpies and their sport.
 The hills, now softly laid all over,
 Sparkled with winter's carpeting.
 White, sharp, and clear was everything.

¹ Stanzas I and II were printed in this REVIEW for July, 1933.

II

Winter ! the peasant's heart now dances ;
 Again he journeys in his sleigh.
 The old mare sniffs the snow, advancing
 With shambling trot, as best she may.
 The tilted cart is bravely swinging,
 The powdery snow from ruts upflinging.
 In sheepskin coat and belt of red
 The driver perches at its head.
 Next, in his little sledge's traces,
 Pretending to be horse—and there
 Black Puppy sits, for passenger—
 With freezing hands, the houseboy races ;
 The rascal smarts, and grins the more
 For mother, threatening at the door.

III

But such a picture, as I sketch it,
 Will, you may tell me, not attract ;
 " 'Tis all *mean* Nature, wholly wretched,
 With nothing exquisite, in fact."
 —Another bard,² inspired divinely,
 Warmed to his work, and painted finely
 Our earliest snows, in sumptuous style ;
 All tints of pleasure that beguile
 Our winters. Ay, he can allure you
 With fiery verse, when he portrays
 Secret excursions in the sleighs.
 Just now I mean not, I assure you,
 To vie with him—or thee,³ whose verse
 Doth of the Finnish maid rehearse.

IV⁴

Tatyana, knowing not the reason
 —For she was Russian to the core—
 Adored our Russian winter-season
 In all its beauty, cold and hoar :

² " See *First Snow*, a poem by Prince Vyazemsky " (*Pushkin's note*).

³ " See the description of a Finnish winter in the *Eda* of Baratynsky " (*Pushkin's note*).

⁴ Stanzas IV to XXI were printed in this REVIEW for January, 1935.

The sunny rime, the frosty morning,
The sledges, and the tardy dawning
When the snows gleam with rosy hue ;
The misty Christmas evenings, too :
For all the house were solemnising
Those evenings, in the ancient style ;
And all the serving-maids, the while,
Of the young ladies were surmising
And yearly promised each one, plain,
A soldier-husband, and campaign.

V

Tatyana trusted all traditions
Come down from simple folk of old ;
All the cards said, all dreams and visions,
And whatsoe'er the moon foretold.
By tokens she was agitated ;
All things she saw prognosticated
Something mysterious ; oft her breast
Was by presentiments opprest.
If puss, upon the stove reposing,
Purred, washed her face with mincing paw,
'Twas a sure sign, Tatyana saw,
Of visitors ; and when, disclosing
Her twofold horn, the moon on high
Rode newly in the leftward sky,

VI

Then Tanya was all pale and shaking ;
And did perchance a meteor flee
O'er the dark heavens, and fall, and breaking
Scatter to nought, then hastily
Would Tanya, flustered and excited,
Before that star had yet alighted,
Whisper the wish her heart concealed.
And if a hare, amid the field,
Should streak across her path like lightning,
Or if a monk attired in black
Should meet her on the way,—alack !
Distracted by a sign so frightening,
Full of misgiving and of fear,
She knew calamity was near.

VII

Yet, even while her fears abounded,
 A secret pleasure she must own
 (For so hath Nature us compounded,
 Nature, to contradictions prone).
 Yule was at hand,—and such enjoyment !
 Guesswork is flighty youth's employment :
 Youth has no cause for sorrowing ;
 For life lies far ahead, a thing
 Distant and bright, past all conceiving ;
 While spectacted old age must peer
 And guess, although the grave is near
 And all is lost beyond retrieving.
 What then ? With lisplings infantile,
 Hope still attends it, to beguile.

VIII

And curiously Tanya gazes
 Upon the wax that melts and sinks.
 The pattern, with its marvellous mazes,
 Announces marvels, so she thinks.
 The rings come out, in proper order,
 From the dish brimming to the border.
 She draws a ring ; she hums a rhyme,
 A ditty of the antique time :
Riches are there for every peasant :
He shovels silver with his spade :
The man we sing to, he is made
In wealth and fame. But sad, unpleasant,
 The burden tells of something lost :
 The maidens love the *Pussy* most.⁵

IX

A night of frost ; no cloud in heaven ;
 The magic starry choir streams on,
 So calm, harmonious, and even . . .
 To the wide court is Tanya gone,
 Bare-headed, in a kerchief, bending
 A mirror on the moon ascending.
 Only the mournful moon, alas !

⁵ (*Pushkin's note*) : “ ‘ The tom calls his puss to sleep, to the stove-niche,’
 A prediction of marriage ; the first song presages death.”

Is quivering in the sombre glass.
 —Hist, the snow crackles ! Someone coming !
 She tiptoes to him, as on wings,
 And her low voice more softly rings
 Than airs upon a reed-pipe humming :
 “ *What is your name ?* ”⁶ He looks upon
 The maid, and answers, “ Agathon.”

X

By nurse’s counsel, too, the lady
 Would tell her fortunes in the night,
 And in the bath-house bid make ready
 A table laid for two aright,
 All quietly. And yet Tatyana
 Was scared ; and, thinking of Svetlana,⁷
 I too was scared :—I know ; but see,
 Tanya tells fortunes—not with me !
 The silken girdle soon untying,
 Disrobed, she lies upon the bed,
 Whilst *Lel*⁸ is hovering overhead.
 Her maiden mirror, though, is lying
 Beneath the downy pillow deep.
 All quiet ! Tanya is asleep.

XI

A wondrous dream she now is dreaming :
 —That she is walking in a glade
 Covered with snow, and swathed, in seeming,
 With melancholy mist and shade.
 In front, amid the snowdrifts roaring,
 A gray and gloomy flood is pouring.
 Unfettered now by winter’s hand
 It whirls and foams along the strand.
 Across the torrent laid, united
 By icicles, are two thin stakes,
 —A bridge of death that thrills and quakes ;
 And here, bewildered and affrighted,
 Tatyana halts, before the hiss
 And uproar of that dread abyss.

⁶ “ This is how they know the name of the future husband ” (*Pushkin’s note*).

⁷ Heroine of Zhukovsky’s poem, of that name.

⁸ *Lel*, a god of love and marriage, in old Slavonic legend.

XII

And at that plaguy, sundering river
Tatyana can but chafe and chide;
And no one is in sight to give her
A hand to reach the further side;
When, suddenly, the snowdrift surges!
—Who, who is this that now emerges;
A shaggy, a prodigious bear!
And Tanya screams; he bellows there,
A needle-pointed paw extending
To help her. Gathering all her strength,
She leans upon him; now at length
Her timid footsteps she is bending
Across the stream, with hands that shake.
She's over—Bruin in her wake.

XIII

To look behind, her courage fails her;
With quickened pace she tries in vain
To slip the hairy brute, who trails her
Just like a lackey in her train
And lurches on and growls, past bearing.
Before them is a pinewood, wearing
Its sullen beauty, motionless,
Laden with tufts of snow that press
The boughs to earth. The stars in heaven
Gleam through the birch and aspen crests
And leafless limes; and now there rests
On bush and steep, by tempest driven,
The snow; and it is piled and tost
So deeply, that the track is lost.

XIV

She gains the wood, the bear pursuing,
Up to her knees in crumbling snow;
Now a long, sudden branch is screwing
About her neck, or with a blow
Plucks her gold earrings; now the little
Wet slippers, where the snow is brittle,
Clog her dear feet; now lets she fall
Her kerchief, has not time at all
To lift it. Terrified, and hearing
The pad of Bruin at her heels,

With hands all quivering, she feels
Ashamed to lift her skirts. Careering
She flees; he follows, hard upon :
—She flees no more; her strength is gone.

XV

She drops upon the snow, defenceless,
And nimbly Bruin seizes her,
And she, submissive now and senseless,
Borne onward, cannot breathe or stir.
With her by forest paths he rushes;
Soon a mean hovel through the bushes
Appears, all buried deep and bound
With desert waste of snowdrift round.
One window there is brightly glowing,
And the hut rings with cries and yells.
“ *Here,*” saith the bear, “ *my gossip dwells :*
Come, warm thee here awhile.” And going
Straight in the passage, through the door,
He sets her on the threshold-floor.

XVI

There she comes to, and falls a-thinking,
And gazes :—vanished is the beast !
Within, are shouts, and glasses clinking,
As though at some huge funeral feast.
No rhyme is here, nor reason ! Creeping
And through a crevice softly peeping,
What sees our Tanya now ? ah, what ?
There, round a table, monsters squat !
One dog-nosed creature horns is wearing ;
One has a head like Chanticleer ;
There sits a witch, goat-bearded ; here
A skeleton, prim and proud of bearing ;
A short-tailed dwarf ; and here, again,
A thing that is half-cat, half crane.

XVII

But see, more awful, more surprising !
A crayfish on a spider ride ;
A skull, above a goose-neck rising
Red-nightcapped, twists from side to side ;
And here a windmill dances, clapping
Its sails, and squatting, clattering, flapping.

Barks, whistlings, banging, song, guffaw,
 Voices of folk, and hoofs that paw !
 But what is Tanya's meditation
 When, plain among the guests, is he,
 The man she loves, yet fears to see,
 The hero of our strange narration,
 Onegin ! Seated there, askance
 Upon the door he casts a glance.

XVIII

He drinks—all drink, and howl thereafter ;
 He makes a sign ; all fuss and hum ;
 He mocks, and all explode in laughter ;
 He frowns—and all the crowd is mum.
 He is the master there, no error !
 And Tanya loses half her terror,
 And now in curiosity
 Opens the door a thought, to see . . .
 And lo, a sudden blast comes dashing
 And quenches all the candle-lights ;
 Confusion takes that horde of sprites ;
 Onegin's eyes with wrath are flashing ;
 All rise ; he rises with a roar
 Up from the board, and seeks the door.

XIX

Then, panic-stricken, in her hurry
 Tatyana struggles to take flight ;
 But she is powerless ; in her flurry
 She writhes, and tries to shriek outright ;
 In vain ! Evgeny slams and closes
 The door, and that fair maid exposes
 Unto the hellish phantoms' gaze.
 A wild and violent cry they raise ;
 And all those eyes, probosces crooked
 And tufted tails, and tongues that drip
 With blood, and each moustachioed lip,
 Horns, hoofs, tusks, bony fingers hooked,
 All point at Tanya : one and all
Mine ! She is mine ! No, mine ! they bawl.

XX

No, mine ! Evgeny answers grimly ;
 And, presto ! all the gang are flown.

There in the frosty darkness, dimly,
 He and the girl abide alone.
 And softly then Evgeny sways her⁹
 Into a corner, and he lays her
 Down on a tottering bench, and stoops;
 His head upon her shoulder droops.
 Then, while a sudden light is flaring,
 Comes Olga, Lensky follows nigh;
 Onegin waves an arm on high
 And rolls his eyeballs, wildly glaring,
 Those guests unbidden to upbraid,
 While, all but lifeless, lies the maid.

XXI

The jangle swells—Evgeny quickly
 Grips a long knife—and straight he fells
 Lensky—the awful shadows thickly
 Cluster—insufferable yells
 Resound—and all the hut is quaking—
 And Tanya, horror-struck, is waking . . .
 She looks; already it is day
 There in her room; a morning ray
 Red on the frosted pane is dancing;
 And rosier than our northern light
 At dawn, and like a swallow's flight,
 Comes Olga, through the door advancing.
 "Well, well," she cries, "and tell me now,
 What of thy dream? whom sawest thou?"

XXII

But she, her sister never heeding,
 And lying, book in hand, in bed,
 Leaf after leaf turned over, reading,
 But not a syllable she said.
 That volume held—no revelations,
 No poet's sweet imaginations,
 No deep wise truth, no pictured scene;
 But neither Virgil nor Racine,
 Scott, Seneca, or Byron ever,

⁹ (*Pushkin's note*): "One of our critics apparently finds in these lines an impropriety, to us unintelligible."

—No, nor a ladies' fashion-sheet,
 Caused an engrossment so complete !
 Friends, 'twas Martin Zadeka,¹⁰ clever
 Arch-sage of the Chaldeans, who
 Reads and divines your dreams for you.

XXIII

A wandering hawker once had brought it
 To their retreat, that work profound ;
 And Tanya, in the end, had bought it.
 Three roubles and a half she found
 The price to which the man consented ;
 An odd *Malvina*¹¹ he presented
 As well ; but took (besides the cash)
 A sheaf of fables—market trash ;
 A grammar ; epics (two) on Peter ;¹²
 A Marmontel—just volume three.
 And soon Zadeka was to be
 Beloved of Tanya ; he would greet her
 With solace in all woes ; she kept
 His volume by her when she slept.

XXIV

Her dream—she cannot comprehend it—
 Perturbs Tatyana ; and what fate
 By that dread vision is portended
 She fain would now investigate.
 She finds, in the *Contents*, that here is
 A perfect alphabetic series :
Bear—bridge—fir—gloom—and hedgehog ; next,
Raven—storm—snowstorm—wood . . . the text
 Goes on. . . . But Martin's book is failing
 To solve the doubts that vex her still ;
 And yet that dream, of omen ill,
 Forebodes much matter for bewailing.
 And so, for some few days, her mood
 Is one of deep disquietude.

¹⁰ " Books of fortune-telling are published in Russia by the firm of Martin Zadeka, an estimable man, who never wrote any books of fortune-telling . . ." (*Pushkin's note*).

¹¹ A romance (1816–18) by Mme. Cottin.

¹² "*Petrinad*, a heroic poem in ten cantos (1817) by Alexander Gruzintzov " (Morozov, *Works of Pushkin*, note *ad loc.*).

XXV

But lo, from out the eastern valleys,
 While the sun follows at her call,
 Dawn with her purple finger¹³ sallies
 For that blithe nameday festival.
 From early morn the guests arriving
 Throng in the Larins' house; and driving
 Thither whole neighbour households are
 In sledge or carriage, gig or car.
 There's bustle in the hall, and cramming,
 And, in the parlour, strangers meet;
 Pugs yap; young girls with kisses greet;
 While, by the door, are noise and jamming,
 Guffaws, feet scraping, curtseys deep,
 While nurses scream, and children weep.

XXVI

And Pustyakov, with fatness swelling,
 Also his portly spouse, we see;
 Gvozdin, a landlord all excelling,
 Who owns a beggared peasantry;
 Those gray Skotinins, who surprise us
 With offspring of all ages, sizes,
 From two, to thirty at the top;
 And Petushkov, the district fop;
 My own first cousin, too, Buyanov,¹⁴
 With downy face, and peak on cap
 (The man you know so well, mayhap);
 The councillor (retired), one Flyanov,
 Old ponderous gossip, knave and loon,
 Glutton, and grafter, and buffoon.

XXVII

And Panfil Kharlikov then duly
 Drove up, with family; Triquet,
 A goggled, red-wigged Monsieur, newly

¹³ "A parody of Lomonosov's well-known lines, 'The morn with purple finger / From the quiet morning waters / Comes out, with the sun behind her,' etc." (*Pushkin's note*).

¹⁴ Pushkin, in a note, quotes from a poem, *The Dangerous Neighbour*, a description of one Buyanov, unshaven, in peaked cap, etc. He was a "cousin" in the sense of being the hero of this poem by Pushkin's uncle, V. L. Pushkin. See stanza XLIV.

Come from Tambov, a wit ; today
 (True Frenchman !) in his pocket bringing
 Two lines for Tanya, made for singing,
Réveillez-vous, belle endormie !
 Well known to every child.—You see,
 Those lines were printed amongst musty
 Old songs in almanacs, and they,
 By that sagacious bard, Triquet,
 Were brought to light from limbo dusty ;
 But, after *belle*, now boldly came
 Not *Nina*, but Tatyana's name.

XXVIII

Lo, from the nearest suburb bowling,
 The Captain, leaving his command,
 And all the county dames consoling,
 The spinsters' idol, is at hand !
 Hey, what a new sensation for us !
 The regimental band and chorus !
 The Colonel sent them, who but he ?
 It means—a ball ! and happy we !
 Already skip for joy the wenches¹⁵. . .
 But now the meal is served ; and so,
 In pairs, arms linkt, to dine they go.
 The girls, round Tanya, crowd the benches,
 The men throng, posted opposite ;
 All cross themselves, and buzz, and sit.

XXIX

Husht for a moment is the tattle,
 And folk are munching All around
 Plates, knives and forks, *et cetera*, rattle ;
 The glasses jingle and resound.
 Soon, slowly are the guests beginning
 To raise a general tumult ; dinning,
 While no one listens as they shriek
 And shout and wrangle, laugh and squeak.
 Then doors fly wide for Lensky, drifting
 In with Onegin, suddenly.
 " Great Heaven, at last ! " is Madame's cry.

¹⁵ " Our critics, true respecters of the fair sex, have severely condemned the indecorum of this stanza " (*Pushkin's note*). See, too, his note to Canto IV, stanza XXVIII.

The guests all crush together, shifting
Forks, knives, and stools, and call the pair,
And get them seated—ay, but where?

XXX

—Seated, with Tanya fairly facing !
Pale as the moon in daylight's rays,
Timorous as doe whom hounds are chasing,
She keeps her overclouded gaze
Still lowered ; burning wildly, seething
With passion, sick with stifled breathing.
The greetings Tanya never hears
From the two friends ; and now her tears,
Poor child, are like to fall ; and nearly
She faints and drops. And yet her will
And inner strength of reason still
Prevail at last. Two words she merely
Can murmur, through her teeth, at best,
Then sits at table, with the rest.

XXXI

But nerves and tragic revelations
And girls that weep and faint away
Had tried, of old, Evgeny's patience ;
Familiar inflictions they !
And our queer fellow, wroth at lighting
On that prodigious feast, and sighting
Poor Tanya, languorous and seized
With tremors, dropt his eyes, displeased,
And sulkt and scowled in indignation,
And swore he would to fury wake
Lensky, and signal vengeance take.
Exulting in anticipation,
He started sketching, in mind's eye,
Burlesques of all the company.

XXXII

And others, too, could well have noted
Tanya's dismay ; but every eye
And all attention was devoted
To judging of a fat, rich pie
(Which was too salt, and we regret it).
They bring Caucasian wine, and set it

In tar-rimmed bottle, as is meet,
 After the roast, before the sweet;
 Then, rows of glasses long and slender;
 Just like thy waist, Zizi,¹⁶ they seem,
 Thou crystal of my soul, thou theme
 Of verses innocent and tender,
 Thou phial of love, and lure to me,
 Intoxicated—once—with thee !

XXXIII

The bottle pops; the wine can sputter
 Freely, the soaking cork away.
 Now, long upon the rack to utter
 His lines, with solemn pose Triquet
 Is up; all wait till he has spoken,
 Observing silence deep, unbroken.
 Then, holding out a leaflet, he
 To Tanya turns (half-dead is she !);
 And strikes up, tuneless. Acclamation
 And plaudits hail him. She of course
 Must curtsy to the bard, perforce.
 He, first to drink in salutation,
 Modest for all his greatness, stands,
 And lays his couplet in her hands.

XXXIV

Then Tanya thanked them all, for many
 A happy wish and compliment.
 But, when his turn arrived, Evgeny,
 Seeing her face, so tired and spent,
 And her confusion, so appealing,
 A new-born pity now was feeling,
 And made his bow, without a word;
 But somehow, in his glance there stirred
 A wondrous touch of kindness.—Whether
 All genuinely moved was he,
 Or jested, in pure gallantry,
 Impulse—good will—or both together,
 That glance could only kindness show;
 And Tanya's heart it left aglow.

¹⁶ Morozov notes that this was a familiar name for a friend of Pushkin's, Evpraxya N. Wolff.

XXXV

They shift the clattering chairs; and shoving
 Into the parlour streams the crowd.
 So swarms a beehive, honey-loving
 Into the fields, and buzzes loud.
 Now, with the festal dinner mellow,
 Each neighbour wheezes to his fellow;
 Dames by the fireplace sit in ring,
 Girls are in corners whispering;
 Green tables then are stript; devoted
 Old testy players start their game,
 Whom ombre, and whom boston claim,
 And whist, till now a pastime noted:
 —A tribe of deadly sameness, ye,
 Of greed begotten, and ennui!

XXXVI

Eight lengthy rubbers terminated,
 The champions of whist have now
 Eight times their places alternated;
 And tea is served.—I like, I vow,
 To measure out my day by dining—
 Tea—supper, thus the hours defining.
 We country folk the moment know
 Unworried,—for our stomachs go
 Right, like a watch. (I take occasion
 To note that in my lines I treat
 Of banquets, sundry things to eat,
 And corks, with no less iteration
 Than thine, O godlike Homer, lord
 By thirty centuries adored!)

XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX¹⁷

The tea is served; the girls, decorous,
 Just touch their plates; beyond the door
 Swiftly bassoon and flute sonorous
 Ring out, on the long ballroom floor.
 Cheered by the thunderous music sounding,
 Now doth the Paris of surrounding
 Townships (forsaking tea with rum),
 Young Petushkov, to Olga come;

¹⁷ The numbers XXXVII, XXXVIII indicate stanzas discarded by so, too, stanza XLIII, below.

To Tanya, Lensky. Kharlikova,
 A damsel now of years mature,
 Tambov's own poet will secure,
 Buyanov whirls off Pustyakova;
 They stream and muster in the hall;
 Now, in full splendour, shines the ball.

XL

When I began my tale, I meant it
 To have (see sheet the first, for plan)
 A ball at Petersburg, presented
 Quite in the manner of Alban;
 But, into idle daydreams falling,
 I soon was busy with recalling
 The feet of ladies whom I knew;
 And on the slender tracks of you,
 O little feet, I strayed completely.
 High time I should become, in truth,
 Sager than in my fickle youth,
 —Reform, in style and doings, meetly;
 And this new sheet, my fifth, must I
 From all digressions purify.

XLI

The waltz is whirling now and spinning
 In its insane monotony,
 —Like youth, when life is just beginning;
 Pair after pair goes flashing by.
 And now, his hour of vengeance nearing,
 Onegin in his sleeve is sneering,
 He goes to Olga—circles fast
 With her, round all the guests—at last
 Gives her a chair—makes conversation
 On one thing and another—then,
 Two minutes later starts again
 With her, still waltzing. Consternation
 Is universal, blank surprise;
 Nay, Lensky cannot trust his eyes.

XLII

Then the mazurka rang, sonorous.
 Unto its thundering peal, of yore,
 The whole vast ballroom rockt in chorus,
 The heelstrokes shook the waxen floor,

And window-frames all quivered, griding.
 Not so, these days ! We all go sliding
 On vanished boards,—as ladies do ;
 And yet, in town and village, you
 May find that the mazurka duly
 Its old, primeval beauties keeps.
 Heeltaps—moustachioes—little leaps
 Remain, unchanged by our unruly
 Bad tyrant, Fashion,—who is still
 Our modern Russians' chronic ill.

XLIII, XLIV

My cousin,¹⁸ then,—he's somewhat heady—
 Buyanov, to our hero led
 Tanya, with Olga All too ready,
 Onegin off with Olga sped.
 He takes her, gliding negligently ;
 Leans down to her ; and whispers gently
 Some homage, cheap and commonplace,
 Pressing her hand. And Olga's face
 Wears livelier and redder blushes,
 Self-pleased. My poet all has seen,
 And, now beside himself with spleen
 And jealous indignation, flushes ;
 Through the mazurka waits, to call
 For one cotillion, after all.

XLV

“ She cannot ! ”—Cannot ? God in heaven !
 But what is this ? and what hears he ?
 —That Olga has her promise given
 Unto Onegin ? So, could she . . . ?
 This child, coquetting, feather-witted,
 Who scarce her swaddling-bands has quitted !
 Already conversant with wile,
 Already practised to beguile !
 Our Lensky, stricken past all bearing,
 Damns women's tricks ; he will not stay,
 Calls for his horse, and leaps away.
 For one thing only is he caring :—
 Two pistols, and two bullets, straight
 And swiftly shall decide his fate.

¹⁸ See note to stanza XXVI.

FAR-AWAY MARYSIA

*Translated from the Polish of K. P. TETMAYER by H. E. KENNEDY
and Z. UMIŃSKA*

JASIEK MOSIENZNY played beautifully on the fiddle; and he knew how to make up songs, such as none could make for miles around. Because of his playing and singing his name resounded far and wide, and people knew him in Maruszyn and in Krauszow, in Dzianisz and in Koscieliska Valley. And since women take to men whose fame goes round in the world (as it used to be said: "What shines bright is woman's delight"), the girls clave to him; and it was well if none of the married women wore out their eyes, they stared at him so. He had no great objection to all that, as men usually haven't; but, for the most part, he paid little attention to it. There were very rich girls, too, who wanted him to marry them, but he didn't bother about them at all; though he had nothing himself except what he got by playing on his fiddle at a wedding, or in an inn, or what he earned at carpentering, at the sawmills or at the joinery. He could turn his hand to anything.

Yet such is the nature of these music-folk—what he didn't care about, give it to him and he wouldn't take it, but what he liked he'd give his soul for, even to the devil. There's nothing to be done with such folk as that—they're stupid like!

Jasiek Mosienzny's native village saw but little of him. He wandered continually, especially in summer when the sheep had been driven out to pasture. You'd meet him in Panszyca, where the Poronin men grazed their sheep, or on the Caterpillar Meadows near Zakopane, or again near Mientuszany, or in Chocholowska Valley, or in Zuberska near Oravce. People knew him everywhere. He came, he played, he taught them new songs: and whithersoever he came, at once the girls, aye and even the wedded women, would kiss him and that not on the face but on the hands, too, and would kneel before him as before a holy picture. Such luck had he! But mostly he rather laughed at it all, and though at times he ran a good bit after that sort of thing, none knew the tune that his heart was playing . . .

Yet when he was alone so that none heard him, high up among the peaks or deep in the forest, he would take his fiddle from under his arm, and play and sing to himself in his own way, a different

one from the way folk sing in the mountain villages of Rocky Podhale. His song was something like this :

“ Up among the peaks I’m roving—
Play, my fiddle, play !
Down below the country’s spreading,
Far and far away.

Far and far my gaze is roaming—
(Sound, my fiddle, sound !)
I would take my heart and hold it
With my two hands round.

I would take my heart and cast it—
(Sound, my fiddle, there !)
At the feet of one fair maiden,
If I knew but where.

I would cast it to that maiden—
(Play, my fiddle, play !)
But she ne’er her face will show me,
Hiding far away.

I would cast it though ’twere breaking
(Music, softly die !)
At her feet, and at her’s only,
Who will please mine eye.

But my eyes can nowhere see her—
(Play, my fiddle, play !)
Though across the plain they’re gazing,
Far and far away.”

It was a bit like that, Jasiek’s song.

And then he got acquainted with Marysia Chocholowska from the Koscieliska Valley, who grazed cattle near the Ornak Mountain.

Now this Marysia was very strange, and nobody had ever seen another wench like her. Sometimes she would sit down on a stone or on a tree stump, and would gaze and stay like that for half a day; at home in the living-room, or sitting outside the cottage, it was quite the same. She had misty, blue eyes that seemed to look around her, but it was quite plain that she saw nothing in the world. If you spoke to her she would look up at once, and would

smile and talk in such a sweet, pleasant way that her words were like honey dripping into your heart. She would go to dances and weddings, she would even laugh with the lads, but it was clear that she wasn't thinking of all that—her thoughts were elsewhere; and she liked best of all to sit alone somewhere with the cows or be shut up in her bedroom at home. Then she would lie down on the grass or on her bed and would close her eyes and be still. Folk called her "Far-away Marysia" for she had gone, as it seemed, somewhere far away from the world.

But there were those who would have wedded her, for she was a comely maid, just like a flower, and a good housewife, modest and well-off. She thanked them for their offers and refused.

"Ask me to your wedding with someone else," she would say, "and I'll ask you to my funeral," and she would smile as sadly as a fading plant and as brightly as water in a mountain torrent.

She was twenty-three, and still it was so.

Oh, but when that Jasiiek Mosienzny, the music-man, met her near Ornak, he went no more that summer to the Poronin or Panszyca girls, or to the Zuber Valley. He stayed in Koscieliska, sitting and singing to himself most of the time.

"Comfort I can't reap, my maid; to sow it I've neglected.

Comfort bring to me, my Mary, whence 'tis least expected."

Thus he would sing. He would look at Marysia Chocholowska, and whenever she looked back at him his fiddle would quiver in his hand as if his fingers were frozen.

Seeing this, one herd-girl said to another:

"There! That Jasiiek of ours has gone and fallen in love with Far-away Marysia! God pity him!"

But jealousy seized them, for a wench is such a rogue that sometimes even if she doesn't want a man for herself she will be jealous of another. There are a few who aren't like that—but very few.

And this Marysia seemed not to dislike Mosienzny; on the contrary, it would appear sometimes as if she even liked him well enough. But how much of that liking there was he couldn't make out. She talked to him, and when he played she listened; sometimes she even asked him to play and sometimes she would whisper very softly: "Play to me about that Janiczek who grazed cattle. . . ." And straightway her paleness would show on her cheeks!

Then he would play the tune--you all know it :

" Once when I was grazing cattle near a wood so green and gay,
Came to me a comely maiden, asked me what I did that way."

He would play . . . sometimes he played the same thing for an hour or two without changing, and she would listen, getting paler and paler; and then she would say " Thank you " to him, and would go away and hide herself so well that nobody could find her.

" Oh, Jasiek, you won't get Marysia by your playing ! " said the wenches to him

" Even so I'd rather play to her than kiss you," answered he.

" Oh, Jasiek, 'tis a pity for you ! "

" Though I died for her 'twere no pity."

" It isn't your fate to get her."

" The Lord of Heaven Himself was once miraculously changed."

And then when he would go and throw himself down under a fir-tree, with his face to the earth . . . why, 'twas pitiful to see him !

Simon Tyrala, the old shepherd, son of Stanislas—a wise fellow, for he had even been a corporal in the Austrian Empress Tess's army, in the dragoons—once said, as he looked at Jasiek, the music-man, lying under a fir-tree :

" Those music-men—they're somehow quite different from anyone else . . . There are some of them wise, but very few; and if you come across a stupid one, it's the very devil ! "

" There was one in our regiment, in the third squadron, a trumpeter, a fine fellow. Wait . . . he had a queer kind of name . . . Niedopil or something like that, and his Christian name was Charles; and what do you think he did, when he fell in love with a wench, a servant-girl in Vienna? Splash he went into the Danube from a bridge ! "

" Goodness gracious ! " cried Antosia, Mardula's daughter, who had just begun her seventeenth year. " And did he drown himself ? "

" They dragged him out scarcely alive, and the sergeant-major asked him why he was so stupid; and he says, says he : ' Because the wench I fell in love with didn't want me.' "

" And what happened afterwards, godfather ? "

" As soon as they let him out of the hospital, splash he went a second time; but that time he managed better, for they found him no more."

" Oh, Lord Jesus ! "

"And he could play, he could, so well that that Austrian Field-Marshal Laudon himself once gave him two silver thalers at the manoeuvres. He even looked a little like Jasiak Mosienzny about the eyes."

"Oh, I wish somebody would love me like that, too", said Antosia.

Day followed day and week followed week but nothing changed. Marysia listened to Jasiak's music, but he got no nearer to her.

"Well, ask her anyhow," said the wenches, "whether she likes you or not"

"But I daren't."

"Take heart of grace. You're a man, aren't you?"

"And if she says 'no' to me?"

"You'll turn to another."

"God forbid! I'd rather sink into the earth here and now."

"Don't blaspheme!"

"Oh, Heaven's not fair to me, nor is hell terrible."

"Are you so much in love with her?"

To that question he answered nothing.

Thus it remained till one sunny day came, such clear, bright weather as hadn't been yet that year. Jasiak Mosienzny got up early, lifted up his head, looked round at the sky, and the crags, and said to himself:

"True! Am I not a man? Let it be once for all either one way of the other!"

And he went straight to Marysia. He found her standing bent over a stream, her skirt tucked in between her knees, her legs bare to the knee. She was washing.

"Marysz!" says he.

Marysia straightened herself.

"Well?"

"Marysz, I can hold back no longer. I love you."

She went red and then very pale.

"I love you," repeated Jasiak. "I'd take you for my wife."

But she shook her head sadly, meaning "no."

"No?" said he, and one could see that all went dark before his eyes.

"No."

"Never?"

"Never!"

"Is that your last word?"

"It is my last."

He could scarcely speak: "Why? I love you like the power of God."

"I'll stay as I am . . . forever . . . I'll be no man's wife . . . ever."

She turned from him, bent down, and began to wash again.

Jasiek Mosienzny tried to speak to her again, but she gave him no answer. Tears came and came to his eyes, though he wasn't one to weep. He kept them back from coming down his cheeks; but it seemed to him that they all dripped into his heart, like the molten tin he'd seen dripping in the casting-house at Kuźnica.

He went away.

But after that Far-away Marysia was quite different to him. She avoided him, she sometimes said disagreeable things, she never asked him to play, she never listened when he played. It was as if he had done her some wrong—cold, as if from ice, wafted from her.

And this tormented the unhappy Jasiek, for what had he done? He had said he loved her. Had he forced her to love him? Had he intruded on her? No! At one word from her he had stood off like as when a thunderbolt strikes a big branch from a fir. She'd refused him. He'd gone away.

And he thought and thought—what could the reason of it be? Was it that he did not please her? Well, that might be. But that she should never want to wed, she, such a pretty, healthy young girl, was incomprehensible . . ."

Some reason, some reason there must be . . . perchance some heavy grief.

'Tis not for nothing that folk sing:

"Mother, though nought pains me, I shall soon be dying:
That I cannot have, for which my heart is crying."

He was so miserable that he didn't know what to do with himself.

"There," he would say, "I wish I hadn't said a word . . . What have I done to her? Why, I didn't offend her! I didn't insult her! My beloved!"

And he did nothing but walk about in the forest and play. He played in such a way that once Antosia Mardula, who was herding cows, was so moved by his playing that she wept both loud and long.

"What're you crying for, girl?" asked old Simon Tyrala of her.

"Because Ja . . . Jasiek is playing . . . like that . . . godfather."

"Let him play there! Let him play!"

"But . . . I'm so sorry . . . I . . . don't know what to do."

"And why are you sorry?"

"How am I to know . . . godfather?"

As long as the weather was fine Jasiek would wander about the forest with his fiddle, and kept up as well as he could. But when the rains came, when the cloudy, gloomy first days of autumn arrived, when snow powdered the tops of the mountains, when the mist came down and darkened the valleys, his soul for very grief had nearly fled away. For she would not love him, and he knew not how he had offended her, how he had vexed her, what evil he had done. He knew not which was worse—the first or the second. For her love he would have given his life. For any offence of his he would have atoned with his life . . . he would indeed !

One afternoon Marysia didn't take the cows out. He saw her going into the shepherd's shed where the food was cooked. He went after her. The fire was very low, only just glowing a little . . . It was darkish.

He said nothing but sat down on a bench near the wall. She sat on a stool, not looking at him.

Some time passed without a word being spoken. Then Jasiek took his fiddle from the peg on the wall and strummed on the strings with one finger. He ceased ; then strummed again, once, twice. Finally, with his fingers, he made the strings sound to the tune :

“ Once when I was grazing cattle near a wood so green and gay
Came to me a comely maiden, asked me what I did that way.”

With that Marysia burst out crying. She stifled it once, but afterwards it broke from her like fire bursts out

Jasiek leaped from his seat : “ Marysz, what's the matter? Why are you crying? ”

She sobbed on.

“ Why are you crying? Your tears are like stones cast at me. Tell me ! Why are you angry with me? I can't bear it any longer. What have I done to you? How have I wronged you? Marysz ! ”

“ Oh, you've done nothing to me, you've wronged me in no wise . . . Only why did you strum that way on the strings? ”

Jas fell a-meditating. He thought for a moment, then flung the fiddle to the ground and kicked it. He took Marysia's hands and kissed them.

“ Forgive me ! ” he said.

“ I've nothing to forgive. How are you to blame? Not a bit ! ” answered she.

“ Why did you get angry with me? ”

"I didn't get angry, Jas, I didn't . . . You'll never understand it . . . never . . . never!"

"You didn't get angry?" cried Jasiek, looking up at her.

"No, only my heart was full of grief."

Once again tears began to make their way towards Jasiek Mosienzny's eyes, but he kept them back.

"Why was it full of grief?" he asked.

"Oh, if you knew . . . I've sorrowed . . . sorrowed in silence . . . and now . . . out loud."

"Was it my fault . . ."

But tears burst forth again from Marysia's eyes, and, heedless now of everything, she began to sob, lamenting thus: "O, I loved him, I loved him! . . . Oh, I loved him, I loved him!" and she swayed as if she would faint. She could scarce support herself against the wall, and Jasiek held her up

"He sang like that while his horses grazed . . ."

She could say no more, she fell silent and Jasiek Mosienzny kept kissing her hands and her knees. There was no movement in the mountain shed . . . except a blue flame dancing over the burnt-out ashes, where the fire had been.

"He didn't want me," said Marysia after a while. "He married Zosia Czajowna. I never said a word to him, but he knew that I was perishing. . . Oh, when the marriage procession went to Chocholow church . . . oh, when it went! . . ."

"Marysz!"

"Nothing . . . I'll hold it back . . . They were led to the altar . . . I stood there—aside . . . when the priest linked their hands together . . ."

"Marysz!"

"No use . . . The priest bound their hands together, they exchanged rings, he wedded them, he took their pledges . . . and my lad was hers. He came out of the church with a feather in his hat, with red ribbons on his cape . . . She wore a wreath . . . Oh, Jasiek! . . . You might live to a hundred and not live through what I did then."

"Marysz!"

"And I stayed so. I stayed there near the church, by the wall. None saw me . . . They drove off . . . and they played his own tune for him—that same . . . I stayed there till next morning . . . I prayed to God to send me death—but death came not . . . And I vowed to myself and swore an oath: As the priest joined your hands and bound you together forever; so do I vow and

swear to Thee, oh God, since Thou hast not deigned to give me this happiness, I will never be led to the altar in a wreath, never, never. I'll be laid in my coffin—maiden as I am."

"Marysz!"

"And he drove off with her to where he'd taken her from—to Dlugopol. There they live. I've seen him time and again since, most often at Ludzimir, on Indulgence Days, for they're always there since 'tis near them, in their parish. I go there on purpose . . . four years now . . . and I'll keep going there . . ."

"Doesn't it hurt you?"

"Ay, but at least I see him . . . They have children . . . two . . . with grey eyes like his . . . I saw them . . . Though they were her children, I would have kissed those grey eyes of theirs . . . Oh, Jasiek!"

"Oh, Marysz!"

"And so I shall stay forever, alone with that pain."

"And what'll become of us now?"

"Go away, leave me," said Marysia. "You'll find another girl. No luck grows for anyone near me. Such is my cursed fate."

"There—so that was the ice-breath that wafted from you! Do you like me? Even a little bit?"

She took her hands in his and pressed them with her fingers and drew them up to her breast and said: "I do like you. I like you very much."

But she tore herself away and ran out of the shed.

Jasiek stayed, nor did he move till the shepherds came and found him there, looking like a dead man.

"What's the matter with you, Jasiek?" they asked . . . but he said no word and went out of the shed.

He sought Marysia and found her in the cow-house, milking the cows. A fire-pot glowed beside her.

"Marysz," said Jasiek, "I won't leave you thus, I don't want to. I'm not a fellow that'd dispute with you, or try to take you by force. If you were poor and I rich! But as it is, if you don't care for me, what use am I to you? What is my fiddle to you, or the sounding name it has in the world? I'd throw it down at your feet, and my bleeding heart with it and that deep love of mine. But I won't leave you so, or say farewell like this. You're like a saint to me, you're as if you'd stepped down to me from among the angels. I'm alone in the world, like that dry maple at Jarzembica, in the clearing. I've nobody anywhere. I play to the people, but only the wind of the mountains plays to my heart. Be as a sister to me!"

He bent towards her knees. He embraced them and she put down the milk pail, and put her hand on his head, and said : " I can't be anything to anyone now—I want nothing but death. Let us part. Go elsewhere. Leave me alone with that pain in my heart."

" Oh, Marysz, Marysz ! " said he. " God's my witness, I'd take that wound to myself, if only 'twere better with you—if only t'were well."

" Go ! I care for nothing in the world but death."

She gave him her hand and then she pushed him gently towards the door. Jasiek Mosienzny was giddy and something cracked in his breast.

He went on and on through the forest, towards the Tomanova Craggs, not knowing whither he went. When at last he sat down under a red fir-tree, up above the forest, it was quite dark. Snow was blowing in the wind, and mist had covered the mountains. He took out his fiddle from under his cape, looked at it and said : " Oh, fiddle, what have you given me in my life ? What have you played to me ? What I don't care for pushes itself into my hands, and what I'd give my soul for isn't mine . . . What use are you to me when you can't play happiness to me ? What good is my sounding name to me ? Oh, fiddle of mine ! "

He drew his bow across the strings, though a snowstorm from the peaks was coming on, and he sang thus to his playing :

" Far among the folk I'm faring—
(Play, my fiddle, play !)
Fast within my heart is dying
But my life will stay.

Fast within my heart is dying—
(Fiddle, play to me !)
God for me no joy is sowing—
No joy shall I see.

God for me no joy is sowing—
(Fly, my swift bow, fly !)
And thou Marysz, loved, my Marysz,
Of thy sorrow die !

Die of pain and die of sorrow—
(Play, my fiddle, play !)
In a green grave will'st be buried
With thy pain one day."

Thus Jasiek Mosienzny, the music-man, understood Marysia's vow, and it seemed to him as if he were looking down a dreadful steep, into a bottomless pit. "So that was the ice-wind that blew from you!" he repeated to himself, and it seemed to him as if, at the thought of it all, the very earth would sink from beneath his feet with sorrow for Marysia and for his own love.

"It might have been well with us," he thought, and it seemed to him as if he heard Marysia—Far-away Marysia—lying face downward on her bed in the shed, murmur:

"Oh, my heart, my heart, my heart!"

THE HILL OF THE SAVIOUR

Translated from the Bulgarian of ELIN-PELIN by EARL W. COUNT.

GRANDDADDY ZAHARIA¹ slowly trudges on, with little Monko riding pick-a-back. Monko, his dry little hands clasped about the neck of his bearer, has slumped down, so that beads of sweat bedizen the old man's flushed face and water his straining neck. Monko's small grip is choking him; it makes bloody mists drift across his strained eyes; still he moves slowly onward, careful of his burden.

The sun is setting, and night lies in stealthy, breathless ambush among the fragrant meadows, the green vineyards, the brakes and the dark groves that stretch away on all sides.

And people, people everywhere. . . . People from all sides, coming by every path, one after another; they catch up and pass each other, all heading for that high, steep, pointed hill, the one old Zaharia has long known to be the Hill of the Saviour. The ancient, shaggy oak is on the summit, and by it the little, white shrine. Over the ample shoulders of the hill the people swarm like ants. Old Zaharia looks and is amazed. Where do they all come from? It's wonderful! By waggon, by horse, afoot, from far and near, from as far as he can see come people hurrying to the summit. And what isn't there among them! Some, poor tatterdemalions, their flesh showing through their rags; others in rich, fresh clothes; but each bears his own peculiar infirmity and his individual hope of a healing. Some with rickety crutches drag

¹ "Granddad"—"Dedo"—in Bulgarian is a term of familiarity or affection bestowed upon old men. Thus, later on in the story, God is spoken of as "Dedo Gospod"—literally, "Grandpa Lord." I have chosen to keep this translation, since we have no English equivalent.—E.W.C.

themselves along like snakes; others have stilts; others, again, have loathsome sores on their bodies; blind people; lame people. . . .

"Granddaddy, where are all these people going?" asks the little sick boy.

"They're all going there, dear."

"Are they all sick, granddaddy?"

"The whole world is sick, sonny. Some of this, some of that. There isn't a sound person in the world. You look at them—the body is iron, but the soul—all rotten."

From the summit wafted down the quiet, churchy voice of the wooden clapper; it poured like a blessing over the verdant landscape sown with human hopes.

Old Zaharia, worn out, sat down by the wayside and took a deep breath.

"Cross thyself, my dear."

Monko unclasped his hands from his grandfather's neck, and they both crossed themselves repeatedly, seated among the green weeds along the way.

"Granddaddy, I want to walk."

"Thou'rt too weak, my dear little fellow, thou'lt tire thyself out."

"But I want to walk, granddaddy," Monko insisted tearfully.

Old Zaharia raised him carefully, took him by the hand, and they started on. Monko, aged ten, sickly, frail little orphan, walked like a shadow beside his grandfather. On his white, dry face there stood out large, blue veins; his feet knocked together from sheer weakness, his hands dangled like sticks. His large, blue eyes, fearfully wide open, roamed everywhere; they followed with tender wonderment the singing lark that circled below the heavens; or the slaty pigeons that disappeared into the evening sheen towards the dark grove in the west; or the little, gilded gnats that sprayed like water-drops in the air.

Old Zaharia was walking very slowly, so as not to tire the little fellow; but, when he saw that the sun had set and the people along the route were thinning out, he again picked him up on his back and moved more rapidly.

On the summit flitted human shadows, aimlessly, as though lost.

"The people are hunting up places already; we are late, sonny," said the old man.

"Will Grandpa Lord come down there early, granddaddy?" asked Monko.

"Early? Well! He'll wait until all have arrived that have

started. There are some that are coming from a long way off, there are lame, and blind, there are some who don't know the way, some one may get lost . . . When all have gathered, and all have gone to sleep, Grandpa Lord will call an angel to carry his crook and will say to him, 'Come on!' They will drop down quietly from up there among the stars, and slowly, slowly they will come down. Grandpa Lord will pass among these people that are here, quietly so that no one shall hear him, no one shall see him, and he will speak healing to every one. After that, slowly, slowly, just as he came, he will ascend and return to heaven, just as once before he did on the mountain, on the same day, tomorrow—Ascension Day."

"Will all the people get well, granddaddy?"

"All of them, all of them!" answered Old Zaharia, devoutly believing. "Maybe now, maybe after a year, after five, after ten years. Whoever believes will be saved."

Monko listened to his grandfather's mysterious words, saturated as they were with warm faith; and, although he did not understand them, his soul waxed light and warm. He rested his pale face on his grandfather's shoulder and gazed at the tall wooden cross on the hilltop and fell to pondering. They will all, all get well. . . . Some now, some after five, some after ten years. Why shouldn't Grandpa Lord, since he gives health to people, give it them right away? Tomorrow, then, all would return well. Here is Grandpa Zaharia tiring himself out to bring him to this place, yet it may be even ten years before he gets well. No, Monko wants to get well this very night, so as to return well tomorrow, to run over the fields, to gather flowers, to chase butterflies, to play ball with the other children. What a long, long time since he last played ball, and how he'd long to play to his heart's content!

"But are there any left after twenty years to get well, granddaddy?" Monko asked suddenly.

"God's will, dear one! Maybe after twenty years too," answered Old Zaharia, deeply pondering; and he sighed.

Monko again fell a-thinking. After twenty years! The sick boy's little brain could not understand this at all, and upon his pure spirit, full of life and joy, there fell the shadow of despair. Had he known this, he would have asked his granddaddy to take him to the doctor. To be sure, every one said that the doctor asked a lot of money; but if you begged him, surely you could manage with less.

"The doctor can cure all at once, can't he, granddaddy?" Monko asked again.

"What can the doctor do without God's will!" answered old Zaharia; and he added a little reproachfully:

"Oh dear, what things thou askest me!"

Monko said nothing.

Old Zaharia walked silently and briskly along the crooked hillside path, while streaks of sweat bedecked his face

When they came out on the top, it was dark already. Stars were strewn thickly over the sky, crowding upon each other as never before. Their gentle and wondrous brilliance pressed the darkness down upon the earth; and Monko, except for the dreamy shadows of the surrounding hilltops, could see neither grove nor field, nor his native village, nor the path they had come by. His grandfather was gathering from the brambles dry leaves and twigs for a fire; while Monko turned about and gazed timidly into the darkness; and some mysterious fear filled his heart. The little window of the shrine stared into the dark, immobile and fearsome, like a glowing eye, while the silhouette of the shaggy oak stood by like some large, ugly bear with its mouth open. In the dark there flitted the silent, stealthy human shadows, like phantoms that suddenly emerged from the earth and again sank back into it. Here and there camp-fires burned, and about them sounded fragments of conversation; also, long, deep, painful groans that raised little Monko's hair. From somewhere or other in the dark came a helpless woman's voice, wailing like a song.

"Mama, pick me up, mama, I'm dying ——"

"Granddaddy!" whimpered Monko, and hugged the old man's knees as he stirred the fire.

"Don't be afraid, dear, don't be afraid!" so his grandfather soothed him.

After they had had supper, old Zaharia wrapped Monko up well in his blanket, and both lay down together beside the flickering fire.

Monko could not sleep. He was listening to the scraps of conversation of the people who lay dark and motionless like corpses about the camp fires; he was listening to the heavy sighs of the sick, and in his mind there stood out the large icon in the village church, in which was depicted the Second Coming, with hell, the devils, the sinners upon whom descends from out of the clouds with terrible might Grandpa Lord himself, big and angry, with a golden crown on his head.

"Granddaddy, when will the Second Coming be?" asked Monko.

"Which?" asked old Zaharia out of his dose.

"The Second Coming?"

"Come, come, go to sleep, my dear," answered the old man drowsily, and went back to his snoring.

Monko threw back the cover from his head, turned on his back and looked up at the sky. In the sky sparkled the little stars, one next to the other, mild and lovely, like living children's eyes. Monko looks at them with a smile, and his little heart fills with happiness as quiet and gentle as their light. He is not going to sleep, he is going to wait and see how from among the stars Grandpa Lord will appear with the little angel, and how they will come down to the earth. Monko's imagination already sees this almighty healer, Grandpa Lord.

He is big, oh, how big he is, he is descending from heaven in a long, red gown with a cross in his hand and a golden crown on his head, as he is in the pictures in the church. Behind him the little angel is carrying the crook and is looking loftily at the children round about, like Tsenko Popov when he censures in front of his father during Mass.

Suddenly Monko feels ill. Sharp chills run over his body; his head swims. A black swaddling-cloth drops over his eyes, another one drops, a third, a fourth. He wishes to call to his grandfather; but the black cloths disappear one by one, and he feels light, cosy, as though he were being rocked. He opens his eyes and sees how the heavens and the stars have mounted high, very high. One little star breaks away from the heaven and drops towards the earth. Everything grows light, very light. The heavens open, and Grandpa Lord, a golden crown on his head, is coming down to earth straight towards Monko. How kind, how good an old man is Grandpa Lord! As soon as he reaches earth, he takes Monko by the hand and says, "Be well and come with me, and I'll take you to your mother." Monko has never seen his mother. . . . With Grandpa Lord he starts for the sky, towards the stars. All about, it is so open, so lovely. Somewhere there is singing, tremulous, like little bronze bells. Monko goes along with Grandpa Lord, and he feels light, light and happy because he is going to see his mother. Now they are higher, higher, the earth is left behind and —

"Mama!" he exclaims for the first time; "Mama!"

And the wondrous word sounds so sweet and lovely. His soul warms with it, and he holds Grandpa Lord's hand, well and joyful. . . .

Early in the morning old Zaharia woke and looked about. In the dusk, on all the hill-paths, down steepes and stones, the people were fleeing like mad. Men, women, children, blind, halt, some on

crutches, others on their hands, by waggon, on horse—all were fleeing and disappearing like spectres.

Old Zaharia realised that, according to custom, one must leave the place before sunrise if the disease was to be left behind. And he prodded Monko :

“ Monko, my dear—come on, sonny ! ”

But Monko lay on his back motionless and cold, his face to the sky, his eyes quietly shut. A light and wondrous child's smile had set upon his lips.

He was already up there in his mother's lap.

THE POT OF GOLD

Translated from the Russian by ELIZABETH HILL and DORIS MUDIE

THERE once lived an old man and his old woman. The old woman did not know how to keep her tongue still ; whatever her husband told her, she would run and tell the whole village. It did not matter when they had only had a bit of a quarrel, but when they came to blows and her old man beat her, she was always in such a temper that she would run here and there telling everybody all about it, and sometimes she told twice as many lies as truth about it. Then the neighbours would come and shout at the peasant and even beat him.

Now one day the old man went into the forest for wood, and as he came to a certain place, his foot went into a hole.

“ What is that ? ” he thought. “ I must dig in the hole and see what is there. Perhaps I shall have some luck.”

He took a spade, dug out one shovel of earth, then another, and the third time he dug up a pot of gold.

“ Thank you, God ! ” he said. “ But how shall I take it home ? I shall never be able to hide it from my wife, and she will go telling the news to the whole world and get us into trouble.”

He thought for a little, and he thought again. Then he buried the pot of gold in the earth again and went into the village, where he bought a fish and a live rabbit. He hung the fish on a tree, on the highest branch of a tree, and he placed the live rabbit in the fish nets.

He comes home.

“ Well, wife,” he says, “ listen to the good luck I have had. But it is a pity I cannot tell you, for you would go and tell everyone.”

“ Oh, my darling old man, do tell me,” the wife pleaded.

"Really and truly, I shall not breathe a word about it. If you like, I will swear not to. I'll take down the icon if you want. . . ."

"All right, old girl, I'll tell you. I found a pot of gold in the forest."

"What? Oh, let us run quickly and bring it home."

"But don't you tell any one about it, or we shall get into trouble."

"No fear! As though I would! But mind you don't tell any one. You know you always begin to brag when you are drunk."

The peasant took his wife into the forest, came to the place where the fish was hanging on the tree, stopped, craned his neck and stared.

"What are you gaping at? Come on! Hurry!"

"Don't you see? Look, there's a fish growing on the tree."

"What? So there is! Do climb up, and we can cook it for supper."

The old man climbed the tree and gave her the fish. They walked on farther. They walked and they walked.

"Listen!" he said. "I'll just run down to the river and look at the nets." He ran to the nets, peeped in and called out to his wife: "Come here! Look! There's a rabbit in the nets."

"If a rabbit is in the nets, take it out. It will come in useful for our Sunday dinner."

The peasant took the rabbit and led his wife farther into the forest. They dug up the pot of gold and began dragging it home. Soon it was evening, and it grew dark.

"I say," said the wife, "is that the sheep bleating?"

"Sheep, indeed! What sheep? It is the devil tickling our master!"

They went on, and the old woman said to him:

"Listen, old man, I can hear the cows lowing."

"What cows? That is the devil tickling our master."

Soon they came near to the village and the old woman said:

"Can you hear the wolves howling?"

"Wolves?" said the old man. "Those aren't wolves, it is the devil tickling our master."

The peasant and his old woman were now rich, and the old woman became more foolish than ever. Each day she kept inviting people and gave such feasts that her husband felt like running away from home. She came to be quite out of hand and would

not listen to him any more. The old man stood this for a long time until he could bear it no longer, and one day he seized her by the hair and dragged her round the room until he was tired. When the old woman tore herself free, she stormed and raged:

"You just wait, you wretch! You will know what I am made of presently. You want to grab all the gold for yourself. No, you old cheat, you are making a mistake. I shall roast you, and you won't find a place to hide in, not even in the whole of Siberia!"

She ran to the master, and wailing and crying she complained to him:

"My husband found a pot of gold in the forest, and ever since he has taken heavily to drink. I have done my best to stop him, but he only beats me. He has been dragging me by my hair. I have run away from him. Do take the gold away from the old fool, and then he will work and stop drinking. . . ."

The master called a few of his men together and went to the peasant. They came to the hut and shouted at the old man:

"Here you, you swindler, you have found a pot of gold on my land, yet all this time has passed and you haven't said a word about it. All you do is to go drinking and shouting and bullying your wife. Hand over the gold at once!"

"Have pity on me!" said the old man. "I don't know anything about it, and I have heard nothing about it. I have not found any gold."

"You are lying, you brazen-faced devil!" screamed his wife. "Come with me, sir, and I will show you where the gold is hidden."

She led him to a trunk, lifted the lid, but the trunk was empty.

"The sly old fox! While I was away, he must have hidden it somewhere else."

Here the master was firm and spoke severely to the old man:

"Show me the gold at once!" he demanded.

"Where shall I find it, master? Perhaps you will be good enough to ask my old woman to tell you all about it, and in detail."

"Yes," said the master turning to the old woman, "you tell me about it. Tell me exactly when and where the pot of gold was found."

"Well, it was this way," began the old woman. "There we were, walking through the forest. . . . And we had just caught a fish on the tree when . . ."

"Come to your senses!" interrupted her husband. "You're talking nonsense!"

"Nonsense? I'm not talking nonsense, you old devil. I'm speaking the truth. Don't you remember how you pulled the live rabbit out of the fish net?"

"Rubbish! Get along with you!" And the old man turned to the master:

"Perhaps you will understand. . . . How can rabbits breed in a river and fish grow on trees?"

"What?" yelled his wife. "Perhaps you will say that nothing of the kind happened. But you cannot deny that when we were walking towards the village and I said, 'Is that the sheep bleating?' you said, 'No, it is the devil tickling our master'."

"You're mad!" said the old man.

"What? And you deny that when I said, 'I can hear the cows lowing,' you said, 'What cows? That is the devil tickling our master'?"

The master listened and listened until he lost patience with the old woman and pushed her out of his way.

And that is how the old peasant kept his pot of gold.

HE PASSED

Translated from the Russian of KATAYEV by N. B. JOPSON

FOR a whole week past, right up to the purge, Diabetov, the cashier, had been going about with half-shut eyes, swotting up his notes:

"Who is the great leader? Marx. What is the supreme organ? B.C.A.D.¹ What is social-patriotism? Bourgeois service in the guise of socialism. Define capitalism. Ruthless exploitation by means of private enterprise. How is planned economy being developed? Through electrification. Where did different countries collaborate? At the first congress of the Second International in the year 1889, in Paris. What is the nature of capital? Fixed and floating. What will be the form of organisation in the future communist structure? Not settled yet. Who is a renegade? Kautsky. Who is a deputy? Painlevé. Who is a candidate? La Follette. In spite of its apparent prosperity, what country . . .? Poland. Who are social-

¹ The original contains a pun on *STO* (Council of Labour and Defence) and *sto* (hundred). *BCAD* may be rendered by Board for Co-ordination of Active Defence.

traitors? Scheidemann and Noske. Who is Abramovich? A social-idiot. . . ."

With feverish zeal Diabetov clutched his life-saving notes.

"Above all I mustn't get muddled, I mustn't get muddled. Who is a deputy? Painlevé. Who is a renegade? Kautsky. Who is a candidate? La Follette."

When Diabetov was summoned to the room where the board of examiners was sitting, a pink mist floated in front of his eyes and there was a singing in his ears. But, overcoming his terror, he stepped forward and screwed up his eyes.

"What is your name, comrade?" the chairman asked.

"Marx," the cashier answered firmly.

"When were you born?"

"B.C.—A D."

"What is the nature of your employment?"

"Bourgeois service in the guise of socialism."

The chairman who, till then, had turned a perfunctory ear to the replies, raised his left eyebrow in astonishment.

"H'm. . . . rather a frank admission, isn't it! What are your views on public service, citizen?"

"Ruthless exploitation by means of private enterprise."

"Oh, really now! De-e-elighted to hear it. And how did *you* worm yourself into a Soviet concern?"

"Through electrification."

The members of the examining body cast queer glances at each other.

"When did you take your temperature last, comrade?" the secretary enquired cautiously.

"At the first congress of the Second International in the year 1889 in Paris," came like a shot from the chief cashier.

"Your eyes have rather a feverish sparkle, comrade," the chairman said gently.

"Fixed and floating," Diabetov courteously explained, his cheeks puffing with excitement and triumph, like a pug's. His left leg was beating a tattoo, his teeth were chattering and his fingers were convulsively clutching the precious sheet in his pocket.

"Very, very good. Excellent. But the great thing is not to get excited. Do you feel at all tired now? Take a seat, comrade. . . ." And the chairman, who was beginning to see light, infused as much breeziness and warmth as possible into his voice. Then came a point-blank question: "What's the date today?"

"Not settled yet," Diabetov rapped out, the sweat pouring down him and feeling that this was the last knock-down blow to his enemies.

The members of the board whispered together in alarm, and the secretary tip-toed out of the room.

"Splendid, comrade!" exclaimed the chairman in feigned admiration "A really excellent answer! The great thing though is not to get excited. Go away to the Crimea, to Yalta, say. You'll have some sun there. And the great thing is to avoid worry. Good-bye, comrade."

Diabetov shuffled about and then, somewhat hoarsely, said:

"I know the rest of 'em as well. Who is a renegade? Kautsky. Who is a deputy? Painlevé. Who is a candidate? La Follette. What country"

"The great thing is not to get excited," said the Chairman, carefully clambering down from his chair "We'll take your word for it. Good-bye, comrade."

Diabetov, with a beam spreading all over his face, bowed all round, moved to the door and there halted.

"Who are social-traitors? Scheidemann and Noske. Who is Abramovich?" Here he made a dramatic pause and, with a friendly wink to the board, fired out: "A social-idiot."

Outside, anxious colleagues thronged round him. "Well, how did you get on? What was it like?"

"I downed them all. Eight questions, and all of 'em pat. And I told 'em the other six myself. Believe me or not, even the chairman was staggered. I've got special leave—the Crimea. Pat, every one of 'em."

THE LITTLE AND BALKAN ENTENTE

EUROPE today is in a state of political disintegration rarely equalled even in its own stormy past. But it is possible to detect three main tendencies—the two extreme “ideologies” of the Left and of the Right—on the one hand Russia, in rapid and mysterious evolution, in the remote East, on the other hand Germany and Italy, occupying the centre of the stage and pretending that behind their strategic unity of action there is a real political unity of aim: and, thirdly, a large and somewhat heterogeneous group of neutrals and would-be neutrals in this conflict of ideas. The main problem of our day is whether out of these scattered and not very united elements a real “Peace Front” can be created, capable of co-operating to such an extent as will deter any of the three from risking fresh aggression and consequent war in Europe. It would be foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this third group has as yet no unity. It consists, *first*, of France and Britain, resolutely refusing the choice so insistently pressed upon them as the sole way of salvation—tied to each other for certain purposes but not for all, and France tied to Russia for certain other purposes which Britain as yet only regards as secondary; *second*, of the nine small states of Northern Europe (who in turn fall into three distinct groups, the Low Countries, Scandinavia and the Baltic States); *third*, the Polish sphinx, whose main object in life is to prevent the violation of its frontiers either from east or west, and who therefore not without excuse maintains a somewhat equivocal attitude both in international and in home policy; and *lastly*, the group of states with which this article is specially concerned—the Little and Balkan Ententes,¹ which does not, it is true, hold good for every possible contingency in Europe, but which for certain specific purposes does possess the weight of a Great Power, or which may reasonably be expected to throw its weight in favour of a “Peace Front.”

Before sketching the events which brought this South European Bloc into being, it is not a mere academic exercise to examine the Balkan situation in the perspective, not of two decades, but of several centuries. The evolution of our own day will then perhaps become clearer.

I

As the old Eastern Empire grew feeble, and especially after the deadly blow dealt by the crusading brigands who stormed Constantinople in 1204, certain strong national states arose in the

¹ Switzerland, though geographically isolated and very materialistic in its outlook, belongs in sentiment to the northern group; while special circumstances have eliminated Spain and Portugal for the present.

Balkan Peninsula, and were developing a flourishing culture, art and trade of their own about the time when Edward III was squandering English lives in France. Then in the 14th and 15th centuries both the Empire itself and these young states were overthrown by a new power, the Ottoman Turks, one of the most brilliantly and sustainedly organised military states in modern history, helped by a long line of great sovereigns, with a tinge of theocratic rule, much religious fanaticism and "a career open to the talents" at the sole price of apostasy.

For three centuries the Turks were a menace to all Europe, and then they decayed in their turn. Europe, as disunited then as now and ever, found herself confronted by the dire problem of how to fill the vacuum created by Turkish decay. The subject races were still far too exhausted and crushed to stand up alone, and the task of defence fell mainly into the hands of the Habsburg rulers of Austria, to whom for a time all the subject races looked for their deliverance. Then when Austria was diverted to western aims and left her Balkan task half finished, another Power entered the field—Russia, linked to the subject races by the double ties of Orthodox religion and Slav blood. And so throughout the 18th and 19th centuries one main thread of the Eastern Question is the territorial ambition of Austria and Russia—dividing the south-east into spheres of influence, more than once waging war jointly or singly against the Turks, co-operating yet jealously watching each other, and always ready to steal a march where possible—sometimes even on the verge of war, but in two centuries never actually coming to blows over the booty till the fatal year 1914. In the 19th century two new factors were added—(a) the subject races, escaping from their bondage and striving step by step towards unity and independence, and (b) the Great Powers, constantly interfering and for their own ends deflecting the natural course of events. From 1798 onwards the two Maritime Powers, France and Britain, are as active as Austria and Russia; then Prussia joins in, at first more for tactical reasons, but in the second half of the 19th century playing a direct and strong hand; and finally Italy, who in the end sets the avalanche in motion by her Balkan bargain of 1907 and by her seizure of Tripoli in 1911.

It would of course be quite unjust to deny that the Concert of Europe made more than one serious contribution to the Eastern Question: but it may none the less be affirmed that by its rival intrigues and ambitions it did much to envenom the national problem still further. It played off the small states against each

other, encouraged rival propaganda where there should have been co-operation, and frequently prevented or held up a solution, as in Crete, Thessaly and, above all, Bulgaria. Worst of all, perhaps, it often neglected to insist upon the actual fulfilment of the provisions for which it was itself responsible. It will suffice to point out that all the problems left unsolved in 1878—and notably the Macedonian, Albanian and Armenian questions—again forced themselves upon the attention of Europe early in the present century, in the same aggravated form as a long neglected gangrene wound! Already in 1876 Gladstone had set the true course when he declared that, “if asked how to distribute the spoils, he would not distribute them at all, but would give the territory to the inhabitants themselves, not to Russia, Austria or Britain.” But the watchword which he coined—“The Balkans for the Balkan peoples”—became a distant goal of aspiration for every Balkan nation, though consistently disallowed by all the Powers. From 1878 to 1914 Austria and Russia continued their long alternation of rivalry and co-operation; Germany, who through the mouth of Bismarck had dismissed the whole Eastern Question as “not worth the healthy bones of a Pomeranian musketeer,” won military and economic influence at Constantinople, coquetted with Islam and dreamed of “Berlin-Bagdad”; France and Britain tried to make good their lost influence with the Sultan, while Italy induced her allies to recognise the principle of compensation for any territorial change in the Peninsula. The interplay of the Concert, resting upon a general Balance of Power, resulted in the growth of a secondary Balance of Power between the lesser states of the Near East, each State seeking the backing of one or the other Great Power; and this system was one of the major causes of the Great War. During that War the rivalry of the Powers in the Near East reached its height, and such incidents as the allied pledges to Italy under the secret Treaty of London, allied diplomacy in Sofia, allied intervention in Greece, allied bribery of Roumania, greatly complicated the eventual settlement.

The complicated details of this period lie entirely outside my present scope. But it is important to emphasise that the century preceding the Great War witnessed a gradual process of emancipation of the reborn Balkan states from the leading-strings of the Great Powers. This process was completed by the events of the war, which brought two fundamental changes in the Near East. Firstly, it transformed the three Empires most directly concerned with Balkan problems; Austria-Hungary ceased to exist, Turkey

voluntarily transferred its centre of gravity to Asia, while Russia lost Poland and all the non-Slav nationalities of its Western border, and was for many years absorbed in a vast internal experiment. Thus Austrian and Russian influence, for the first time in two centuries, were completely eliminated. Secondly, while the old Balance of Power in Europe was overthrown, the lesser Balkan Balance of Power was also completely destroyed, with the result that for the decade following 1918, instead of four Powers almost equal in resources—Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Roumania (with Montenegro and Albania as minor adjuncts)—there were two major Powers, Jugoslavia and Roumania, in close alliance, with a total population of 32 millions, as against three others, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania, disunited and in any case having a combined population of only 12 millions.

There remained many feuds and unsolved problems, but less interference from without in the affairs of the Peninsula than ever before in its history. The problem of the vacuum had been solved, and a new era of constructive work opened. The Treaty of Sèvres, it is true, underwent drastic correction and was followed by a wholesale exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. But henceforth events worked in favour of "The Balkans for the Balkan Peoples." Austria-Hungary had ceased to exist, Russia was for 15 years out of the picture and in proportion as she returned, returned no longer as the enemy, but as a friend, of Turkey. Germany, after the failure of her "Berlin-Bagdad" policy, was also for the time being out of the picture, though already planning in an entirely legitimate manner the revival of her lost economic influence. Britain since 1920 followed a policy of almost complete *désintéressement* on the Danube and in the Balkans—greatly to the regret of all the Balkan states who, realising that she could have no territorial ambitions at their expense, would have welcomed more active interference on her part. Of the two remaining Great Powers, France was doubtless mainly concerned to build up alliances in the East of Europe and thereby perpetuate the isolation of Germany; and hence her influence was admittedly selfish and sometimes shortsighted, too often viewing the internal problems of individual countries from the standpoint of her own fancied interests rather than on their own merits. But it can at least be said that she steadily encouraged, rather than discouraged, the predisposition of the individual states in favour of the Genevan system, and that she consistently threw her whole weight into the scale of Balkan, and of Danubian, co-operation and unity.

It was reserved for Italy (who for a brief space had assumed the leadership of the oppressed Nationalities of that whole area²), and who might so easily have penetrated the whole Peninsula commercially immediately after the War (if she had not reversed her policy) to take over the role of Austria-Hungary at her worst and adopt the motto of "Divide et Impera." Ever since the war her influence has been exercised to prevent a definitive settlement of the five Danubian states (the two vanquished and curtailed, Austria and Hungary, and the three victorious and aggrandised, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Roumania), and, on the other hand, to play off the Balkan states against each other and in particular to prevent the reconciliation of Serb and Bulgar, or of Bulgar and Greek.

The Little Entente, founded originally in 1920-21 for the purpose of maintaining the new *status quo* on the Danube, and in particular of preventing territorial revision in favour of Hungary and restoration of the Habsburg dynasty in either Austria or Hungary, was also avowedly based upon the "Genevan system"; all treaties and conventions concluded by its members were invariably submitted to the League, and more than one of its statesmen—notably Dr. Beneš and M. Titulescu, but also MM. Ninčić, Marinković and Jevtić—had figured prominently in the counsels and constructive policy of the League. Meanwhile, after the political chaos of the first years, there was in all these countries a growing tendency to place their co-operation on an economic as well as a political basis, and if possible to extend this to Austria and Hungary also. The most serious of the various projects put forward in this sense was the Tardieu Plan of March 1932, which in effect aimed at a political truce as a preliminary to economic collaboration. Unfortunately three obstacles blocked the path of progress. (1) Neither side could agree as to whether economic or political questions should take precedence. (2) Germany and Italy, fearing a challenge to their perfectly legitimate economic interests in the Danube basin, put periodical spokes in the wheel, Italy in particular playing only too successfully to deepen existing divisions; while France, though working for Balkan unity, made it only too clear that this was simply a means to the end of isolating Germany (Russia and Britain, for utterly different reasons, followed as yet a policy of virtual *désintéressement* in the Balkans). (3) The encouragement given abroad to Hungary's revisionist aims led Budapest—Government and public opinion alike—to believe that

² At the Conference held in Rome in April 1918.

it was only necessary to wait a little longer, and the three Little Entente states would collapse from inside or be coerced into drastic concessions.

This encouragement came from three quarters—the deliberate political calculation of the Duce, who wished at all costs to keep the Danubian states asunder, the mischievous and ill-informed propaganda of Lord Rothermere in the *Daily Mail*³ and the vague sentimentalism which collected signatures for revision in the lobbies of the last House of Commons, without realising that the foremost advocates of revision were also the chief opponents of that very League to which they suggested that the question should be referred. The fatal error of the foreign revisionists has always been that they accepted their information from one only of the five parties to the dispute, paid their visits to Hungary and not to her neighbours, and ignored not only the point of view of the other four Governments in Prague, Belgrade, Bucarest and Vienna, but also that of the Slovaks, Transylvanian Roumanians, Banaters and Croats (which differed in essential points from that of their kinsmen in the new states), and did not even compare the views of the Budapest Revisionist League with those of the local minorities themselves. The inevitable result was a stiffening of opinion in a more nationalistic sense among the non-Magyar populations which had detached themselves from Hungary in 1918, and which would be directly affected by any territorial change. Not the least of the tactical blunders committed by the extreme revisionists was to concentrate their anger and their attacks upon Prague, Bucarest and Belgrade, when in reality the main resistance to concessions came far rather from Bratislava, Ružomberok, Košice, Cluj, Timișoara, Novi Sad, Zagreb.

II

It was necessary, in passing, to lay emphasis upon the revisionist agitation as a prime factor in stiffening and welding together the Little Entente, in recent years. This process has,

³ It will suffice to point out that his two original articles in 1927 had skeleton maps, containing the grossest inaccuracies (e.g. the first speaks of "400,000 Hungarians" and 300,000 Germans "in a corner of the former province of Croatia," while the second speaks of "a compact mass of 1,000,000 Hungarians in Czechoslovakia," and another "compact mass" of 600,000 Magyars on the Roumanian frontier). Still more grossly inaccurate is his latest article entitled "The Prisoners of Czechoslovakia" (*Daily Mail*, 12 February, 1937), with a map giving the Germans of Bohemia as a solid block along the north, giving the Slovaks at 1,500,000 instead of over two million, counting the "750,000 Hungarians" twice over, and crediting them with the greater part of Slovak territory, omitting all mention of the Ruthenes and inventing an "Austrian" minority.

needless to say, been still further stimulated by events in Europe, the coming of Hitler to power, the weakening of the League and the failure of disarmament. In these four years we see blow and counterblow, manœuvre and counter-manœuvre, following each other in rapid succession.

Already on 16 February, 1933, MM. Beneš, Titulescu and Jevtić signed the new Pact of Organisation of the Little Entente, which established a common organ at Geneva, provided for the complete unification of their foreign policy, and renewed the original treaties, this time for an indefinite period. It was declared open for the adhesion of other Powers; but at that conjuncture there was of course not the slightest chance of Hungary in particular availing herself of the invitation, and as she occupies the central geographical position among the Danubian countries, nothing could be done without her.

Signor Mussolini did not conceal his dislike of this attempt of the three states to attain the united status of a Great Power, and in March 1933 he countered by rival proposals for a Four-Power Pact (Italy, Germany, Britain and France). In effect this would have placed Europe under a Directory of the four, eliminating Russia altogether, putting France in a minority and enabling Italy not only to hold the balance, but perhaps to re-draw the map of Europe (such at least was M. Herriot's interpretation).³ The two main features were to be restricted rearmament and treaty revision, presumably imposed upon the rest of Europe. For a time he seemed to have beguiled Mr. MacDonald and Sir John Simon; but it soon became obvious that serious modifications would be necessary if France and her friends were to accept the scheme. Dr. Beneš, in a speech of 25 April, 1933, alluded quite frankly to the design of a new Balance of Power, to weaken France in Europe as a whole, and to weaken the Little Entente and Poland in Central Europe in particular. He made it clear to Sir John Simon that frontier changes could only be imposed by force of arms. So the Four Power Pact, when it came into being on 7 June, was already a much emasculated compromise; and Professor Toynbee in no way exaggerates in arguing that the lip-service which it paid to Articles X, XVI and XIX of the Covenant really had the effect of weakening all three. Incidentally, while the Little Entente accepted the compromise with fairly good grace, Poland intensely resented being left out, and hence the Pact may be regarded as an important contributory cause of the German-Polish Pact of January 1934.

Meanwhile Germany was in the power of the National Socialists and seceded from the League; the Disarmament Conference slowly collapsed, and Italy—by no means unreasonably—demanded a reform of the League Covenant. All this was not lost upon the Balkan nations, two of whom were already members of the Little Entente. The madness of komitadji outrage and official repression in Macedonia had been slowly dying down, in proportion as the rival gangs killed each other off, and as the peasants began to react against the terrorism and exactions from which they had so long suffered. Between 1930 and 1933 four preliminary unofficial Balkan Conferences had explored the possibilities of co-operation,⁴ and further progress was made during the round of exploratory visits paid by M. Titulescu to Warsaw, Angora, Athens, Sofia and Belgrade. On 4 February, 1934, then, it came to the conclusion of a Balkan Pact between Yugoslavia, Roumania, Greece and Turkey, based on a mutual guarantee of frontiers against outside aggression. There was the important qualification, that this was not binding against a Great Power—which was an indirect way of saying that Greece was not bound to help Yugoslavia if attacked by Italy. But the Pact had the effect of adding the weight of Turkey and Greece to that of Yugoslavia and Roumania in the case of the Hungarian frontiers, and of ringing round Bulgaria in such a way as to render aggression quite hopeless. The Gladstonian principle of “The Balkans for the Balkan Peoples” was slowly and at long last coming into its own. Bulgaria, it is true, still held aloof. The memory of lost hopes was still too bitter, and the repression of Macedonia, though at last dying down, still outweighed the economic and social revival which had followed the war, but which had of course suffered a serious setback owing to the world crisis. None the less the tide had turned: Kings Alexander and Boris had begun to exchange visits, the Bulgarian and Yugoslav Bishops began to fraternise, the Government of Sofia at last proved strong enough to round up the Macedonian terrorists, and the chief gangster, Mihailov, fled into Turkey and was there obligingly interned.

Once more there came an immediate counterblast from Rome. On 17 March, 1934, the so-called “Rome Protocols” were signed between the Duce, the Hungarian Premier General Gömbös, and

⁴ For full details see *The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente* (1930-35), by R. J. Kerner and H. N. Howard (Berkeley, U.S., 1936) and *Peace in the Balkans*, by N. J. Padelford (New York, 1935), both of which, however, rely somewhat unduly upon official views.

the Austrian Chancellor Dr. Dollfuss—this being the first move in a design for converting Austria and Hungary into vassals of Italy and thus preventing Danubian union save on Italy's terms. This was the signal for a general hastening of the pace. On the one hand, M. Barthou paid a round of Balkan visits and had an amazing reception, not merely from official circles but from the Roumanian and Serb peasantry in thousands at every point of his route. His public pledge to the anti-revisionists, "France will be at your side," was an obvious rejoinder to Italy. On the other hand, the Duce had stood behind the forcible overthrow of Viennese Socialism, as a deliberate deathblow to democratic Government in Austria; and Italy also stood behind the Croat terrorist movement which, from its training camps in Italy and Hungary, sent out young men well supplied with bombs, weapons and money, to commit outrages in Jugoslavia. The disturbances created by the so-called "Ustashi" (or Rebels) in western Croatia were only possible owing to the smuggling of arms from Italy, some across the Adriatic and some in the notorious Hirtenberg Affair (whose revelation by Austrian Socialist workmen contributed to the Duce's wrath against the Left in Austria).

When, however, the National Socialists thought to take advantage of working-class anger and despair in Austria, and murdered Dr. Dollfuss as the first step towards the "Anschluss," Italy massed troops at the Brenner and was the only Power in Europe ready to save Austria by force of arms. And when the Croat terrorists, having failed to murder King Alexander at Zagreb in the winter of 1933-4, succeeded in their foul design at Marseilles on 9 October, 1934, and when Jugoslavia, so far from breaking up, rallied round the Regency, the Duce abandoned his stubborn belief in Croat separatism and has more than once since indicated his readiness to accept Yugoslav unity, no longer as an Adriatic challenge, but as an incontestable fact of *Realpolitik*. He none the less continued his efforts to stiffen up the provisions of the Roman Pact, by economic arrangements. The Little Entente again accepted this with fairly good grace, but at that stage it was viewed with annoyance by Germany as likely to check the Anschluss movement.

In 1935 there was a certain loosening of ties between France and Central Europe, due to the alarm and indignation caused to the Little Entente by M. Laval's Franco-Italian agreement of 7 January, 1935. France began that dangerous game of balancing which nearly lost her all her allies in east and west for the *beaux*

yeux of Italy. At times it seemed as though Yugoslavia (who would have found herself on the German side if it had come to a clash between Germany and Italy at the time of the Dollfuss murder) was moving away from her allies into the German sphere of influence. There was considerable trade rivalry in the Danubian and Balkan area between Italy and Greece, the latter increasing her share of Yugoslav, Roumanian and Hungarian trade, obtaining 65 per cent. of Bulgarian trade and making great progress in Greece also.

From the summer of 1935 till May 1936 all else was overshadowed by the Rearmament question, by the conflict of Mussolini with the League, by the Abyssinian War and the sanctions against Italy. It is essential to remember that the Little and Balkan Entente throughout the conflict unreservedly supported the Covenant, the League system, and the policy first put forward, but then abandoned, by the British Government. They supported it because they still hoped against hope for a vindication of Law as against Force, and realised very clearly the dangers to which the small Powers would be exposed as a result of unrestricted competition in armaments and of the hegemony of a few Great Powers who cared nothing for their plighted word. They also supported it because their interests lay in maintaining the *status quo*, and because the chief offender against the Covenant and the Kellogg Pact was also the chief advocate of revisionism, and the chief opponent of a Balkan understanding, of Yugoslav Unity and of Bulgaro-Yugoslav friendship. And, finally, they supported it because they were gravely alarmed at the Duce's talk of an "Impero Romano," of "Mare Nostro" and the Sea of Rome, and did not wish to see Italy predominant in the Mediterranean. A year ago it was hoped in the Danubian and Balkan countries that the Abyssinian adventure would prove too much for Italian finances, and that Sanctions, despite much leakage, would take effect long before the conquest could be completed. The spontaneous outburst of British opinion after the abortive Hoare-Laval agreement made a deep impression, and seemed to preclude any such *volte-face* as that which followed the Rhineland coup. Two symptoms of this impression were the *rapprochement* between Vienna and Prague, illustrated by the visit and public lecture of the Austrian Chancellor Dr. von Schuschnigg, and the marked trend of the Gömbös régime in Hungary to transfer the weight of its foreign policy from Rome to Berlin.

With Italy's victory and the collapse of Sanctions, however, the small Powers were thrown back upon their own resources: blow

and counter-blow were resumed. The Austro-German Pact of 11 July, 1936, is in a category of its own. Despite the danger that it might eventually lead to the Anschluss by a more circuitous route, most of the neighbouring states breathed a sigh of relief, such as is breathed when gunpowder is removed from the vicinity of a fire. The Duce has told all the world that he not only knew of the intention beforehand, but did all in his power to promote it; his motive for getting the Austrian question into cold storage was quite obvious, since it made Italo-German co-operation in other major questions easier. But in reality he could not, even had he wished, have prevented the agreement, when once the Führer had made up his mind to abandon the method of Brute Force for the method of awaiting the fall of a ripe apple. That the Duce is not taking any chances is shown by the formidable fortifications which he is erecting on the Brenner and in South Tirol; these are obviously not directed against Austria.

Meanwhile the statesmen of the Double Entente were in closer contact than ever. In May 1936 their Foreign Ministers conferred together at Belgrade. In June President Beneš and the First Yugoslav Regent Prince Paul paid a joint state visit to King Carol at Bucarest, and decided that there should be annual meetings of the three heads of the Little Entente states. In June and again in October, on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the Republic, King Carol paid a state visit to Prague, and made it abundantly clear that his somewhat summary dismissal of M. Titulescu from the post of Roumanian Foreign Minister did not in the least represent a change in foreign policy.

On 2 November the Duce countered with his Milan speech, in which he declared more strongly than ever before in favour of Hungarian revision, and held out a prospect of something concrete in the near future. Incidentally he committed himself to the figure of 4 million Magyars under foreign rule—a figure which is not merely nearly double the reality, but far in advance of the extreme claim put forward by the Revisionist League.

This caused great excitement and resentment in the Little Entente countries and led to fresh rival efforts. On 1 December—the anniversary of both Roumanian and Yugoslav Unity—there were celebrations at Bucarest and Cluj, altogether unique in the 18 post-war years; they included a joint session of the three Parliaments, the flying of the three national flags over the building and even the decision to issue joint postage stamps. Meanwhile there had been a joint conference of the three Powers of the Roman

Protocol on 11 November in Rome, and soon afterwards the Regent Horthy paid a state visit to King Victor Emanuel and even attended a naval review where many ships formerly under his own command were now flying the Italian flag. But not one word more was publicly heard of revision, and the Milan promise remained unfulfilled.

On the other side the new Roumanian Foreign Minister, M. Antonescu, was visiting Paris, where he had so long represented his country as Minister, and gave explicit assurances to France: while the Yugoslav Premier, Dr. Stojadinović, was also paying visits, but keeping his own counsel. At the Turkish national festival he was the favoured guest of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who greeted him as the representative of "Turkey's brother-nation." Better still, on his way home, Mr. Stojadinović conferred with King Boris and the Bulgarian Premier, M. Kjoseljvanov, and reached agreements which culminated in the Bulgaro-Yugoslav Pact of 23 January 1937. There are no specific clauses, but the two nations proclaim "eternal and indissoluble peace and friendship," and the whole treaty is meaningless if it is not to mark the end of the old feud over Macedonia, the removal of the barbed-wire entanglements which have hitherto blocked the frontier, and the establishment of racial tolerance and a political truce. Above all, it is a recognition that mere change of frontiers will never solve the quarrel, and that over and above mere political union a higher Southern Slav unity must be found, in which the halfway house of Macedonia becomes a bond of union rather than a source of rivalry. Bulgaria still does not join the Balkan League, because her *amour-propre* makes it difficult for her to sign the clause guaranteeing the frontiers which were imposed upon her in 1918; but the Pact undoubtedly means that she has renounced all idea of change by any means save peaceful persuasion.

This brief epitome of events since 1933 reveals the long trial of strength between the Succession States and Italy, and the latter's opposition to Danubian and Balkan co-operation. But there is another candidate for influence in these countries, namely Germany, and one of the great unsolved questions is how far Germany and Italy can pursue a common policy. Nothing is more difficult than to give a positive answer; for while the strategic advantages of co-operation at the present juncture leap to the eye, especially in the Spanish conflict, and in the attempt to force upon Europe the theory of the two rival ideologies, it is by no means certain that the ultimate aims of the two Powers are identical, or that Italy could

view with equanimity a new German economic *Drang nach Osten*, still less the establishment of Germany on the Adriatic at Trieste.

III

In order to understand the conflict of aims and interests of which the Danubian and Balkan area is the centre, it is necessary to consider the extent to which internal and foreign policy react upon each other in each of these countries.

It is natural to take Czechoslovakia first, because she has been most in the limelight owing to the persistent campaign in the German inspired press (there is no other) and on the German wireless. The reason for this is very simple: when the proposals for a Pact of non-aggression between the states of Eastern Europe broke down owing to German opposition, Czechoslovakia concluded a separate alliance with Soviet Russia, of a purely defensive character and on identical lines with the Franco-Soviet alliance, open to the adhesion of other Eastern Powers. She is therefore denounced as a spear-head of Bolshevism directed against the heart of Europe, and even as being herself a centre of Bolshevism. The campaign was opened in August 1936, after the army manœuvres in Bohemia, when the *Berliner Tagblatt* announced that the Prague hotels were so crowded with Russian officers that it was difficult to find accommodation. It was easily proved that there was (*sage und schreibe*, as the Germans say) *three* Russian officers living quite openly at the Hotel Ambassador (the equivalent of the Berkeley), and no others at all. At the same time the Magyar revisionist press made the grotesque assertion that there were numerous Russian aerodromes and 2,000 Russian air instructors in Czechoslovakia. Official denials by the President, the Premier, the Foreign Minister and others, and explicit invitations to the foreign military attachés to investigate were ignored, and on 10 September Dr. Goebbels, as Minister of Propaganda, publicly repeated these notorious falsehoods. Berlin took the singular view that no official inspection could be of any value—a view which should be borne in mind when next there is any question of German concentration camps. The fact is that the stories are not believed by their authors, and are simply comic to anyone with a firsthand knowledge of Czechoslovakia. But they form a necessary part of a propagandist campaign for consumption *inside* Germany, where they cannot be contradicted, and are therefore swallowed by at least a section of the population as a justification for fantastic armament. In Britain, however, impartial press reports of this propaganda have

aroused a new interest, a sense that something is wrong, a sense of danger, a new vigilance.

For, after all, Czechoslovakia is no longer entirely unknown here, and it is known to be the only country east of the Rhine which has preserved the democratic system unimpaired—Parliamentary Government, ballot, universal suffrage, P.R., free elections, free press, social legislation, insurance, inspection—and possessing not only the unique example of Masaryk (still happily with us), but the no less constructive leadership of Beneš, Hodža, Krofta and other helpers of a high order. There are, then, two obvious motives for concentric attack. The one is summed up in two sayings of Bismarck himself—"Bohemia is a fortress erected by God in the heart of Europe," and "The master of Bohemia is master of Europe." The latter is a half-truth, like Napoleon's similar phrase about Constantinople; but it might become true, if that master were to be the successor of Frederick the Great, who twice seized Bohemia for his great strategic aims on Europe, but could not hold it. If Czechoslovakia be indeed a spearhead pointed westwards, she is just as much a spearhead point eastwards; she might serve as the German route to the "black earth" of the Ukraine and to the coveted oilfields of Roumania. A much apter quotation for the present situation is that from a speech of President Beneš last August to the Germans of Reichenberg—"Bohemia is a solid lighthouse of democracy, and of calm progressive evolution towards a higher stage of economic and national justice in Central Europe." And this gives the clue to the second motive. In the words of M. Carton de Wiart (in *L'Esprit International* for January 1937): "Tout régime de force souffre du voisinage des régimes de liberté."

One detail is worth quoting, which superficially, at first sight, might seem suspicious. Czechoslovakia is the only country where there has always been a Communist party in Parliament—today 30 deputies out of 300 and 16 Senators out of 150. This means, not that Czechoslovakia is in danger of going communist, but, on the contrary, that it alone is so sure of itself that it has found it safe to abstain from the reactionary method of suppressing the extreme left, as every one of its neighbours has done. Incidentally even the crisis of 1931-34 did not materially increase the communist vote.

As part of the general picture, it must be added that for over a decade the Czech Clericals, led by that eminent churchman, Mgr. Šramek, have always formed part of the Government, and

latterly a representative of the German Clericals has joined him as a Minister. At the Presidential Election of 1935, the Papal Nuncio threw the whole weight of the Vatican in favour of Dr. Beneš in the belief that this would promote stability, sanity and good faith in public life.⁵ One result was that the Slovak Clerical Party (though in opposition) voted solidly for Beneš—knowing also, it is true, that the existence of Slovak nationality is identified with Prague rather than with Budapest, and that the defeat of Beneš would have been a severe blow to the Republic.⁶ The attitude of the Holy See—at a moment when the German episcopate is turning to it in fear and agony, owing to the truly *Bolshevik* attitude of National Socialism towards both the Roman and Protestant churches of Germany—was shown by the publication on 20 January in the official *Osservatore Romano*, of a photo of the gigantic Cross which is being erected in the garden of the Strahov Monastery, dominating the whole city of Prague; this is treated as a sign of blessing and protection over the new Republic.

There is, however, another direction in which home and foreign policy are interlocked. Czechoslovakia, though the conscious creation of the Czech national movement, is not a purely national state. It contains (in addition to very considerable Magyar and Ruthene minorities) $3\frac{1}{4}$ million Germans—the largest group of Germans outside the German Reich, with the one exception of Austria, and also, be it noted, that section of the German people where the “National Socialist” idea first took root as long ago as last century in Imperial Austria, under the leadership of Carl von Schönerer and Karl Hermann Wolf. It is only natural that the Reich should take a keen interest in all Germans beyond its frontier, and no one has a right to complain of its efforts to promote their cultural and spiritual needs.⁷ The new idea of *Volksgemeinschaft*, if not misused, is in itself thoroughly sympathetic. But a very different situation has arisen since the Totalitarian Idea, imposed upon Germany by the Nazi régime, has been transplanted to every country where Germans live, and has split each of these

⁵ In much the same calculation the Holy See had concluded the *Modus Vicendi* of 1929 with Beneš, as representative of the parties of the Left, who were in a position to implement their undertakings, rather than with a weak combination of the Right, which might not have been able to maintain itself.

⁶ Two illustrations of the “Bolshevism” attributed to the Prague Government.

⁷ For a survey of the position, see my article, “The Question of Minorities,” in *The Slavonic Review*.

communities into two warring camps, which favour authoritative or free democratic institutions. In Czechoslovakia this process was promoted by the fact that the world economic crisis reacted with peculiar severity upon the thickly populated and over-industrialised German districts, and this was still further accentuated by the autarchist system adopted by the Reich, which ruined the export trade from German Bohemia. As a result, at the general election of 1925 a new and more radical party, the Sudetendeutsche Partei (Sd. P.), swept the polls and won two-thirds of the German seats (44 v. 28, out of 72), as against the so-called "Activists" (the German Agrarians, Clericals and Social Democrats), who ever since 1926 had co-operated with the Czech parliamentary majority and had been represented in successive Cabinets by two Ministers. The new features thus introduced into the situation were (1) the claim of the Sd. P. Leader to be unquestioned Führer of the Germans, yet to remain outside Parliament, thus subjecting his followers to an extra-parliamentary allegiance and challenging the whole representative system, of which the responsibility of every party leader is an integral part; and (2) his further claim that his party alone represented all the Germans of the Republic, to the complete exclusion of the Activist groups. This was a standpoint to which no democratic Government could give its assent, and though Herr Henlein was careful to accept the existing Czechoslovak Constitution as the basis of his agitation and in the first instance to concentrate upon the entirely legitimate field of minority grievances,⁸ the mutual distrust between him and official Prague was not dispelled: and, it should be added, the rival German activist parties spared no effort to convince the Czechs that they would recover from their electoral reverse, and were much safer allies than the crypto-Nazi "Sd. P." During 1936, however, and seemingly parallel with the anti-Czech campaign in the Reich, the Sd. P. augmented their programme in two very vital directions: they demanded autonomy for German Bohemia, and they demanded the abandonment of the Russo-Czechoslovak Pact. It is only necessary to study a map of the racial distribution of Czechoslovakia to see that the first of these two demands is virtually impracticable (*see* Map to face p. 599); for not only do the predominantly German districts fall into four quite separate sectors, which could not be made a single unit, but it would be utterly impossible to draw a clear line of demarcation

⁸ These grievances were summarised at my request by one of his principal followers, with Herr Henlein's approval, in *The Slavonic Review* (January 1936). It is important to note that no claim of autonomy is put forward.

between the German and Czech districts, which flow over into each other. Indeed, it is generally held (and this was recently pointed out by the Premier, Dr. Hodža) that such a line, granted that it could be drawn at all, would leave (in round figures), 800,000 Germans in the Czech districts and 400,000 Czechs in the German districts. The Sd. P. doubtless calculates that it would under such circumstances obtain a majority among the German minority, and would be able to apply "totalitarian" methods towards its rivals; while Nazi opinion in the Reich assumes that such a solution would weaken the hold of the central authorities in Prague upon the districts essential to the strategic defences of the State. But for that very reason, purely racial autonomy is viewed with suspicion alike by all the Czech and Slovak parties and by the German activists, whose social programmes are incompatible with those of Herr Henlein. The arguments for extending the already existing administrative autonomy of Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and Ruthenia are very strong, and some such extension is likely to be made, but this is, of course, an entirely different proposition.

No less fundamental is the issue in foreign policy, for the Sd. P.'s demand that the defensive alliance with Soviet Russia should be abandoned, would, if carried into effect, involve the abandonment of France also, and in that event Czechoslovakia, left without her two major allies in Europe, would have to accept reorientation towards Berlin, and not only for herself but for her allies of the Little Entente and Balkan League. What Herr Henlein is asking for is a complete reorientation of policy and a surrender to one of the two rival ideologies; when the Czechs show reluctance to reverse their whole post-war policy, they are denounced by Herr Goebbels and his inspired press as the willing captives of the other ideology, when all the time they ask nothing better than to be left outside both, to be allowed to work out their own problems on peaceful and democratic lines.

Amid all the sound and fury of anti-Czech propaganda there are two less disquieting features. The Prague Government has calmly gone its own way, and in January 1937 concluded a convention with its Activist allies, greatly extending the already considerable national and linguistic rights enjoyed by the Germans under the Minority Treaty of 1920. At the same time, it is well to insist that official relations between Prague and Berlin have always remained correct and friendly, and it is not impossible that the press campaign is not so much the first signal for an attack, as simply a final barrage to extract concessions, such as preceded the agreement between

the Reich and Poland in January 1934 and between the Reich and Austria in July 1936.

Let us be quite clear about it. Czechoslovakia is strategically the keystone of the European arch, last really free state east of the Rhine; once isolate and overthrow her and all Central and South-Eastern Europe goes by the board, and the totalitarian idea, resting on Force, Armaments, Machtpolitik and (in economic and financial matters) "inverted Bolshevism," will be predominant from the North Sea and the Baltic to the Adriatic, Aegean and Euxine. There are many people in this country who think that nothing East of the Rhine concerns them. Once let this landslide occur, and they will realise, too late to save their own skins, that the affairs of Europe have turned decisively against liberty and free institutions.

IV

In Hungary, though in every other respect the situation differs radically from that in Czechoslovakia, there is the same inter-connection of internal and external policy, the same attempt to intrude a conflict of rival ideologies. But the death of General Gömbös, the energetic Premier whose marked sympathies for authoritarian principles never altogether overcame his respect for ancient constitutional tradition, has left a strange void in public life and a lack of leadership for which there are no precedents in Hungarian history for a century past. Count Bethlen, for ten years a virtual parliamentary dictator, is still in the background, and Dr. Eckhardt leads the Agrarian Opposition, but the new Premier, Dr. Darányi, is still untried, though he has the reputation of an upright and cautious Conservative. On the one hand the two understudies of Gömbös, MM. Kozma and Marton, known for their semi-Fascist predilections, have already been relegated to the background. Electoral reform, to which Gömbös stood irrevocably pledged, but which under his régime never came any nearer, seems at last to be in serious preparation—the more so as its adoption is the *sine qua non* of Agrarian co-operation, and the Government seems hardly able to dispense with that co-operation. On the other hand, in foreign policy the Government, without renouncing any of its national claims, is wise enough not to commit itself to the "all or nothing" policy of its predecessors in the vexed question of Revisionism, and realises that the reiterated warnings of neighbouring statesmen in the sense that "revision means war" are not a mere phrase, but a basic reality. The tendency to balance between Rome and Berlin in the hope that one will outbid the other for the sake of

the undoubted strategic advantages which Hungary possesses, still persists, but there is a growing realisation of its complete barrenness hitherto, and of the very real danger that it may in the end leave Hungary between the upper and the nether grindstone in a new European conflict. Moreover, deep and widespread disillusionment has been caused by the sensational article of Herr Rosenberg, the official mouthpiece of Nazi foreign policy, in the *Völkischer Beobachter* last November, expressly dissociating Germany from any desire to effect the drastic revision of Trianon. This, and a similar pronouncement of the Roumanian Fascist leader M. Goga, quoting the Führer's own personal and explicit disclaimer as regards Hungarian revisionism, more than outweighed the revisionist phrases of the Duce at Milan. At the same time the renewed interest shown by the Nazi press in the fate of the German minority in post-war Hungary (whose Magyarisation is proceeding by leaps and bounds, with the result that their numbers are officially given as 550,000 in 1920 and only 470,000 in 1930, the natural increase of 40,000 having also been lost): and anxious voices have been raised in Parliament as to the dangers which might accrue to Hungary if the Reich should swallow Austria and with it the Burgenland and then aspire to the possession of the straggling German colonies of the Hungarian plain.

In a word, there are some signs that Hungary is entering a more sober period of evolution, in which the extravagant revisionist hopes of the last ten years are seen in all their barrenness and the necessity is recognised for some kind of collaboration with the Succession States and for recognising that the solution of the minority question does not lie in the direction of mere frontier rectification, but of establishing effective natural guarantees of racial survival. The invitation extended by Dr. Hodža to Dr. Eckhardt to visit Prague and discuss with him the means by which a rapprochement between the two nations could be reached, may or may not have concrete results: it at least deserves to be chronicled as a hopeful sign, for in foreign policy Hodža (the ex-deputy of Budapest) has all Slovakia behind him, while Eckhardt is the mouthpiece of the Hungarian peasant masses. On the other hand the abortive "Putsch" of February last is the proof that its foreign inspirers desire nothing less than that Budapest should at long last make a reality of parliamentary government and should at the same time achieve a "least common factor," with Vienna and Prague.

V

In Roumania also, home and foreign policy are closely interwoven. Though she has hitherto avoided open dictatorship, she is

not a true democracy. That the decision as to which party or politicians shall govern and how long they shall remain in power should rest almost unreservedly with the Crown rather than with the people, may be a necessary feature in their present evolution. But so long as the present artificial and inequitable franchise remains in force, it is difficult to see how healthy political progress is possible. For instance, it is notorious that free elections, held without terrorism or official pressure, would give the National Peasant Party an overwhelming majority, yet it is extremely doubtful whether they will be called to power. In Roumania, as in so many other countries, the bogey of Communism is a shadow on every wall, but it is only the bad administration that gives a handle to extremist agitation. In reality, the Roumanian peasant is immune from Bolshevism, because of his intense devotion to the land and his knowledge of what has happened to the peasantry across his eastern borders. Moreover propaganda from Russia is handicapped by the profound distrust felt for the Russians by all classes in Roumania—a distrust dating far back in history and today based on fear of Russia's expansive possibilities, if, as many people now calculate, she should evolve on nationalist rather than on communist lines.

Meanwhile a rival propaganda has begun to gain hold upon certain sections of the Roumanian population. There are 800,000 Germans in Roumania. Of these one third are Transylvanian Saxons, who possess very old cultural traditions, rooted in the Lutheran Church and its educational system, but who have lost much of their accumulated capital owing to war, currency troubles, and the world crisis: the remainder are the "Swabian" peasantry of the Banat, who have today far more schools, newspapers and societies than they ever possessed in pre-war Hungary, but who are in some sense a chamber swept and garnished, waiting for a new tenant. Into this vacuum the ideas of "Volksgemeinschaft," National Socialism and totalitarianism have found ready access, now separately, now inextricably blended: and the result is ferment and confusion, of which an active Nazi propaganda from the Reich is taking full advantage. Simultaneously its promoters are working among the Roumanian masses and especially among the "intellectual proletariat" of the Universities, where anti-Semite views make a strong appeal, because of the acute economic and social aspects of the Jewish problem in Moldavia. The activities of the so-called "Iron Guard," under its emotional leader Codreanu, who blends mystical theology with naked terrorism, first attained notoriety abroad through the murder of the Liberal Premier M. Duca, in 1933. Latterly it has indulged

in open threats against the King and took advantage of the funeral of two young Fascists whose bodies were brought back from Spain, to organise a big demonstration in Bucarest, attended by the Ministers of Germany, Italy and Portugal. As a further hint of their aims, the leader of the Liberal students in Bucarest was nearly beaten to death, and the Rector of Jassy University was set upon by students (some theological!) and knifed. There is every sign that such a movement, if not checked, would very speedily pass out of the control of the little Fascist political group of Cuza, an elderly anti-Semite theorist now close on 80, who has no administrative experience, and of Octavian Goga who was once an inspired poet and would do well to return to his poetry, instead of coquetting with Hitler and Mussolini. Recent outrages have forced the Government to abandon its dangerous tactics of using the Fascist agitation as a weapon to hold the Left in check: the Crown, too, has taken alarm, and sane opinion realises that the innermost aims of the movement are not merely to establish reactionary and totalitarian methods inside Roumania, but as a consequence to divert her from her existing alliances and force her to take sides with Germany in the "conflict of ideologies."

VI.

Turning to Jugoslavia, we find yet another variety of state,—a dictatorship which not only lacks any dictator at its head, but has for the past two years been engaged in cautious liquidation. The *spiritus rector* of the Regency, Prince Paul, has to contend with many blocking forces, but despite immense difficulties he has succeeded in getting rid of the Jevtić clique after the scandalous elections of May 1935, then in purging the army of the clique that surrounds the "Jugoslav Rivera" General Živković, then in slowly toning down the repressive measures of the dictatorial régime, allowing some latitude to the press, and above all, preparing the atmosphere for reconciliation with the Croats at home and with the Bulgars abroad. The critical moment has at last been reached, when Croats and Serbs must table their irreducible demands, instead of manœuvring for position as hitherto: and what renders the situation so delicate is that the federal demand is inextricably tied up with the demand for a return to constitutional and representative government. Today the two stand or fall together, and it remains to be seen whether those in power have the courage and strength to draw the logical conclusion and to abandon, or rather to reform out of existence, the mock-constitution of 1931, to replace the present artificial franchise and to remove the veto upon political parties. It is

high time that this was done, for the royal dictatorship has had unexpected and disconcerting effects upon the political life of Yugoslavia. The late King's aim was to overcome the resistance of the Croat Opposition, yet today it is admitted on all sides that the Opposition comprises at least 95 per cent. of the population of Croatia and Dalmatia and a great majority in Bosnia and Voivodina. His other aim was to strengthen Serbia as against the other sections, yet it is today patent to all that the Serb parties are in full disintegration and incapable of a united programme, while the rising generation, especially at Belgrade University, is increasingly radical in its ideas and will soon stand farther to the left than any existing party. In the words of one of the ablest younger Serbs, the war gave to Serbia 100 per cent. of her national programme, with the result that today only a social programme makes a real appeal, and God knows there is need for social reform: Croatia, on the other hand, has less self-government than she had before and is still clamouring for it in a modified form, and the result is that in Croatia national demands still take precedence over social, alike among her intellectuals and her peasant masses.

In high quarters there is considerable fear of Bolshevism, a convenient generic term of abuse applied to all reformers of the Left. In reality the best hope of averting political extremism is a timely settlement of the Croat problem, on a federal basis, as part of a reformed constitution. There is still time, and leaders like Maček still have the masses well in control. But if the present negotiations should fail, or if foreign complications should arise while the political hunger of the Croat masses is still unsatisfied, no man can prophesy what might be the result. There are many who foresee the possibility of a sudden mass movement, with leaders, unknown and untested, springing from nowhere. On the other hand, Yugoslavia's geographical position is far more favourable than that of her two closest allies, and there can be no doubt that a Serbo-Croat compromise, on the basis of a free constitution would usher in a period of consolidation and prosperity.

For several reasons Yugoslavia has not been the object of such intensive foreign propaganda as Roumania, partly because the whole nation regards Italy with profound suspicion, partly because here the interests of Germany and Italy do not run parallel and in certain respects cancel each other out. The Duce was long convinced that Yugoslav Unity was an artificial thing and could be destroyed by the action of Croat and Macedonian terrorists, but was ready to defend Austrian independence against invasion from the Reich: whereas the Yugoslavs, though they, too, wish Austria to

remain independent, would, if forced to choose between Austria as a German vassal or as an Italian vassal, greatly prefer the former. The gross ill-treatment of the Croat and Slovene minority in Italy, her steady absorption of Albania and her manifest bid for a Mediterranean hegemony, are three factors that increase Yugoslav distrust. At the present moment the Yugoslavs are doing a flourishing trade with both Germany and Italy, and now that the Duce has changed his tactics and made cordial overtures to Belgrade, they naturally do not reject the proffered hand. But their attitude remains one of armed vigilance, and the Yugoslav Premier as recently as 14 February, 1937, while reaffirming his country's pacific aims and devotion to League principles, pointedly attributed Yugoslavia's growing importance to the fact that it has an army of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million men, and that that army is ready.

VII

It was quite impossible in so general an article, to cover every aspect of so complex an organism as the Double Entente. My main aim has been to indicate the extent to which, in each of these countries (and the same is true of Greece and even Turkey) problems of home and foreign policy are interwoven. It is obvious that all together these countries form a very formidable Bloc, but that they can only be set in motion for essentially defensive purposes. In the matter of territorial revision, whether in the Danubian or the Balkan area, their solidarity is as great as ever, and any attempt to overthrow the *status quo* would be met by their united resistance. In the major questions of Europe there is inevitably less unity, and their individual attitudes would be determined by strategic considerations. What the Double Entente as a whole would do in the event of an attack by Italy on Yugoslavia (there are many who regard the creation of the Balkan Entente as the main reason why such an attack is no longer a serious danger) or by Germany on Czechoslovakia, must depend upon the attitude of the other Great Powers in either event. For it is obvious that in the Mediterranean the three maritime members of the Balkan Entente (Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey) could not, even if combined, stand up to Italy, if the Western Powers were not involved: whereas in any conflict between Italy and the Western Powers the interests of the Balkan Entente would lie with the latter, and their support would be a factor of immense strategic importance. It is equally obvious that in the event of a German attack on Czechoslovakia with Italy doubtful or even benevolent, none of the Balkan states could risk transferring

their main forces to so remote a distance from their base, though they would be able to immobilise Hungary and would certainly invade her if she attacked Slovakia : whereas if either Russia or France, or both, came to the aid of Czechoslovakia (in which case Italy would presumably wait to see what would be the attitude of Britain), the combined forces of the Double Entente would be a most valuable supplement to the defensive Bloc, and their intervention might also contribute towards bringing Poland out of the very natural reserve in which it veils its policy.

A realist survey of the situation forces us to the hateful conclusion that *Machtpolitik* and Brute Force dominate the counsels of the dictators, and that for the moment strategy must take precedence over Genevan ideals. It may be that a " Peace Front " will be constituted, strong enough to convince the military advisers of those dictators that the risks of war would be excessive and that any general war, whatever its outcome, would completely alter the whole structure of European society. It will, however, be wise to keep in mind the possible alternative of a gambler's throw, and to weigh very carefully the possible consequences of a successful German attack upon Austria or Czechoslovakia. In that event the whole of South-East Europe, as far as Athens and Stambul, would also automatically fall under the political and economic influence of Germany, and totalitarian doctrines,—either in their Fascist or Nazi purity or in some such debased forms as those current in Moldavia—might soon dominate the whole Continent, save perhaps Scandinavia : for Belgium and Switzerland would certainly follow suit, and France herself would be in grave peril. Whether such a transformation of political, economic and spiritual values would be a matter of indifference to these islands, is a question which every thinking islander should ponder morning, noon and night.

R. W. SETON-WATSON

“INDIVISIBLE PEACE” AND THE TWO BLOCS IN EUROPE

THE idea of an “indivisible peace,” as a means of preserving Europe from war, is of British origin, though the term itself was first used in a Soviet communication—and was generally accepted. Two important events made it necessary to think of some new method of restoring the equilibrium in Europe: the secession of Germany from the League of Nations on 14 October, 1933, and the failure of the Disarmament Commission to fulfil its task in 1934. The diplomacy of the British Foreign Office took for its aim directly to remove both obstacles to peace by bringing Germany back to Geneva and by reopening the problem of limitation of armaments. The French diplomats wished to reach the same end in a roundabout way, by concluding regional pacts for mutual aid in the event of unprovoked aggression in Eastern and Central Europe, to complete the Western Locarno Treaty, and thus to attain a state of “collective security” in Europe as a whole. Both schemes, though they clashed in many respects, were welded together in the London agreements of 3 February, 1935, which thus became the starting point for further work towards international conciliation. The British scheme being the more appropriate for obtaining some kind of a compromise with Germany, England has become the intermediary between Paris and Berlin.

What then were the chances of success for this combined action? Unhappily, from the very first it was doomed to fail. There still remained a considerable chasm between the most moderate attempts to re-unite the broken thread of European unity on the one hand and the unswerving policy of the Third Reich on the other. Both the British plan for bringing Germany back into the League and the Disarmament Commission and the French scheme for completing the “collective security” of Europe by multilateral regional pacts in Central and Eastern Europe were equally defeated by categorical refusal on the part of Germany and partially on that of Poland. What was still worse—Germany retorted with a counter attempt to reorganise in Central Europe a separate bloc, which became in the language of Signor Mussolini the “Berlin-Rome axis,” with a deviation towards the Mediterranean to serve the interests of the newly constructed Italian “empire.”

This is why the principle of an “indivisible peace” has proved to be unrealisable. There is nothing in it to provoke serious

criticism. The ideal which it pursues is worthy of every respect. However, under the conditions which have just been mentioned, adherence to this idea involved serious danger. It took time for us to ascertain the deceptive character of its appearance. In the meanwhile, the whole aspect of the international situation was steadily changing, and the very idea of keeping peace in Europe as a whole by diplomacy was becoming illusory. It is useless to deny that behind the screen of ideological discussions and an untiring exchange of artfully balanced notes and speeches, the opposite idea of building up a separate bloc of powers in the middle of Europe was all the time rapidly taking shape.

We can trace the gradual loss of diplomatic initiative by the democratic Powers in Europe to the initial step in the above-mentioned London agreements of 3 February, 1935. They were aimed at securing the South Eastern frontiers of Central Europe from aggression—and Germany and Poland were invited to accede to the scheme. But the tendency of Germany to threaten these particular frontiers was well known from the famous book of Herr Hitler, and the proposal was as good as asking him to desist from his bellicose intentions. Of course these intentions were not at that time quite openly and plainly avowed, and preparatory steps in that direction had yet to be taken. The next was to raise the military power of Germany to "equality." Hitler felt free to do this on 16 March by one of his "Kraftproben" (trials of strength), thus breaking his way not only past the Treaty of Versailles, but also a recent decision of a "common front" of Powers in Rome on 7 January. The Powers replied to this arbitrary act on 14-16 April by two severe indictments at Geneva; but no reprisals followed. Far from that, the British Foreign Office, after stating the contradiction between the aim of a general settlement and the one-sided act of Germany, felt satisfied on hearing from Berlin that Germany was still ready to talk of an "indivisible peace." It was a great surprise to Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden on their visit to Berlin to hear Herr Hitler object to all projected pacts to be concluded in the East and propose in their place common action against the USSR: an attitude which since then, far from being changed, has been pressed further on ideological grounds. Outside England this visit of the two British Ministers to Berlin was regarded as a serious gamble and an unnecessary humiliation. It only encouraged Germany to pursue her policy of the accomplished fact.

From this moment French policy drifted away from the British. As the British scheme of a complete pacification of Europe, to include

Germany, had proved unrealisable and the project of an Eastern Locarno had been exploded by Hitler, there remained for France a more modest scheme of bringing together the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR in a multilateral pact of mutual aid. This scheme, too, met with difficulties; the USSR and Czechoslovakia alone could be utilised to form a barrier in the East against German aggression, but here again British diplomacy found it necessary to intervene. On 26 April, 1935, Britain advised France not to conclude any engagement that could put England under the obligation of joining in a war against Germany under conditions not admitted by the Treaty of Locarno. This warning forced M. Laval to alter the text of the proposed Franco-Soviet Pact by leaving out everything in it which would be in the slightest contradiction either with the obligations of Locarno or the procedure of the League of Nations. All the same, Herr Hitler felt thwarted in his designs to such a degree that he let them become clearer. As early as 31 May, he declared that such pacts for mutual assistance as that concluded between France and the USSR on 2 May did not in his view differ from the old military alliances, and that under these conditions he found it extremely difficult to maintain the agreement of Locarno on the demilitarised zone on the Rhine. It was in vain that during June and July, 1935, the other signatories of Locarno—France, England, Belgium and Italy—tried to persuade him that no contradiction existed between the Treaty of Locarno and the Franco-Soviet Pact as amended. On 1 August the German Ambassador in London put an end to these arguments by bluntly informing Sir Samuel Hoare that Germany did not agree with the opinion of the four Powers and that further negotiations were useless. And, in general, Germany was not willing to continue any negotiations either on an Eastern pact or on the limitation of aerial armaments.

The final blow of 7 March was thus duly prepared. A week after the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Pact on 27 February, 1936, German soldiers entered the Rhine zone in spite of useless attempts of England to avert this decision. Article 41 of the Pact of Locarno was thus openly violated, and the only document securing the territorial *status quo* in Western Europe with "voluntary consent" of Germany had ceased to exist. Most vital interests of the Western Powers, especially of France, were thus endangered by an act of sheer force. Everything now seemed to depend on whether or not France would react accordingly. The military advisers of the Führer were said to have tried to dissuade him from making this new experiment in force, for fear that France might mobilise.

France did not do this. Why she did not, M. Flandin, the then Foreign Minister, explained succinctly but clearly when the question was put to him in the Chamber of Deputies on 26 January, 1937. "It is not quite exact to say," he observed, "that this happened because the army was not ready; but France was not the only signatory of the Pact of Locarno, and she was obliged to abstain from an attitude that might be disavowed by other signatories." He preferred, as he emphasised, to follow a line of policy which secured the co-operation of England.

If we now turn to England, we shall find her attitude explained in the speech of Mr. Eden in the House of Commons on 26 March, 1936. Mr. Eden did recognise that the measures taken by Great Britain after 7 March were inadequate; but, according to him, it was their merit that they "give us a respite; we achieved the first phase of our exertions by preserving peace at a difficult moment." The second phase then followed: its aim was "to restore confidence" by way of negotiations. France and Belgium insisted on the immediate retreat of the German detachments from the Rhine zone and, in case of refusal, on the application of economic and financial sanctions. England proposed milder conditions, an appeal to the Hague tribunal (which declined the suggestion on the count of incompetency), international occupation of a zone of 20 kilometres and the suspension of any work of fortification. In the same speech, however, Mr. Eden had to admit that Germany was not making "any contribution" to the restoration of confidence. At least the danger had been avoided; and Mr. Eden already spoke of a third phase, the creation of a more propitious atmosphere "for raising the question of disarmament and of Germany's return to the League." Meanwhile, he promised his colleagues of Locarno immediate help in case of the failure of negotiations—in the shape of consultations between the general staffs, but without any political engagements.

A few more months were spent in attempts to "rebuild" the broken agreement of Locarno. One can hardly find in diplomatic history an analogy for such useless loss of time in order to cover a lack of action with mere verbosity. On 29 March, M. Flandin opens the campaign by bluntly asking Germany whether she is likely to honour treaties, against whom precisely is she preparing for war and whose colonies does she intend to win for the settlement of her surplus population? This of course was only an electoral speech, which called for no reply—so much the more that now England was to be the intermediary for real negotiations, and it is

to England that Herr Ribbentrop hands his answers to the proposals of the Locarno Powers. It was not in any way a simple answer but a large scheme for universal peace to be achieved in three periods, promising perhaps in the third period, but unacceptable in its first stage. On 8 April France replied by proposing in Geneva her own scheme for the maintenance of peace based on the principles of democratic pacifism, but equally unacceptable for further discussion. It was then decided that further elucidation was necessary. On 6 May Mr. Eden composed his own questionnaire, parallel to that of M. Flandin, which likewise was to receive no answer. However, the Locarno Powers were not entirely discouraged. On 23 April they decided in London to enter once more into negotiations with Germany and Italy, in order to obtain their consent for replacing the violated Treaty of Locarno by a new one. However, Italy withdrew from the preliminary discussions in Brussels, and both Germany and Italy used the pretext of the need of "careful preparation" definitely to bury the problem which, after four months lost in negotiation and also in view of the new situation created in the interval, had become obsolete.

Whatever may have been the reason for British abstention from any more active policy—which also explains the French indecision, more convenient for the new Ministry of the "Popular Front"—it has led to a profound crisis in European international relations. We are not yet able to see the end of this crisis, but we may already discern its main tendency. The champions of aggression were inspired by the policy which has been described with a sense of impunity, and Germany, in particular, was encouraged to go on with the game she had begun, while the defenders of peace were penetrated by a feeling of fear and apprehension that they would not be able to ward off the approaching danger. As a result there followed a series of events, equally produced by the fear that the democratic Powers of Locarno had lost the lead. Let us summarise the most important of them.

(1) Italy made use of the unsuccessful attempt to apply sanctions to her during her campaign in Abyssinia to loosen her ties with her former allies in the World War and to seek for herself an approach to another European dictatorship.

(2) In consequence, it was possible to initiate a new policy in Central Europe—that which Signor Mussolini has happily described as the Berlin-Rome axis.

(3) As the interests of Germany and Italy are not identical a line of demarcation might be drawn between the two Powers,

leaving in the sphere of Italian influence the whole space between the Danube and the Mediterranean. The Austro-German agreement of 11 July already showed traces of complete submission by Austria to the policy of the other "German State"; the vacillation between the Anschluss and the re-establishment of the Habsburgs makes this sufficiently clear.

(4) Further to the South, Italy tries to draw into her orbit the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. In Yugoslavia she is ready to withdraw her claims in Dalmatia, to make concessions in Albania and probably elsewhere. She gains something by fostering a closer union between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and also by strengthening her friendship with Turkey. The new situation created by Italy in the Mediterranean forces England to stabilise there the equilibrium of the moment by the agreement of 28 January, 1937, after she had established the equilibrium of tomorrow in the North Sea and in respect of the Baltic by her agreement with Germany of 18 June, 1935. In both cases the possibility of a clash is not definitely avoided, but is postponed for a more convenient occasion.

Another series of events, equally symptomatic, testified to the effect of the vacillating policy of France on those of her friends and allies. The Little Entente remains true to its former agreements, but this is what M. Krofta, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, has felt it necessary to say on 22 October, 1936, in the name of the whole of the Little Entente at its last session in Bratislava: "The organisation of peace in the West is not sufficient to secure peace in Europe. . . . As there is no assurance that a general regulation of European security can be obtained in the near future, the Powers of the Little Entente have decided . . . to tighten their forces and to define their mutual obligations in case of a menace to their security." Moreover, the members of the Entente found it necessary to provide for comparative liberty of action for each of them to conclude separate friendships. Their common decisions, they stated, "do not prevent each of them from maintaining good relations with the Governments with which they have succeeded in establishing such relations." This obviously implied the Pact of Czechoslovakia with the USSR, to which neither Yugoslavia nor Roumania are willing to accede; but the other members are also free to imitate the example given them. Thus Roumania, after the sudden dismissal of the Francophil M. Titulescu, has, under M. Antonescu, taken up a more independent position, in view of a strong pro-Fascist feeling in the country. We have also mentioned the feelers which Italy has thrown out, to bring about a

better understanding with Yugoslavia and Turkey, and Yugoslavia's growing friendship with Bulgaria. A new bloc in the Mediterranean is thus in process of formation.

A still more important fact has to be noted, namely, a certain estrangement of a former ally of France. On 14 October the King of the Belgians declared: "We ought to carry on a purely Belgian policy, and set ourselves apart from the conflicts of our neighbours." One can imagine the enormous impression produced by this sudden breach with a sacrosanct tradition of common victory on the part of another participant of the Locarno Treaty. This impression was all the deeper because the necessity of secession was almost openly explained by the—seeming or real—fact of France's weakness, due both to foreign and internal policy. Belgium thus joined with Germany in repudiating France's Pact with Communist Russia, the declared promoter of world revolution.

In face of all these fluctuations of European policy, the changing attitude of the USSR is particularly significant. The appearance of the USSR in Europe as an element working for peace dates from 1927, when a series of defeats in the field of diplomatic and revolutionary expansion taught the Soviet Government to modify its line of conduct towards Europe. Stalin felt strong enough to substitute for the international doctrine of Marx and Lenin his own theory of a national revolution, to be achieved in Russia alone without waiting for a general conflagration. The influence of the Communist International was on the wane; its president, Zinoviev, had been dismissed, and Chicherin, the Foreign Minister, disgraced; the star of Litvinov began to rise. The growth of internal difficulties in a period of enforced industrialisation and the increasing menace of war from Germany and Japan did the rest. The USSR was ready for new alliances at the very moment when Hitler's provocative policy made it necessary for Western Europe to search for a support in the East.

However, on both sides, the choice was not made at once, nor was it single-hearted. The old ally of Rapallo, even if he was now called Hitler, would not give up the old friendship at once. Soon after his access to power on 1 February, 1933, Herr Hitler declared that Communism is an internal affair. On 21 March, at the opening of the Reichstag, he made known his wish "to entertain friendly relations with the USSR for mutual profit." Six weeks later the Berlin Treaty of 1926 was prolonged with similar assertions. As late as January, 1934, Hitler again spoke in the Reichstag of his friendly feelings towards the USSR. In his interview with

Mr. Ward Price on 17 February he simply laughed at the suggestion of a possible German attack on Russia: "Are we wanting to take territory in Russia? Ridiculous!"

However, it is long since Radek has quoted Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Rosenberg's *Future of German Foreign Policy* to prove the contrary. In May, 1934, Dr. Rosenberg himself at a London banquet, and later, in June, Herr Hugenberg in a memorandum read at a sitting of the Economic Conference in London, openly suggested the same solution of the confusion in Europe by giving Germany a free hand in Ukraine. Then the USSR made its choice rather to defend with France the "imperialistic" Treaty of Versailles than to put itself with Germany on the side of a forcible revision of all existing treaties.

Was the other party equally ready to accept the offer? We know that it was not. To be sure, if considered from the purely military side, the weight of the USSR, after completing the five-year programme, was by no means negligible, but for that very reason it provoked new complications on the side of Germany. We know that as soon as the question was raised of making an Eastern bloc which was to include the Franco-Soviet agreement, Germany's attitude towards the general pacification of Europe changed at once. Instead of being a mere "internal affair," Communism was now declared to be an international danger, and it was found to be the special mission of Germany to liberate Europe and the whole world from the Communist contagion. Under cover of preparing for this ideological struggle, Germany was hurrying on her armament, while the real object of her preparations remained uncertain. Was that object Russia or France? Or both of them? Anyhow, the prospect of bringing about an "indivisible peace" disappeared long before British policy decided to take any notice of this.

In these conditions, the Western Powers, instead of relying on a new Eastern ally, turned their attention to weakening the force of the engagements to be contracted with the Soviet Union—though without being able to deprive Germany of her pretext for breaking the Western Locarno. The original text of the Franco-Soviet Pact which M. Barthou had been ready to sign, was coupled, under M. Laval, with a "protocol" which made its application conditional on an uncertain and dilatory procedure. As a result, the USSR did not feel sufficiently covered by mere promises of a problematic help in case of a sudden German attack. It began to ask itself which of the two, Russia or France, was most likely to suffer from

such an aggression. Hitler went on thundering against the USSR. He might be preparing his arms against France, but the official *Journal du Moscou* said in plain words that "the plans of aggression of the Reich are directed against France at least as much as against the rich area of the European East." And indeed, according to the generally known strategic plans of German warfare, was not France the first to be invaded? If so, could not the danger be averted from the USSR to the side of France? The English bulletin, *Week*, obviously inspired, also gives other arguments on the subject still more explicit. The occupation of the demilitarised zone and the Spanish war, it was said, have seriously weakened the strategic position of France and of England since the Pact has been signed. The situation thus being changed, the USSR is entitled to ask for a revision of it. The Moscow correspondent of *Le Temps* asserts that he was himself able to hear similar suggestions in Soviet circles.

Once this state of mind was reached, two further issues became open to discussion. If M. Litvinov's method of averting the danger of invasion of the USSR by entering the League of Nations and concluding treaties with the European democracies proved inoperative, there remained the traditional method of the Komintern, to foster the revolutionary situation in Europe. This method is thought to be no longer dangerous for Russia, the revolution having there become endemic; but it remains extremely dangerous to Europe as an article of exportation. Such, for instance, is the attitude of Trotsky in his new book, *La Révolution Trahie*.¹ This may explain a certain recrudescence of Communist propaganda outside Russia, together with the support of the policy of the "Popular Front." Another issue is also sought in the return to old lines. If the policy of "indivisible peace" cannot be attained by methods of democratic diplomacy, why not try to return to the former ally—Germany? Trotsky remarks: "The international groupings have changed; appetites have remained unchanged. France may prefer the Italian friendship to that of USSR. England may court the friendship of Germany. The aim of defenders of the *status quo* is to find in the League of Nations the most favourable combination of forces to prepare for the coming war. Who will begin it, and where it will begin, depends on secondary circumstances; but somebody must begin, because the *status quo* is nothing but an enormous powder magazine." This pessimistic note, so cynically outspoken, may explain to us the part ascribed to Trotsky in the last Moscow

¹ It seems to us quite impossible to identify the foreign policies of those two mortal enemies, Trotsky and Stalin.—Ed.

trial of Trotskyites, where Trotsky is said to have based their attempt at treason on the assertion that war is unavoidable and also the defeat and fall of the present government; therefore, as Germany was the probable victor, negotiations should be started at once with her, and necessary concessions would have to be made by the claimants to the inheritance of Stalin.

Trotsky is not the only one to predict war in the near future. At the January banquet at the Mansion House, we hear Lord Milne say that he would feel happy and optimistic, should he be able to assure us of five months of peace. I might quote other military leaders who have expressed themselves in the same sense, though it may be due to their professional outlook. But here is the judicious and brilliant successor of Masaryk in Czechoslovakia, M. Beneš, a born optimist, who some time ago indulged in the prophecy that peace will become solid and lasting in Europe if the dangerous "cape" of 1936 and 1937 can be turned. The term indicated is now almost reached, but we are still unable, in such conditions as have been described, to call that ominous cape the Cape of Good Hope.

However, a beam of hope shone upon us on the verge of the end of last year and the beginning of this; it came from the only place which can bring storm and fair weather in the unsteady climate of foreign relations. London seems to have lost temper about Herr Hitler's unswerving policy of expansion and is inclined to forsake its policy of "wait and see" for a firmer one. Of course, it will always be "suaviter in modo," but "fortiter in re"—to use the expression of *The Times* editorial. No doubt it was the new danger to communications in Gibraltar and Spanish Morocco, as well as the German demand for colonies, that has brought about a closer union between Great Britain and France. After a fruitless attempt—was it the last?—to bring conversations with Germany back to the initial point of "indivisible peace" in Europe, Great Britain boldly proceeded to re-armament on a scale never before attempted. The change in direction was keenly felt in Berlin, and we have already seen some signs of perplexity and retreat. This does not mean that it would be easy or even possible to make up for the time lost. Confidence is not so easily restored when it has been thoroughly undermined; and measures of re-insurance, adopted by the countries in need of immediate succour, cannot be taken back. All over Europe the process of reorientation continues. Anyhow, a certain unity of direction has been regained by the democratic powers—if only it is followed up as steadily as now seems and the old game is

not begun again. There is one thing that seems nearly certain. The USSR will not recover the rather influential part assigned to it in the counsels of Europe under the régime of European pacts. The fault is its own. Far from definitely repudiating the doctrine of world revolution, it still sticks to it in speeches and—now and then—applies it in action. That is why the anti-Soviet propaganda violently carried on in Fascist countries seems to increase rapidly. At the same time, the latest ruthless Moscow trials and shootings of leaders of the Communist Revolution, accused of conspiracy and treason, make people uncertain as to the solidity of the régime. In such conditions the realisation of an “indivisible peace” meets with other difficulties than that of mere ideology.

The existence of blocs—two or more of them—in Europe is a sad reality. The League system cannot embrace them all; otherwise it should not be necessary to resort to a new race of armaments. War can still be avoided by bridling the only power which by its strivings and by its methods is a real menace to peace, instead of counterpoising one power against another. One would be happy to think that this, which is the only right way, is being definitely chosen.

PAUL MILYUKOV.

RADEK'S LAST PLEA

We reprint, by permission, from the verbatim report¹ of the recent trial of Trotskyites in Moscow, the very illuminating speech which Radek made in his last plea before the verdict was given. It should be understood that he had already freely accepted the apparent certainty of conviction and of a death sentence; and he gives the history of his own association with Trotsky and his party, at the same time most alertly using his one opportunity to convey to unnamed Trotskyites in Russia what he would have said to them if the conference of the party on which he had insisted had taken place. The speech throws much light on the background of the trial.—ED.

CITIZEN JUDGES, after I have confessed to the crime of treason to the country there can be no question of a speech in defence. There are no arguments by which a grown man in full possession of his senses could defend treason to his country. Neither can I plead extenuating circumstances. A man who has spent 35 years in the Labour Movement cannot extenuate his crime by any circumstances when he confesses to a crime of treason to the country. I cannot even plead that I was led to err from the true path by Trotsky. I was already a grown man with fully-formed views when I met Trotsky. And while in general Trotsky's part in the development of these counter-revolutionary organisations is tremendous, at the time I entered this path of struggle against the Party Trotsky's authority for me was minimal.

I joined the Trotskyite organisation not for the sake of Trotsky's petty theories, the rottenness of which I realised at the time of my first exile, and not because I recognised his authority as a leader, but because there was no other group upon which I could rely in those political aims which I had set myself. I had been connected with this group in the past, and therefore I went with this group. I did not go because I was drawn into the struggle, but as a result of my own appraisal of the situation, as the result of a path I had voluntarily chosen. And for this I bear complete and sole responsibility—a responsibility which you will measure according to the letter of the law and according to your conscience as judges of the Soviet Socialist Republic.

¹ Report of Court Proceedings in the case of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre heard before the Military Collegium of the USSR, Moscow, January 23-30, 1937. Verbatim Report published by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the USSR, Moscow, 1937. 580 pp.

And with this I might conclude my last plea, if I did not consider it necessary to object to the view of the trial—as regards a partial, not the main, point—which was given here and which I must reject, not from my own personal standpoint, but from a political standpoint. I have admitted my guilt and I have given full testimony concerning it, not from the simple necessity of repentance—repentance may be an internal state of mind which one need not necessarily share with or reveal to anybody—not from love of the truth in general—the truth is a very bitter one, and I have already said that I would prefer to have been shot thrice rather than to have had to admit it—but I must admit my guilt from motives of the general benefit that this truth must bring. And when I heard that the people in this dock are mere bandits and spies, I object to it. I do not object to it with the purpose of defending myself; because since I have confessed to treason to the country, it makes little difference from my point of view, from a human point of view, that I committed treason in conspiracy with generals, I have not that professional pride which permits one to commit treachery in conjunction with generals, but not to commit treachery in conjunction with agents.

But the matter is this. This trial has revealed two important facts. The intertwining of the counter-revolutionary organisations with all the counter-revolutionary forces in the country—that is one fact. But this fact is tremendous objective proof. Wrecking work can be established by technical experts; the terrorist activities were connected with so many people that the testimony of these people, apart from material evidence, presents an absolute picture. But the trial is bicentric, and it has another important significance. It has revealed the smithy of war, and has shown that the Trotskyite organisation became an agency of the forces which are fomenting a new world war.

What proofs are there in support of this fact? In support of this fact there is the evidence of two people—the testimony of myself, who received the directives and the letters from Trotsky (which, unfortunately, I burned), and the testimony of Pyatakof, who spoke to Trotsky. All the testimony of the other accused rests on our testimony. If you are dealing with mere criminals and spies, on what can you base your conviction that what we have said is the truth, the firm truth?

Naturally, the State Prosecutor and the Court, who know the whole history of Trotskyism and who know us, have no reason to suspect that we, bearing the burden of terrorism, added high treason just for our own pleasure. There is no necessity to convince you

of that. We must convince, firstly, the diffused wandering Trotskyite elements in the country, who have not yet laid down their arms, who are dangerous and who must realise that we speak here shaken to the depths of our souls, and that we are speaking the truth and only the truth. And we must also tell the world that what Lenin—I tremble to mention his name from this dock—said in the letter, in the directions he gave to the delegation that was about to leave for The Hague, about the secret of war. A fragment of this secret was in the possession of the young Serbian nationalist, Gabriel Princip, who could die in a fortress without revealing it. He was a Serbian nationalist and felt the justice of his cause when fighting for the secret which was kept by the Serbian national movement. I cannot conceal this secret and carry it with me to the grave because, while in view of what I have confessed here I have not the right to speak as a repentant Communist, nevertheless the 35 years I worked in the Labour Movement, despite all the errors and crimes with which they ended, entitle me to ask you to believe one thing—that, after all, the masses of the people with whom I marched do mean something to me. And if I concealed this truth and departed this life with it, as Kamenev did, as Zinoviev did and as Mrachkovsky did, then when I thought over these things, I would have heard in my hour of death the execrations of those people who will be slaughtered in the future war, and whom, by my testimony, I could have furnished with a weapon against the war that is being fomented.

And that is why I contest the assertion that those who sit here in this dock are criminals who have lost all human shape. I am fighting not for my honour, which I have lost, I am fighting for the recognition of the truth of the testimony I have given, the truth in the eyes not of this Court, not of the Public Prosecutor and the Judges, who know us stripped to the soul, but of the far wider circle of people who have known me for 30 years and who cannot understand how I have sunk so low. I want them to see clearly from beginning to end why it was I gave this testimony, and therefore, in spite of the fact that I have already in part spoken of this, I feel obliged to present a picture of the events and experiences of this latest period, especially from the time of receipt of the last instructions from Trotsky.

I must explain why the decision taken in January to reveal everything was not carried out, and I must explain why I could not do that during the interrogation, why even when I arrived at the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs I did not at once carry this decision into effect. The doubts of the State Prosecutor are

entirely legitimate. The external facts speak against the existence of such a decision. And, moreover, the State Prosecutor, who is aware of the fact that Kamenev preferred to die like a bandit without a political programme, asks himself why it should be assumed that here we have complete sincerity, that the whole truth has been told to the end.

Without the slightest egocentrism—my personality plays the least part here—I must first of all mention the personal factors which made it easier for me to regard Trotsky's December directive as the finale, as the end, as a signal of the necessity to break before the others did and with greater internal conviction. These were personal factors. Some of my fellow-accused returned to the path of struggle as convinced Trotskyites who permanently denied the possibility of building up Socialism in one country. I returned having ceased to believe this conception of Trotsky's. I returned because I shrank from the difficulties that confronted Socialism in 1931-33. This only shows that to admit the building of Socialism is easier theoretically than to possess the strength and firmness which was fostered only in those who followed the Party from profound internal conviction and did not combat it. Without confidence in the leaders, or with insufficient confidence, without sufficient contact with the cadres—the theory itself was a dead letter, it was a theoretical view and not a practical one. Here I stumbled and I returned to this underground work. And here I immediately became an object of deceit. I say this not in order to extenuate my guilt, but because I increased this deceit tenfold in relation to our rank and file, and in order that you may understand the personal elements which helped me to realise the necessity of a change of front.

When I joined the organisation, Trotsky did not say a word about the seizure of power in his letter. He felt that such an idea would seem to me too reckless. He only seized upon my profound perturbation and that in this state of mind I might decide to join forces with him; and then everything would turn out as he wanted. And when, during my conversation with Pyatakov in December, 1932, he said, "What are you thinking about, this is of course a State conspiracy," this was the first rift from the very beginning.

In September, 1933, Romm brought me a letter from Trotsky in which wrecking work was spoken of as something taken for granted. And once again—and Romm spoke of this in his evidence—I was dumbfounded. Why? Because when I held these conversations not a word was said about wrecking activity, and this was done

deliberately. They knew that after the period of the fight against wrecking, after its exposure in all its hideousness, I might come to grief. And so it was concealed from me. And when Pyatakov revealed these things to me, I of course realised that the door had banged to. It was absurd to start to quarrel over this. But it was the second rift.

And, finally, after receiving Trotsky's directives in 1934, I sent him the reply of the centre, and added in my own name that I agreed that the ground should be sounded, but that he should not bind himself, because the situation might change; I suggested that the negotiations should be conducted by Putna, who had connections with leading Japanese and German military circles. And Trotsky replied: "We shall not bind ourselves without your knowledge, we shall make no decisions." For a whole year he was silent. And at the end of that year he confronted us with the accomplished fact of his agreement. You will understand that it was not any virtue on my part that I rebelled against this. But it is a fact for you to understand.

And what a picture did I see? The first stage: Kirov had been killed. The years of terrorist preparation, the scores of wandering terrorist groups waiting for a chance to assassinate some leader of the Party, and the consequences of the terrorism seemed to me personally to be the sacrifice of human life without any political advantage to ourselves. We could not bring to Moscow the leaders and organisations we required for group terrorism—that showed the state of forces of the terrorist organisations. And on the other hand, I stood near enough to the Government and to the leading Party circles to know that not only the precautionary measures of the organs of public security, but the masses of the people themselves had become so vigilant that the idea that the Soviet power could be cast to the ground by terrorism—even with the help of the most devoted and desperate terrorist groups—was utopian, that we might sacrifice human life, but that this would not overthrow the Soviet power.

A second aspect of the matter: I perceived that Trotsky himself had lost faith. The first variant was a concealed way of saying: "Well, boys, try to overthrow the Soviet power by yourselves, without Hitler. What, you cannot? Try to seize power yourselves. What, you cannot?" Trotsky himself already felt his complete internal impotence and staked on Hitler. The stake was now on Hitler. The old Trotskyites had held that it was impossible to build up Socialism in one country, and that it was

therefore necessary to force the revolution in the West. Now they were told that a revolution in the West was impossible, and so destroy Socialism in one country, destroy socialism in the USSR. Yet nobody could help but see that Socialism in our country had been built.

The second aspect was defeat.

I know a little about military matters and I am able to judge the international situation. And to me it was clear: 1934 was a period when I, a man inclined to pessimism, considered defeat and ruin inevitable; but in 1935 all the chances were in favour of a victory for this country, and whoever before pretended to himself that he was a defeatist by necessity, in order to save what could be saved, was now bound to say to himself: I am a traitor who is helping to subjugate the country—which is strong, growing and progressing. For what purpose? So that Hitler might restore Capitalism in Russia.

All the Public Prosecutor said about the fact that not only Trotsky's directives but all the work of the Trotskyites aimed at the restoration of Capitalism is incontrovertibly true. The directives themselves were directives for the complete restoration of Capitalism, and they did not drop from the skies: they were a summary of the fact that when people fire at the general staff of the revolution, when people undermine the economy of the country, they are undermining Socialism and, that being so, they are working for Capitalism.

And this is a fundamental truth, a truth of decisive importance in forming a judgment of the Trotskyites as a social current, and the Prosecutor realises this. On the other hand, it shows that with this platform we could not even among our own followers reach as many as 100 or so. If the State Prosecutor admits this—and he does admit it fully—and bears in mind that we did not even summon the conference which we had decided to summon in order to ascertain that even our closest followers would not accept such a standpoint, it shows that the Trotskyites, this group of criminal people who are stained in the blood of one of the leaders of the revolution, and who have committed an untold number of crimes, had nevertheless completely miscalculated when staking on restoration.

When people enter a fight in blinkers and cannot see what is in front of them, they are capable of performing, and do perform, acts fraught with terrible consequences.

But when you, the judges, deliberate on each one of them in

particular—and you cannot do otherwise—you cannot but bear this in mind.

Comrade Judges—

The President: Accused Radek, not “Comrade Judges,” but Citizen Judges.

Radek: I beg your pardon, Citizen Judges. I must now tell you about the back-stage aspect of this conference we wanted to summon. Serebryakov was quite right when he said that there was no decision. The conference in fact was summoned in order to decide. Why did it not take place? Why did this conference not take place, what was concealed behind the scenes of this conference, why did I not tell about the December instructions and about Pyatakov’s meeting with Trotsky even to a man so close to me as Bukharin, who knew about the contacts with representatives of West European and Eastern Powers?

I shall speak about this because it may later have a practical significance and supply the answer to the question whether something still remains undisclosed. I think it does: that something remains hidden both from us and from the authorities and could be disclosed. It was already clear to me that it was nonsense to think that the terrorist organisation would liquidate itself of its own accord. In this Trotskyite organisation there were people of various kinds, people of various shades and, as it appeared, people who were directly connected with foreign intelligence services. I did not know this at the time. I had to admit the possibility that somebody was prowling around us. And the moment we allowed this secret to escape from the control of these four people, from that moment we should be absolutely powerless to control the situation.

I will return for a while to the name of Dreitzer. The State Prosecutor said that we would return to him, and I will return to him in a connection which was not examined here.

When Dreitzer failed to appear in Moscow for seven or eight months, I might have thought that this was for conspiratorial reasons. But when Dreitzer failed to appear in January, and, after having received my summons to the conference, came to Moscow and did not come to see me—he was in Moscow in 1935 and did not come to see me—it became clear to me that Trotsky, on the basis of the correspondence I had had with him, and perceiving Pyatakov’s resistance and our misgivings about the defeatist line, was creating some other devilish business in addition to the parallel centre. I conclude this from the fact that Dreitzer avoided us in 1935.

When I read the record of the trial of the united centre I did not

find one fact which was unknown to me, which had taken place without the knowledge of the others. This meant that some third organisation was operating.

And, finally, when Pyatakov returned from abroad, he casually remarked when speaking of the conversation with Trotsky that Trotsky had told him that cadres of people were being formed who had not been corrupted by the Stalin leadership. But when I read about Olberg and asked others whether they had known of the existence of Olberg, and none of them had heard about him, it became clear to me that in addition to the cadres who had passed through his school, Trotsky was organising agents who had passed through the school of German Fascism. And I found a direct reply to this when the question of the conference arose. It was clear to me that if Dreitzer learnt that we were putting the question of Trotsky's directives on such a footing that it might again lead to a split, as was the case in 1929, then before we succeeded in doing so we should be put out of the way ourselves. Not because Dreitzer bore us any ill-will, but because he was a man who was thoroughly devoted to Trotsky and had closer connections with him directly, than through us. I therefore could not tell people about the conference. When we did tell them, the arrests had begun and it was impossible to get them together.

Did I know before my arrest that it would all end in arrest? How could I help knowing it when Tivel, the manager of my bureau, was arrested, when Friedland, whom I had met very frequently in recent years, was arrested? I will not mention other names; I could mention dozens of people with whom I often met. I could not then doubt for a single moment but that this business would end in the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. And so I must answer the question—why, instead of calling conferences, did I not address myself to the Party, to the authorities, and why, if I did not do so before my arrest, did I not do it at the time of my arrest?

The answer to this question is a very simple one. It is the following: I was one of the leaders of the organisation. I knew that Soviet justice was not a mincing machine. I knew that there were people of different degrees of guilt among us, and that we, the leaders, must answer for what we had done with our heads. But I also knew that there was a large section of people whom we had drawn into this struggle, who, I would say, did not know the principal lines of the organisation, and who wandered on blindly.

When I raised the question of a conference, what I wanted was

demarcation, I wanted to have separated out those who wished to wage the fight to the end—these might even be surrendered bound hand and foot—and to allow the others the opportunity to leave and of their own accord announce their guilt to the Government.

When I found myself in the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, the chief examining official realised at once why I would not talk. He said to me: "You are not a baby. Here you have 15 people testifying against you. You cannot get out of it, and as a sensible man you cannot think of doing so. If you do not want to testify, it can only be because you want to gain time and look it over more closely. Very well, study it." For two and a half months I tormented the examining official. The question had been raised here whether we were tormented while under investigation. I must say that it was not I who was tormented, but I who tormented the examining officials and compelled them to perform a lot of useless work. For two and a half months I compelled the examining official, by interrogating me and by confronting me with the testimony of other accused, to open up all the cards to me, so that I could see who had confessed, who had not confessed, and what each had confessed.

This lasted for two and a half months. And one day the chief examining official came to me and said: "You are now the last. Why are you wasting time and temporising? Why don't you say what you have to say?" And I answered: "Yes, tomorrow I shall begin my testimony." And the testimony I gave contains not a single correction from first to last. I unfolded the whole picture as I knew it, and the investigation may have corrected one or another personal mistake about the connections of some person with another, but I affirm that not a single thing I told the examining officials has been refuted and that nothing has been added.

I have to admit one other guilt. Having already confessed my guilt and having disclosed the organisation, I stubbornly refused to testify with regard to Bukharin. I knew that Bukharin's position was just as hopeless as my own, because our guilt was the same, if not juridically, then in essence. But we are close friends, and intellectual friendship is stronger than any other kind of friendship. I knew that Bukharin was in just such a state of profound disturbance as I was, and I was convinced that he would give honest testimony to the Soviet authorities. I therefore did not want to have him brought bound to the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. I wanted to enable him too, like the rest of our people, to lay down his arms. This explains why it was that it was only towards the very end, when I saw the trial was drawing to a close, that I realised

that I could not appear for trial having concealed the existence of another terrorist organisation.

And so, Citizen Judges, I will conclude my last plea with this. We shall answer in accordance with the full severity of the Soviet law, considering that whatever your verdict may be it will be a just one. But we want to meet it like conscious people. We know that we have no right to address the masses—it is not for us to teach them. But to these elements who were connected with us we would like to say three things.

The first thing: the Trotskyite organisation became a centre for all counter-revolutionary forces; the Right organisation which was connected with it and which was about to merge with it, is just such another centre for all the counter-revolutionary forces in the country. The Government authorities will be able to cope with these terrorist organisations. On the basis of our own experience we have not the slightest doubt of this.

But there are in the country semi-Trotskyites, quarter-Trotskyites, one-eighth Trotskyites, people who helped us, not knowing of the terrorist organisation but sympathising with us, people who from liberalism, from a Fronde against the Party, gave us this help. To these people we say, when a sea-shell gets under a steel hammer, that is not so dangerous; but when a sea-shell gets into a screw, a propeller, there may be a catastrophe. We are living in times of great strain, we are on the verge of war. Before this Court and in this hour of retribution, we say to these elements: whoever has the slightest rift with the Party, let him realise that tomorrow he may be a diversionist, tomorrow he may be a traitor if he does not thoroughly heal that rift by complete and utter frankness to the Party.

Secondly, we must say to the Trotskyite elements in France, Spain and other countries—and there are such—that the experience of the Russian Revolution has shown that Trotskyism is a wrecker of the Labour Movement. We must warn them that if they do not learn from our experience, they will pay for it with their heads.

And finally, we must say to the whole world, to all who are struggling for peace: Trotskyism is the instrument of the war-mongers. We must say that with a firm voice, because we have learned it by our own bitter experience. It has been extremely hard for us to admit this, but it is an historical fact, for the truth of which we shall pay with our heads.

This is all that I personally want to say, so that the responsibility

I shall be called upon to bear may not only be a physical responsibility, but may also be of some little use.

We cannot, nor can I, ask for clemency, we have no right to it. And I will say—there is no pride here : what pride can there be?—that we do not need this clemency. Life in the next few years, in the next five or ten years, when the fate of the world will be in the balance, can have no meaning : only under one condition, and that is, if one is able to take part in the work of life, even in the roughest. But what has occurred precludes this. And in that case clemency would be only needless torture. We are a fairly closely-knit crew ; but when Nikolai Ivanovich Muralov, Trotsky's closest follower, of whom I was convinced that he would rather perish in prison than say a single word—when he gave testimony and explained that he did not want to die in the consciousness that his name would be a banner for every counter-revolutionary scoundrel—that is the profoundest result of this trial.

We all realise to the full the instruments of what historical forces we have been. It is very sad that we have realised this so late, despite all our learning. But may this realisation be of service to others.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN GERMAN-BOHEMIA

As a result of the extensive anti-Czech propaganda in Germany, the Czechoslovak Republic has loomed large in European affairs during recent months, particular attention having been devoted to the German minority there. Of the 15 million inhabitants in Czechoslovakia, 22·15 per cent. are of German nationality. It has been widely assumed that the northern frontier zone of the Republic is an area inhabited entirely by Germans. This, however, is not the case, as may be seen by reference to the Map. The actual conditions in this respect are shown by the following list of frontier districts in Bohemia, with the percentage of Czech inhabitants in each :

	%
Jindřichuv Hradec (Neuhaus)	98·50
Třeboň (Wettingau)	97·00
Kaplitz (Kaplice)	12·10
Ceský Krumlov (Böhmisch-Krumau) ...	27·40
Prachatice (Prachatitz)	52·80
Sušice (Suschitz)	59·70
Klatovy (Klattau)	75·80
Domažlice (Taus)	84·40
Bischofteinitz (Horšůvky Tyn)	27·50
Tachau (Tachov)	2·00
Marienbad (Mariánské Lázně)	3·40
Plan (Planá)	2·60
Eger (Cheb)	7·00
Asch (Aš)	1·30
Kraslitz (Kraslice)	1·00
Neudeck (Nejdek)	1·60
Joachimstal (Jáchymov)	3·70
Pressnitz (Přísečnice)	1·80
Komotau (Chomutov)	13·00
Brüx (Most)	42·10
Dux (Duchov)	42·40
Teplitz-Schönau (Teplice Šanov)	23·70
Aussig (Ústí n./L.)	20·00
Tetschen (Děčín)	8·10
Schluckenau (Šluknov)	3·90
Rumberg (Rumburk)	4·40
Warnsdorf	7·20

				%
Deutsch-Gabel (Německé Jablonné)	...	...	...	5.80
Friedland (Frýdlant)	...	...	...	5.00
Gablonz (Jablonec n./N.)	...	...	...	17.80
Jilemnice (Starkenbach)	...	...	...	80.00
Hohenelbe (Vrchlabí)	...	...	...	9.00
Trautenau (Trutnov)	...	...	...	29.20
Náchod	...	...	...	98.30
Nové Město (Neustadt)	...	...	...	90.60
Rychnov (Reichenau)	...	...	...	98.40
Žamberk (Senstenberg)	...	...	...	56.50
Braunau (Broumov)	...	...	...	29.10

The above figures make it clear that the frontier region is by no means entirely German, but that it includes a considerable number of Czechs who, indeed, form the bulk of the population in 12 districts. (It may be added that the Czechs living in these areas are mostly textile workers, glass workers and miners who have had to bear the brunt of unemployment.) Moreover, they bear out the statement made by Dr. Milan Hodža, the Prime Minister, when in his speech in the Prague Parliament on 10 December last he said: "Territorial autonomy would mean that 380,000 Czechs would be sacrificed in the preponderantly German regions, while in the remaining areas 730,000 Germans would be placed at a similar disadvantage."

As regards the anti-Czech propaganda which has so persistently been carried on in Germany and items of which have found their way also into the English and French press, it is not my purpose here to refute the allegations which have been repeated *ad nauseam*, that the Czechoslovak Republic is a hot-bed of Bolshevism and that it has been lavishly supplied with aerodromes by the Soviets. I will merely remark that both these statements are entirely untrue and that the evidence disproving them is so overwhelming that no reasonable person can take them seriously. My purpose here, however, is to give some account of the social and economic conditions of the Czechoslovak Republic with special reference to the German minority there. Anti-Czech propaganda has endeavoured to show that the Czechoslovak State acts as an oppressor of the German minority which it is endeavouring to reduce to economic and social misery. As these statements have been widely circulated in Western Europe, it may not be amiss to enumerate here a few statistical facts about the economic and social conditions in the German areas of Czechoslovakia.

First of all I will quote the figures showing the total number of

unemployed applicants to the labour exchanges throughout the Republic for the years ending 31 December, 1934, 1935 and 1936 respectively :

<i>Occupations of Applicants</i>				1934	1935	1936
Agriculture and gardening	...	...	...	45,575	54,533	50,612
Mines and foundries	...	...	...	16,840	16,648	10,306
Ore production	...	...	...	23,435	24,945	17,188
Glassware	...	...	...	22,337	20,216	15,584
Metal industry	...	...	...	73,012	69,714	44,196
Timber industry	...	...	...	28,995	30,714	25,134
Textile industry	...	...	...	79,301	72,463	40,375
Clothing industry	...	...	...	21,612	24,430	22,716
Building trades	...	...	...	87,814	96,247	83,633
Day labourers	...	...	...	176,731	190,599	169,864

From these figures it will be clearly seen that during the last three years unemployment in Czechoslovakia has decreased considerably.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the areas which were most adversely affected by unemployment were those in which the textile, glass and mining industries are carried on. These conditions are not peculiar to Czechoslovakia, for the industries in question are passing through a serious crisis in all countries. Unfortunately, it so happens that in Czechoslovakia these industries are concentrated in areas inhabited largely by a German population, and for this reason it was these areas which suffered most from unemployment. It should, however, be emphasised that all the measures of relief which the Czechoslovak State has at its disposal were utilised to reduce the distress which was thus caused.

If we consider two particular industries in which the German population of Czechoslovakia is largely engaged, viz. the glass and textile industries, we shall find that a greater reduction in unemployment took place in those districts which are preponderantly German, i.e. those in which more than 50 per cent. of the population are German, than in the Czech areas.

The chief centres of the glass industry are contained in the zone enclosed by a line drawn from Teplitz-Schönau (Teplice Šanov) by way of Česká Lípa (Böhmisch-Leipa) and Gablonz (Jablonec n./N.) to Semily and Turnau, and includes also the Falkenau and Vsetín areas. The following figures show the number of applicants for employment in the Czech and German areas respectively for the

periods indicated, together with the increase or decline, as the case may be :

<i>Character of area</i>	<i>January</i>			<i>Annual increase (+) or decline (-)</i>	
	1935	1936	1937	1936	1937
Czech ...	14,686	15,869	12,539	+1,183	-3,380
German ...	33,897	33,983	28,774	+ 86	-5,209

It will be seen that in 1936 there was an increase of unemployment in the Czech areas, while in the German areas there was practically no change. Moreover, by 1 January, 1937, the decrease of unemployment in the German areas was considerably greater than in the Czech areas.

Textiles represent the greatest industry in Czechoslovakia, and the textile region comprises the districts of Tetschen (Děčín), Deutsch-Gabel (Německé Jablonné), Reichenberg (Liberec), and then from Semily to Jägerndorf (Krnov) by way of Polička to the areas of Chrudim and Chotěboř, together with the zone from Eger (Cheb) to Pressnitz (Přísečnice), the areas round Iglau (Jihlava), Brno (Brünn) and Mistek, and, in Slovakia, the town of Ružomberok.

The following are the unemployment figures for the period 1935-37 :

<i>Character of area</i>	<i>January</i>			<i>Annual increase (+) or decline (-)</i>	
	1935	1936	1937	1936	1937
Czech ...	76,779	79,589	61,142	+2,810	-18,447
German ...	134,740	132,445	102,167	-2,295	-30,278

Thus, unemployment in the textile regions with a Czechoslovak majority increased up to the year 1937, while at the same time it decreased in the German regions. By January, 1937, it had declined very considerably in both groups, and as compared with 1935 this reduction in the German regions was double that in the Czech regions.

If, on the other hand, we now turn to the third largest industry in Czechoslovakia, viz. the metal industry, which is concentrated mostly in the Czech areas, we obtain the following details of unemployment :

<i>Character of area</i>	<i>January</i>			<i>Annual increase (+) or decline (-)</i>	
	1935	1936	1937	1936	1937
Czech ...	147,389	152,803	111,384	+5,414	-41,419
German ...	95,073	94,309	74,725	- 764	-19,584

Thus, whereas in the German areas there was a decrease of unemployment in 1936, there was a marked increase in the Czech areas.

At the beginning of 1937 unemployment in the Czech areas was nearly one-quarter lower than in 1935, and in the German areas more than one-fifth lower; in absolute figures this decrease is seen to be very considerable.

It is important to place these facts on record because tendentious reports have endeavoured to represent Czechoslovakia as a country in an economic decline for which there is no remedy, and also as a country which unmercifully oppresses its minorities, particularly in an economic and social respect. The above figures, however, make it quite clear that as a result of numerous Government measures (grants for export trade in certain branches, extended schemes for works of public utility, increase in building activities and a number of successful financial provisions) there has been a fundamental decrease in unemployment in Czechoslovakia, and this satisfactory development is being maintained. As I have already pointed out unemployment proved a greater burden in the German regions because they contain the bulk of the textile, glass and mining industries which, more than any others, felt the effects of the economic crisis.

Moreover, the Czechoslovak authorities did everything in their power to relieve the distress in the areas which were thus affected. It is unjust—and how unjust can be estimated only by those who have any knowledge of the official efforts to relieve the distressed areas—to assert that these centres of the glass and textile industries have suffered economic distress only because they are inhabited largely by Germans. The Czechoslovak authorities are fully alive to the importance of these industrial regions and of their duties towards them.

Northern Bohemia is an exclusively industrial region and very little agriculture is carried on there. The industries which it comprises are the bulk of the textile industry, the flax and jute industries, silk weaving, nearly all the glass industry, the manufacture of lace and knitted goods, porcelain ware, and the manufacture of toys and musical instruments. Thus, Jablonec has the world monopoly of such articles as glass beads, imitation jewellery and artificial precious stones. Schönbach, which is known as the Bohemian cremona, together with Kraslitz and Weipert (Výprty), sends string and wind musical instruments to all parts of the world. Here lived the musical instrument-maker named Sachs who nearly 100 years ago invented an instrument which is now known all over the world as the saxophone. I mention these details only to emphasise the fact that the prosperity of these areas depends fundamentally upon their

export trade, and that is why the world economic crisis proved more disastrous to them than to any others. The crisis was, of course, accompanied by unemployment and the attendant social ills which are only too familiar wherever it has shown itself.

The world crisis was not the only cause of the distress in the German industrial regions of Czechoslovakia. There were several other factors which tended in the same direction. One of them is the highly developed rationalisation of the particular industries which are carried on there. Then there was the loss of many markets in countries which are beginning to build up glass and textile industries of their own. Japanese competition, too, had a very adverse influence on the glass and porcelain industries of Czechoslovakia.

Perhaps the most serious blow to these industries was suffered during the period of unstable financial conditions in Austria and Germany, when numerous owners of concerns in Czechoslovakia lost large sums of money through injudicious investments, and thus were deprived of their working capital. Most of this was due to speculation in German marks, the collapse of which brought much ruin in its train. The industrial concerns and individual persons in the German regions of Czechoslovakia, who had invested milliards in the Austrian War Loans, obtained help from the Czechoslovak State which, in order to do this, had to make considerable financial sacrifices. The vast majority of those who received this benefit were of German nationality.

It must also be mentioned that one of the reasons which, more than any other, brought about the serious plight of the German districts in Czechoslovakia was the economic policy of Germany itself which, during the earlier years of democratic government, was the country with which Czechoslovakia had the largest amount of import and export trade. This was due to geographical factors and the traditional economic relations which had existed between the two countries for many years. When democracy in Germany was suppressed and the dictatorship took its place, this change was accompanied by a new economic policy which had a disastrous effect upon the economic life of the neighbouring countries, which depended to such a great extent upon the exchange of commodities with Germany. It was mainly the German minority in Czechoslovakia which paid the penalty for the autarkist policy of present-day Germany. The peak year for Czechoslovak import trade from Germany was in 1923, when it formed 40·4 per cent. of the total Czechoslovak imports. The peak year for Czechoslovak exports to

Germany was 1927, when their value amounted to 4,851,000,000 Czechoslovak crowns, or 24·1 per cent. of the total Czechoslovak exports.

In 1929 the value of the Czechoslovak imports from Germany was 5,003,000,000 Czechoslovak crowns, while the value of the Czechoslovak exports to Germany was 3,973,000,000 Czechoslovak crowns. In 1933 the value of the Czechoslovak exports from Germany abruptly sank to 1,209,000,000 Czechoslovak crowns and in the same year the Czechoslovak imports to Germany reached the low figure of 1,045,000,000 crowns. Since then there has been a slight improvement which, however, has been achieved at the cost of heavy sacrifices on the part of Czechoslovakia.

The following figures show the value of the mutual trade between Germany and Czechoslovakia :

			<i>(In millions of crowns)</i>	
			<i>Czechoslovak</i>	
			<i>imports</i>	<i>exports</i>
1934	...	...	1,244	1,564
1935	...	...	1,164	1,183
1936	...	...	1,388	1,160

These figures are very small compared with those relating to the former trade relations between the two countries which ran into milliards. This disastrous decrease in the exchange of goods with Germany must be regarded as one of the main reasons for the distress in the German areas of Czechoslovakia.

These areas suffered another serious blow as a result of the currency policy adopted by Germany in recent years and the placing of obstacles in the way of tourists from Germany who wished to visit Northern Bohemia and Moravia. Among the centres which have suffered through this falling off in the number of visitors from Germany may be mentioned Mariánské Lázně (Marienbad), Františkovy Lázně (Franzensbad), Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad), Janské Lázně (Johannisbad), the Krkonoše (Riesengebirge), Rudohoří (Erzebirge), Jizerské Hory (Isergebirge), Orlické Hory (Adlergebirge), Šumava (Böhmerwald), Jeseníky (Altvatergebirge), and so on. Formerly the bulk of the tourists who visited these places came from Germany, but this stream of visitors has been interrupted as a result of the measures adopted by the German Government to prevent currency from leaving the country, and the consequence is that thousands of Germans living in the tourist centres of Czechoslovakia who made a living by providing visitors with board and lodging or who in some other way depended upon the tourist traffic for their living, have greatly suffered. It must unfortunately also

be mentioned that, in addition to this German currency policy, hostile propaganda from Germany has also been responsible for keeping many Germans away from Czechoslovakia, by making them believe that if they went there they would be exposed to unpleasant treatment.

The porcelain industry, which has its chief centre in the neighbourhood of Carlsbad, has recently experienced a most serious crisis. It was very adversely affected by German competition in the Balkans, the Little Entente States, Hungary and other countries, in which Germany, by means of export subsidies, registered marks and other devices for dumping, was able to undersell the Czechoslovak exporters of porcelain (who are of German nationality) in countries where they formerly had regular customers. The same applies largely also to glass and textiles.

One of the unemployed areas which has been greatly affected by the new methods adopted in Germany is the region round Kraslice, which has already been referred to as a centre for the manufacture of musical instruments. The export trade in these articles to Germany has recently sunk to a minimum, and during the latest negotiations the utmost difficulty was experienced in securing orders to the value of 420,000 German marks, which represents only a tiny fraction of the former sales. I draw particular attention to this, because the propaganda which is being carried on in Germany against Czechoslovakia makes considerable capital out of the distress in the Kraslice area.

I must again emphasise that from the very beginning of the crisis the Czechoslovak Government has been endeavouring to cope with the ill-effects thus brought about. Nothing can be more unfair than to pretend that the authorities have done nothing in this respect, and that the regrettable results of the crisis are due to a deliberate policy of discrimination against, and indeed persecution of, the Germans in Czechoslovakia. As the above-mentioned figures show, these official measures have already resulted in a decrease of unemployment.

Several methods of approach to the problem were adopted. The chief of these consist of :

(a) *Subsidies to the export industries.*

Under this heading are included State guarantees for export credits, which have formed the subject of three legislative acts, the last one providing for a considerable increase in the available grants; the direct financing of exports by the National Bank, thus

enabling the export industries to obtain cheaper credit; the establishment of an Export Institute; systematic efforts to extend the network of commercial agreements with other countries; the co-ordination of currency restrictions and the export licence system; a considerable easing of the regulations for export licences. The result of these and similar measures has been that, as compared with 1933, Czechoslovak exports have increased by about 30 per cent. There is, however, still considerable room for improvement before the figures of the boom period can be reached, and the Czechoslovak authorities are therefore seeking every possible method for increasing exports. It is not a matter of chance that the second and third places on the list of countries taking exports from Czechoslovakia are now occupied by the United States and Great Britain respectively, for both these countries are distinguished by their efforts to achieve a higher degree of prosperity by means of a progressive and democratic system in their financial policy. The increase of Czechoslovak exports to South Africa by 40 per cent. in 1936 reveals the possibilities of Czechoslovak overseas trade.

Recently Czechoslovakia has improved her trade relations with the Little Entente States, and has substantially widened the scope of her trade agreements with France, Hungary and a certain number of other countries. She has also been making efforts to place her economic relations with Germany on a more satisfactory basis, although this can be achieved only at the cost of very heavy sacrifices on the part of the Czechoslovak industry. The reason for this is that Germany cannot pay for the raw materials which she receives except by the export of finished articles which compete with Czechoslovak products. Nevertheless the Czechoslovak Government has increased its export quotas to Germany for 1937 by about 15 per cent. In order to benefit the spas in Northern Bohemia, new regulations for the benefit of travellers to these health resorts have been negotiated with Germany, and this has proved an advantage to the populations on both sides of the frontier.

As a means of bringing relief to Czechoslovak export industry, which is in a precarious position, the Government proposes to refund taxes wherever the taxation rates (trade tax, turnover tax, coal tax, transport tax) are higher in Czechoslovakia than in other countries. These concessions will be of particular benefit to the porcelain and glass industries, for which this refunding scheme has already been drawn up. At an early date facilities will also be granted to the pottery and textile industries. It will be noticed that all these branches of industry are centred largely in the German areas of Czechoslovakia.

(b) *Financial measures to promote economic activity.*

In this connection the Czechoslovak Government has reduced the bank-rate and has enabled a supply of cheap money to reach the quarters where it is needed. In addition to this, steps were taken last autumn for the devaluation of the Czechoslovak crown which has already brought about excellent results. In the German areas the Government has also taken over the commitments arising from the Austrian War Loans, and this proceeding, which has greatly eased the financial burdens of the population there, involves the State in charges amounting to several milliard crowns. When the largest German Savings Banks in Czechoslovakia, notably the Zentralbank der deutschen Sparkassen, found themselves in serious financial difficulties, the State adopted relief measures which will entail an outlay of at least one milliard crowns. In this connection it is worth pointing out that the Czechoslovak State was under no obligation either by any legal enactment or under the terms of the Peace Treaties to provide this financial relief, and in doing so it was prompted by its wish to assist the German industrial areas. Anti-Czech propaganda is careful to avoid any reference to these vast financial sacrifices which the Czechoslovak State has made, and it is therefore only right that prominence should be given to the true facts of the case.

(c) *Public utility schemes.*

The State and the local government authorities have set aside sums of money for these purposes wherever the industrial and agricultural output need help. The sum of five milliard crowns has been ear-marked in the budget for work of this kind, and in addition there are various special funds (water-power, waterways, high-roads and electrical) which ensure and support schemes of work for periods of several years. Here it should be mentioned that the owners of German concerns have complained of unfair discrimination against their firms when tenders were being placed, and in Czech quarters there has also been dissatisfaction on this score. Accordingly the Government has now issued instructions which will ensure absolute fairness and impartiality in the placing of tenders. In the German areas of Bohemia and Moravia extensive schemes of public work, including those launched by the local Government authorities, have been carried out under what is known as "productive grants," and, relatively speaking, State support has reached a higher figure here than in the Czech areas. "Productive grants" are a special form of State support in Czechoslovakia by

which the local government bodies receive from the State interest-free loans for definite building schemes, or by which the State contributes a fixed amount for each workman employed on these schemes of work. These details relating to the placing of tenders for public works in Czechoslovakia and the State grants towards them ought to be specially emphasised in view of the misleading statements and unfounded allegations which have been made against the Czechoslovak régime.

(d) *Promotion of private building.*

During 1936 there have been four important acts of legislation (taxation relief, the building act, the premises adjustment act, and the poor people's dwellings act), together with the provisions for the reduction of the bank rate, have considerably promoted building activities in Czechoslovakia. All these measures, of course, apply in equal degree to the Czech and German areas, but it is obvious that there will be more building in districts which have been less affected by the crisis.

Where all the measures for the relief of industry, agriculture, export trade, schemes of work and private building have not proved adequate, the State has come to the rescue with monetary grants. It has been alleged that the German minority in Czechoslovakia is being left to starve, and this is an utterly baseless calumny which I myself, as Minister of Social Welfare, refuted in a detailed parliamentary speech.

I would in particular point out that between 1930 and 1935 the amount received from the State by the Czechoslovak Trades Union organisations under the Ghent system for their unemployed members was 958,976,752 Kč., while the corresponding German organisations received 704,940,948 Kč. In comparing these figures it should be borne in mind that the German population of Czechoslovakia comprises 22·15 per cent. of the total, and it will therefore be seen that the unemployment in the German areas of the Republic has received a far higher proportion of grants than the Czech areas. This is only as it should be, because the German areas have felt the effects of the crisis to a greater extent, and therefore when the necessary amounts were made known in Parliament, no objections were raised by the Czechoslovak political parties or in their press organs. In addition to the relief grants under the Ghent system, other measures of relief were applied during the period 1930-35, and I will here indicate their scope in order to dispose of the

suggestions that there has been any unfair treatment of the German minority in respect of social relief.

	<i>German areas¹</i>	<i>Czech areas</i>
Supplies of food, potatoes and Christmas gifts ...	520,729,280 Kč.	507,702,570 Kč.
Free distribution of milk	56,215,265 half-litres	59,777,270 half-litres
Groceries (i.e. sugar, coffee, fats, butter, etc.)	375,215 quintals	399,464 quintals
Coal	301,750 „	368,600 „
Bread	1,379,050 loaves	1,355,760 loaves
Distribution of potatoes	135,600 quintals	142,400 quintals

The above particulars make it quite plain that the relief measures were carried out in the distressed areas, entirely irrespective of nationality. Thus, it will be seen that the amount spent on Government supplies of food, potatoes and Christmas gifts in the 50 German areas was 13 million crowns more than in the 103 Czech areas, although many of these are suffering greatly from the effects of unemployment.

Similar results will be noted in connection with the protective measures for unemployed young people which are organised by the headquarters for youth welfare with the support of the Ministry for Social Welfare. In 1935 and 1936 there were established 27 Czech and 22 German shelters in Bohemia, 24 Czech and 16 German shelters in Moravia and Silesia. In 1936 there were sanctioned 24 Czech and 22 German shelters in Bohemia, 26 Czech and 17 German shelters in Moravia and Silesia. Thus, there is a higher proportion of shelters for the Germans than for the Czechs.

If, therefore, attempts are made by anti-Czech propagandists abroad to blame the Czechoslovak Government for the distress which exists in the German areas of the State, they are based upon a misleading presentation, and, indeed, a deliberate distortion of the facts. Those who are really to blame are the wealthy Germans who, although they are so fond of using the term "Volksgemeinschaft," exploit the distress of their fellow-countrymen by paying them starvation wages.

In concluding this brief account of the economic and social problems of Czechoslovakia, with special reference to the German Minority there, I should like to point out that the citizens of Czechoslovakia are facing the future with confidence. They are

¹ i.e. the areas in which the census of 1930 showed that more than 50% of the population were German.

convinced that the honest policy of the Government, although it often involves hardships, will be successful in the end.

Here let me quote an extract from the Christmas message delivered by Dr. Beneš, the President of Czechoslovakia, on 24 December, 1936 :

“ For a whole year Czechoslovak democracy has struggled to overcome the economic crisis. During this year the results have been considerable, almost beyond expectation. Unemployment has been much reduced, as compared with last year, and work has been resumed in branches of industry which felt the effects of the crisis most of all. The general standing of living, too, has risen as compared with last year among the bulk of the population. The budget is sound, the State revenues are increasing and a number of inconvenient financial restrictions are being removed.

“ Czechoslovak democracy has continued with success to deal with the most difficult problems of home policy, especially those concerning the relations between Czechs and Germans. We can fairly claim that we have entered a new phase of effective co-operation between the nationalities in our state, particularly between Czechs and Germans.

“ A strong democracy in the disturbed Europe of today—this means a continual endeavour to overcome party and class feelings, and every day in co-operation with all others to achieve something positive which will bring state and society nearer perfection. . . . I am well aware that perfection has not yet been reached, and there are still social, political and national grievances, to say nothing of distress and hardships in certain quarters. But our democracy is prompted by a passionate urge to remove all these shortcomings in the course of time. And it is a democracy aware of its great mission in Central Europe to maintain there the banner of liberty, peace and tolerance, the banner of goodwill and belief in political and social progress, the banner of faith in a stronger and morally better mankind.”

JAROMIR NEČAS

(Czechoslovak Minister of Social Welfare).

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN EUROPE—VI.

THE GERMANS OF HUNGARY

[The Editors hope to continue the series of articles on National Minorities in later numbers. The present article, which was unavoidably postponed from No. 44, will be followed by articles on the Germans of South Tirol and the Magyars of Jugoslavia. It should be superfluous to remind readers that the Editors do not necessarily identify themselves with the views expressed in signed articles on any subject whatsoever.]

SOUTH-EAST Europe is the classic land of the question of nationalities : in no other part of Europe have racial discontents assumed such dimensions and caused such grave complications. In pre-war Hungary in particular the conflict between "majority" and "minority" has been very acute since 1867: the Magyars were in a numerical minority in their own country, and hence their claims to power met with strong resistance. But while the position of the Slovaks, Roumanians, and Serbs obtained publicity at a relatively early stage, the Germans of Hungary, despite their numerical, cultural, and economic importance, were far more neglected. The reason is to be sought in the fact that the Hungarian Germans fought against Magyarisation with a restraint which failed to bring home to the European public that they too were fighting for their existence as a race. Since the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, the Germans form the only really big minority inside Hungary, yet it still remains true that far too little is known of the German question in Hungary.

This brings us to an essential trait in the relations of the Germans to the Hungarian state; it may fairly be claimed that Hungary never possessed a more loyal minority than the Germans. On the Magyar side it has always been claimed that the Germans of Hungary have lived in complete harmony with the Magyars and have no greater desire than to be merged among them.

It is a fact that no national group in Hungary in the 19th and early 20th centuries has been so deeply affected by the process of history. This applies especially to the urban Germans: for a hundred years ago they still possessed a majority in quite a number of towns, such as Pressburg (Pozsony, Bratislava), Ofen-Pest (Budapest), Fünfkirchen (Pécs), Temeschburg (Temesvár, Timișoara), or at the

least set the economic and cultural tone, but have since then been almost completely swallowed up. Many smaller peasant islets also fell a prey to more or less systematic Magyarisation during this same period. But it is not possible to speak of a voluntary surrender on the part of the Germans of Hungary: on the contrary, there was from the first a resistance, at least in feeling, against assimilation. Even before 1848, Eduard Glatz gave arresting poetic form to the struggle against Magyarism, in his "Deutsche Xenien aus Ungarn." After the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49, German resistance grew stronger, but did not follow any unitary system and lacked any clear firm spiritual direction. Hence, under these circumstances, the appeal of Hungarian national ideology proved for a time stonger among the wide masses. It was not until ever deeper inroads were made upon the linguistic rights of the compact German settlements of South Hungary, that resistance began to assume a wider basis. Especially in the smaller German towns of the Banat there was a new and growing movement since the early 'eighties. Already in 1881 Franz Wettel founded the first German national newspaper, *Neue Werschetzer Zeitung*: and though this did not amount to a general movement among all the "Schwabben" of the South, centres of resistance to Magyarisation grew up, whose importance could not be under-estimated. As it became steadily clearer to men of German consciousness that the methods hitherto adopted were not sufficient for the defence of Germanism, they established connection with Edmund Steinacker, who had already in the 'seventies represented a German constituency as deputy in the Hungarian Parliament, and now lived in Vienna. While the Transylvanian Saxons had throughout this period retained their German sentiments, but had failed to realise the need for national (volkisch) revival of the Swabians of the Danube districts, Steinacker had already begun to work for the stiffening up of German resistance in West Hungary, the Zips, and the Banat¹: and now under his leadership new methods were attempted. In 1899 the *Deutsches Tageblatt für Ungarn* was founded at Temesvár, and in the same year a "Union of German University students for the lands of the Hungarian Crown" at Vienna. On the Magyar side it was attempted, by intimidation and numerous press trials against the editors of German papers, to suffocate the new movement, but without effect.² The process of enlightenment among the German peasantry, especially in the south, made steady progress and found

¹ See Edmund Steinacker, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Munich, 1937).

² See Arthur Korn, *Die deutschen Verfolgungen in Ungarn* (Munich, 1903).

expression in 1907 in the foundation of the "Ungarländische Deutsche Volkspartei," led and inspired by Steinacker.

It was also important that the Saxons of Transylvania gradually came to realise the necessity of political co-operation with their kinsmen in the rest of Hungary, whereas hitherto they had sought, by attaching themselves to the Government party of the day, to assure their own local linguistic and cultural rights, without considering the fate of the Germans as a whole. Special merit in re-awakening the Swabians of the Danube basin rests with the two Saxons, Lutz Korodi and, even more, Rudolf Brandsch. It was Brandsch who, in November, 1918, when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was in actual dissolution, sought to secure the position of the Germans under the new dispensation by setting up the "German People's Council (Volksrat) for Hungary." The collapse of the old Hungarian régime, which on 31 October was succeeded by the Government of Count Michael Károlyi, offered possibilities for the development of the Germans. The undoubted goodwill of the new Government was clearly evidenced by the establishment in January, 1919, of cultural and political autonomy for the Germans of Hungary, who might thus at last have obtained their linguistic and cultural rights, if they had possessed the necessary political solidarity and maturity. But long decades of repression had brought political degeneration in their trail, and discord broke out between the nationally conscious current of Brandsch and the moderates under Professor Jakob Bleyer, who was still very much under Magyar influence. Already in November, 1918, Bleyer had set up a "German-Hungarian People's Council," which was satisfied with minimum demands and consisted partly of elements scarcely fitted to lead the German people. Bleyer's *Volksrat* strongly attacked the nationalists round Brandsch: as an Hungarian patriot, he limited his demands to the establishment of German primary schools, though at that time the Hungarian state was ready for far greater concessions. He has therefore often since then been described as "Magyarone"; but this does him an injustice, for even then he was genuinely resolved to stand up for the Germans of Hungary. But his lack of political experience led him to misjudge what was possible and necessary at the moment. At a later date he struggled through to very much the same point of view as that of Brandsch: but at first he opposed autonomy and a full system of German education, and thus handicapped progress by his constant attacks on Brandsch. Common action on the part of the two groups might have made it possible to solve the German problem up to a

certain point, in agreement with the Hungarian Government : and it was this which Bleyer prevented by his well-meant but short-sighted attitude. This was all the more fatal when, in March, 1919, the Károlyi Government gave place to the Soviet Republic, which in its turn collapsed at the end of July, 1919. The national Magyar reaction which now followed, not content with clearing away much of the refuse of the October Revolution, also swept away all its good political features towards the nationalities. It was also a fatality that, owing to the declaration of the Transylvanian Saxons in favour of Union with Roumania (January, 1919), Brandsch was no longer able to work in Hungary, where the German movement thus lost one of its ablest leaders.

In the meantime Bleyer grew in importance. In February, 1919, he had withdrawn from politics owing to the grant of German autonomy : but during the Bolshevik period he took an active part in the counter-revolution and was active in the Putsch which, early in August, 1919, overthrew the Socialist Government of Peidl and brought the Magyar nationalist Stefan Friedrich to power. His political colleagues assigned to him the Ministry of Nationalities (which had been created in 1918 by Károlyi for his friend Oskar Jászi), through which he hoped to put into effect his well-meaning but doctrinaire and unreal views. Only too soon he saw that on the Magyar side he was being reserved for the thankless function of a sort of shopsign, but that he lacked the possibility of obtaining even the modest scheme of primary education which was then his main aim. While he was quite unjustly denounced by many of his co-nationals as the liquidator of the German movement, he also began to lose sympathy among the Magyars, in proportion as it was seen that his political demands for the Germans were quite seriously meant. Henceforth Bleyer slowly begins to be regarded by the Magyar public as a "Pan-German." The secret of his character lies in his capacity to modify and transfuse his racial-political ideas and so in the course of time to become the unchallenged leader of the Germans of Hungary. When he saw that he could not count upon the Hungarian Government, he resigned his portfolio in 1920. He who in 1919 had opposed the excessive nationalist demands of the Germans, had to look on while from week to week Magyar opinion grew narrower in its outlook and showed that it had "learnt nothing and forgotten nothing." This keen disappointment served as an incentive towards finding more practical methods for the defence of Germanism in Hungary.

The situation was by no means simple. The Magyars took the

line that after Trianon no minority problems existed in Hungary, and that consequently special measures for the Germans were "superfluous." Hence in order to entrench himself before public opinion he felt organisation to be the most urgent task, and in the first place the creation of a German press organ. In 1921 Bleyer managed to found the *Sonntagsblatt*, through which for the first time closer contact could be maintained with his fellow sympathisers. Next he set up a German Cultural League (Verband). But while, in the Succession States, the foundation of such institutions by the German minorities was looked upon as a matter of course and not seriously opposed by the Governments—at any rate in the first period after the War—the Hungarian Government at first strongly disapproved of Bleyer's projects; and it was not until 1923 that he could obtain its sanction, and then only in return for very momentous concessions on his part. The "Ungarländische Deutsche Volksbildungsverein" had to pledge itself to refrain from any cultural activities among the youth, though this was especially urgent, and also to submit to 50 per cent. of the society's officials being nominated by the Government. Bleyer had also to undertake that out of the society's executive, consisting of the President, acting Vice-President, and Director, two should be nominated on the proposal of the Government. These posts, reserved for persons enjoying official confidence, were filled by men who were of German origin but thoroughly Magyar in sentiment, and who often took up an attitude contrary to Germanism. It was only after these concessions that the *Volksbildungsverein* could be founded in Budapest on 3 August, 1924.

The essential now was to let the Society penetrate the German settlements in Hungary through the medium of local branches, but to this the Government opposed systematic obstacles. Along the Burgenland border they were allowed for special reasons, and partly also in the German valleys round Budapest: but in the Bakony Forest and in "Swabian Turkey" every possible difficulty was put in their way. Though no legal grounds for refusing permission could be adduced, it proved possible by chicanery on the part of the authorities in some cases to postpone it for years, and in others to prevent it altogether. While, then, the Hungarian Government had made a public *geste* in sanctioning the Society, its subordinate authorities set themselves to paralyse it more or less systematically.

In numbers, however, the Society made good progress. At the end of its first year, in August 1925, it had 8,000 members, scattered

over 200 communes, in 1927-28 it had 15,300 members and 104 branches, in 1931-32, 27,517 members and 180 branches. And yet there were still many districts where its activities were either not tolerated or greatly hampered by the authorities.

A similar picture is presented in the educational field. At Bleyer's instance and in view of the fact that this was necessary for propagandist reasons, the Hungarian Government in 1923 agreed to issue a school ordinance for the regulations of German instruction. Three types of school were set up, distinguished as Types A, B, and C. Only A could be really regarded as proper "minority schools," since B schools were already bilingual, while in C instruction was given in the German language only for a few hours in the week. This measure, then, brought no improvement. In the German communes the parents had to decide what type to ask for, but in most cases the local authorities exercised sufficient pressure to prevent a decision in favour of A or B. There was, moreover, the vital fact that about 95 per cent. of the teachers were Magyars, who in many cases sabotaged German instruction. There were even cases in which the school authorities simply declined to take note of the demand of the parents for an A-type school. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that in the school question no satisfactory progress could be made.

According to official data of the year 1928 there were altogether 460 "minority schools," divided as follows: A, 48 schools (10.4 per cent.); B, 98 (21.3 per cent.); C, 314 (68.3 per cent.). Of these, only 146 in the first two categories could fairly be described at all as "minority schools," since Type C did not even suffice to teach a child to read and write in German. Besides, 18.9 per cent. of the German villages did not even possess a school of Type C.

In the spring of 1933 the number of "German" schools was officially given as 40 A, 141 B and 265 C, the second category having thus increased by 51. These figures are, however, open to question, as all inquiries on the spot testify against any growth of the B type. Besides, in practice, there is no clear line of division between B and C, so that such statistics have but little value.

There are a number of grounds for this unsatisfactory development. Perhaps the most important of all was the hostile attitude of the middle and lower authorities, an attitude which was rather encouraged than frowned upon by the Government. It is remarkable that no other than the ex-Premier Count Stephen Bethlen admitted in 1933: "Nothing could be more shortsighted than the attitude of certain circles, who set everything in motion to ensure that in

the elementary schools of the Germans of Hungary instruction in the mother tongue should be reduced to a minimum. With regret I must take note that a portion of the Magyar intelligentsia in the provinces—clergy, teachers, notaries, ‘Stuhlrichter’ and county officials—regard it as their patriotic duty to use their influence, openly or in secret, to reduce to a minimum the use of the German language in elementary schools by German-speaking children . . . and that people who hold this view love to describe as Pan-German everyone who goes to, or works for, the German Kulturverein or orders a German newspaper . . .”³

No less decisive was the lack of a German upper class which could have been of assistance to the German peasantry. For many decades past the Swabian had been eager that his children should study, but those who went to Magyar middle schools and Universities were Magyarised almost to a man. This hardly changed at all after 1919. All that Bleyer could obtain was that a few German University students from Hungary should be sent to Universities in the German Reich, but this was not enough to make good the lack of leaders. Thus we see the Germans of Hungary caught in a fatal *circulus vitiosus*. They cannot put their educational demands through because they have no upper class, and they have no upper class because they have no schools. But the lack of students who are German in feeling has the further disadvantage that the linguistic rights of the German minority could not assert themselves in public life. In theory the Government was conciliatory in this respect: for in communes and districts with a racial minority of over 20 per cent., the authorities were bound to transact business in the language of the minority in question also. But this remained merely on paper, and in most cases this provision was ignored. Only a few months ago a case came before the District Court of Ödenburg (Sopron) in which young German peasants asked to be cross-examined in German, because they did not understand Magyar properly. The result was that they were rebuked by the judge for this “unpatriotic” behaviour, and the case was concluded in Magyar, to the general satisfaction of the Magyar press.⁴

Despite the efforts of Jakob Bleyer and his friends, the German minority could not make any progress. In vain did he appeal to the supreme authorities, who indeed promised discussion and inquiry, and even acted on their promise, but only to discover that further investigation was necessary. The proper authorities accepted

³ *Magyar Szemle*, xviii (1933), p. 96.

⁴ *Deutscher Volksbote*, September, 1936.

the German minority in theory, and promised a benevolent attitude, but without the slightest result. Small wonder that Bleyer grew more and more impatient and lost his original confidence in Magyar assurances. Thus, early in the 'thirties, we see a change in his tactics, which had been preparing for some years: failure forced him to adopt a stiffer tone.

This was clearly revealed in his attempt, early in 1931, to found a political party, for which he had already made all the necessary preparations. He was only held back from his decision by temporary concessions on the part of the Government; of a real *détente* there could be no question. The contrast between Bleyer's view and that of the Government grew so acute that in 1932 Gustav Gratz, till then President of the *Volksbildungsverein*, resigned his post because he felt the gulf to be unbridgeable. Bleyer still hesitated, in the hope that the Government might at long last consent to regulate the German problem, but he was put off with empty promises. Meanwhile, the results of the Hungarian Census of 1930 were published, and it became known that between 1920 and 1930 the Germans of Hungary had decreased by 73,000—from 552,000 to 479,000! This of course meant that the Germans' natural increase of 40,000 had also been swallowed up, so that the loss—at least on paper—was actually over 110,000! Bleyer had to reckon with the complete disappearance of the German minority in the course of a few decades, unless some change could be introduced.

This is the prelude to Bleyer's memorable speech in the Hungarian Parliament on 9 May, 1933. Though entirely loyal to the State, it made quite clear that the Hungarian Government had not regulated the German question in Hungary and that conditions along the whole line were as unsatisfactory as ever. A storm of indignation throughout Hungarian public opinion was the result of a speech which was in every way accurate and objective. The university students made a demonstration outside Bleyer's house, smashed the windows and broke in the door. His removal from the University was demanded, with the obvious purpose of intimidating him. But this attempt failed, and Bleyer continued resolutely the struggle for German linguistic rights. The continued attacks on his person and the consequent excitement undermined his health to such an extent that an attack of pneumonia proved fatal. His death on 5 December, 1933, was the heaviest imaginable blow for the German minority. Bleyer, it is true, had not shown due political foresight in the critical days of 1918-19; and it cannot be denied that united action on the part of the Germans at that time might

have produced considerable results. None the less, it is to be noted that as the years passed Bleyer proved increasingly adequate to the task before him. It may be argued that he was too cautious and too prone to compromise, but it is certain that thereby he laid sure foundations for a German movement in the Hungary of today. More serious was the fact that his peculiar temperament and love of leadership caused his colleagues many difficulties and was partly responsible for there being no real successor.

Immediately after his death a so-called "Council of Seven" was founded, but it was a fatality that its members could not get on together, and that Dr. Gratz, who in 1932 had left the *Volksbildungsverein* because he was not disposed to take part in a pronouncedly German movement, now contrived once more to become the intermediary between the Government and the Germans. At first things seemed to move forward. The Government promised not to interfere in future with the activities of the Cultural Society and to solve the educational problem in principle by providing schools of the B type for German children. But once more the promises were not kept: on the contrary, it was thought that through Bleyer's death the moment had come for annihilating the German movement. The most effective method seemed to be a reversion to the old practice of nationalist trials.

Already in November, 1933, the very active secretary of the *Volksbildungsverein*, Franz Basch, had given a lecture in the commune of Bataapáti: and this gave rise to an action for "abuse of the Hungarian Nation," Basch being sentenced to five months' imprisonment. In this way two ends were attained simultaneously; an example was made of a so-called Pan-German agitator, and a purge was made in the Society. After the court of second instance had confirmed the sentence,⁵ Basch was on 15 June, 1935, dismissed from his position in the *Volksbildungsverein* by Dr. Gustav Gratz, who had again become President in 1934. This was a signal for the

⁵ The incriminated passage in his speech ran as follows: "But everyone who belongs to *us*—and you know exactly *who* belongs to *us*—and who without necessity gives up his honest German name, does not deserve that he should hitherto have borne it in honour." The verdict upon him ran verbatim as follows (*Sonntagsblatt*, 7 October, 1934): "The action for the Magyarisation of names is a spontaneous expression of the Hungarian national soul and is in the interests of Hungary's national unity, which must be unconditionally sought after. The highest aim is that the nation should be united in language and name. As this expression of the Hungarian national soul must, as a matter of course, be held in high honour by every honourable and patriotic citizen, any attitude in opposition to it must be definitely regarded as an insult to the Hungarian national soul."

removal of all nationally conscious elements from the German *Volksbildungsverein*. The circumstance that Bleyer had in 1924 allowed half the official posts of the Society to be filled by confidants of the Government, now had fatal results. The more nationalistic elements rallied, under the leadership of Professor Richard Huss, a well-known Germanist, and Dr. Franz Basch, in a "Volksdeutsche Kameradschaft." On this the Hungarian Government in December, 1935, forbade the *Sonntagsblatt*, hitherto the only German weekly in Hungary, the object obviously being to reduce the whole movement to silence. Immediately afterwards Dr. Gratz published, with the Government's help, a *Neues Sonntagsblatt*, while the Kameradschaft was not allowed to publish a paper and had to rest content with issuing every five weeks its *Deutsche Volksbote*.⁶ In spite of this measure the Kameradschaft soon achieved a number of successes, though everything is done to repress it, from physical ill-treatment of German leaders by the gendarmerie, to arbitrary fines upon their adherents. And yet the German movement could not as yet be rooted out.

There would be no object in dealing with the events of recent months, which are naturally not yet altogether classified. The essential fact is that the Hungarian Government has attempted to solve the minority question in a new manner by purging the leading German cultural organisation of all German stalwarts and replacing them by advocates of Magyarisation. By issuing a new Education Order at Christmas, 1935, the Government tried once more to create the impression that it aimed at satisfying the Germans. But the time that has since elapsed has taught us that in the school question there has not only been no progress, but further deterioration. It must be insisted that the Germans of Hungary, still numbering at least 500,000, have no middle school, no teachers' training college, and that the few still existing German elementary schools are being converted into bilingual institutions. The curriculum of a German boy in Hungary is somewhat as follows: From three to five he goes to the entirely Magyar kindergarten, then till twelve to the mainly Magyarised primary school, from twelve to fourteen to the entirely Magyar continuation school. Then begins his compulsory membership of the "Levente,"⁷ lasting till he is twenty-one, and exclusively Magyar in every respect. Thus, even in purely German communes he falls under the prolonged and systematic pressure of

⁶ A periodical which does not appear more frequently than this does not require official sanction and cannot, therefore, legally be forbidden.

⁷ Organ of the Magyar youth movement.

Magyarisation. As a grown man, he can still talk his own dialect, but can no longer read and write High German.

Moreover, to complete the process, there has since 1930 been a systematic Magyarisation of names, carried through under strong official pressure even in compact German districts. How far this pressure is carried is shown by the fact that now German youths doing their military service are forced to Magyarise their names, sometimes by the use of corporal ill-treatment, whereas formerly this practice was confined to the towns. The number of names Magyarised in recent years amounted on an average to 120,000.

The minority conditions in Hungary are not easy for a foreigner to understand. He must try to picture to himself the effect of many decades of Magyarisation, and must remember that the local authorities have in recent years not only not diminished, but steadily augmented, their linguistic pressure.

F

THE SYSTEM OF TRAINING IN THE USSR ¹

THE problem of training personnel is one of the most important problems confronting the Government of the Soviet Union. This problem was particularly acute at the beginning of the first Five-Year Plan, when the Soviet Union set itself the task of industrialising the country and transforming it from the agrarian-industrial country that it was into an industrial-agrarian one. Particular attention was devoted to training workers, including scientists as well as skilled workers, in all the spheres of national economy.

The training of workers is conducted by the higher educational institutions, technical colleges, evening courses (for workers occupied during the day), short term courses, workers' preparatory schools, industrial schools at mills and factories, correspondence schools, etc. At the present time a broad network of educational establishments for the training of workers exists, and the number of such educational establishments grows yearly. The following table gives the number of educational establishments in the USSR and the number of people prepared by them in the years, 1928, 1933, 1935.

Number of training establishments and persons undergoing training in the USSR in 1928, 1933, 1935

<i>Higher Institutions.</i>	1 Jan., 1928	1 Jan., 1933	1 Jan., 1935
Number of higher institutions ...	129	723	592
Number of persons trained by them	159,757	469,815	523,379
<i>Technical Colleges.</i>			
Number of technical colleges ...	1,032	3,522	2,563
Number of persons trained by them	187,250	787,006	710,013
Total number of institutions ...	1,161	4,245	3,155
„ „ „ students ...	347,007	1,256,821	1,233,392

The reduction in the number of higher educational establishments in 1935 is explained by the fact that in the course of the preceding two years (1933, 1934) a number of small old, as well as temporary, establishments not suited to modern requirements were closed, and large modern educational establishments were built. As to the reduction in the number of students in the technical colleges, this is to be explained by the fact that many preferred to enrol in courses or join workers' preparatory schools, etc. This

¹For this article we are indebted to the courtesy of VOKS (The All-Union Society of Cultural Relations).—Ed.

trend is reflected in the fact that the number of students prepared by these latter establishments has increased enormously.

The growth of the proportion of women among the students is noteworthy. In 1934 the proportion of female students in the higher schools amounted to 35·5 per cent., in the technical colleges to 43·9 per cent., while in 1935 this proportion increased to 38 per cent. and 44·1 per cent., respectively.

Great efforts have been made by the national republics in this matter of training. In pre-revolution times these republics, which at that time existed as oppressed nationalities and colonial peoples, had no industries and no universities of their own; but now, thanks to the national policy of Lenin and Stalin pursued by the Government of the USSR, these republics have gained the opportunity of developing their own national economy and culture.

The training of workers for the various national republics proceeds in their own educational establishments, as well as in those of the USSR.

The growth of the proportion of students belonging to various nationalities in the educational establishments of the USSR is shown by the following figures: in 1935 the proportion of Ukrainian students in the higher educational institutions of the USSR amounted to 14·8 per cent. as compared with 14·6 per cent. in 1929; the proportion of White Russian students in 1935 was 3 per cent. as compared with 2·9 per cent. in 1929; the proportion of Kazakh students, 0·4 per cent. in 1935 against 0·2 per cent. in 1929; Georgian students represented 3·5 per cent. in 1935 against 2·4 per cent. in 1929; Armenian, 2·3 per cent. in 1935 against 2 per cent. in 1929; Tadzhik, 0·1 per cent. in 1935 against 0·05 per cent. in 1929; Bashkirs, 0·2 per cent. in 1935 against 0·1 per cent. in 1929.

Expressed in absolute figures, the picture is as follows: The number of White Russian students in 1929 was 4,800, in 1935 this number rose to 14,000; the number of Kazakh students rose from 300 to 1,900; Georgian students from 4,000 to 16,600; Armenian students from 3,300 to 10,800; Tadzhik students from 100 to 500; and Bashkir students from 200 to 900. The total number of students in the higher institutions rose from 166,800 in 1929 to 469,800 in 1935.

While the index of the growth of the number of Russian students in the higher schools is represented by the figure 273 (taking the number of students in 1929 as 100), the index of growth of the number of Kazakh students is 633·3; the index of growth of the number of Georgian students is 415; that of the Tadzhik students 500; and of the Bashkir students 450.

The number of educational establishments in the national republics is constantly growing, particularly in those which under the Tsar were denied not only a national economy and universities of their own but even primary national schools.

In Kazakhstan, before the Proletarian Revolution, 98 per cent. of the population was illiterate; now Kazakhstan has its own universities, technical colleges and workers' preparatory schools.

The population of Kirghizia before the Revolution was dying out. Over a period of twenty years, from 1897 till 1917, the population of this region decreased by 30 per cent. Now in Kirghizia there are 1,700 primary and secondary schools, 3 higher educational institutions, 14 colleges, 4 workers' preparatory schools and, in addition, 500 Kirghiz students are studying in the universities and institutes of the USSR.

During the Tsarist period Georgia had no university at all. Now there are 15 universities and institutes in Georgia, from which 14,000 students of various specialities have graduated.

All this is evidence of the rapid growth of the economy of the national republics and of the great demand for highly qualified workers.

The following table shows the number of persons being trained in the various specialities :

*Number of training establishments and students in the USSR on
1 Jan., 1935, and 1 Jan., 1936*

Type of educational establishment and main speciality.	1 Jan., 1935 Number of educational establish- ments.	Number of students.	1 Jan., 1939 Number of students.
I. Training of leading personnel ... <i>including</i>	82	37,900	45,400
Industrial Academy	20	7,000	9,200
Higher agricultural schools ...	62	30,000	36,200
II. Training of specialists ... <i>including</i>	3,210	1,105,800	1,214,000
1. Higher educational institutions	567	469,800	515,900
(a) Industrial	127	157,100	152,500
(b) Transport	23	41,700	40,200
(c) Agriculture	92	61,300	66,500
(d) Educational	894	179,600	202,300
(e) Medical and Health	253	65,100	83,400
III. Training of scientific pedagogical personnel		8,200	10,000
IV. Workers' preparatory schools (training for universities and institutes)... ..	772	267,400	276,000
V. Industrial and kindred schools	1,712	261,300	288,000

The drop in the number of students attending the industrial and transport universities in 1936 is due to the fact that owing to the great need of qualified workers which was experienced by the industries of the country in that year, when entirely new branches of industry were introduced, many students took up engagements without completing their studies at the higher schools.

The industrial academies and higher agricultural schools train managers of enterprises—factories, mines, construction jobs, etc. The students of these establishments are drawn from among the most efficient workers—Stakhanovites such as Nikita Izotov, Donbas miner, who had set a record in coal mining, Maria Demchenko, a Stakhanovite in agriculture with her high record in sugar beet cultivation, the flyer Molokov, hero of the Soviet Union, etc.

The agricultural schools train directors for the State farms and machine and tractor stations; chairmen of collective farms, administrators, etc.

The universities, institutes and technical colleges train engineers, technicians and shop foremen. The preparation of scientific workers includes the training of teachers and instructors for universities, institutes, technical colleges, and other educational establishments of a general or technical nature.

The workers' preparatory schools train students for the higher educational institutions. The industrial schools train skilled workers, future brigade leaders and foremen.

All educational establishments in the Soviet Union are under the authority of some People's Commissariat or Board.

*Universities under the authority of People's Commissariats
or Boards*

Commissariats or Boards.	Number of universities and institutes.	Number of students.	Including workers attending evening courses.
Commissariat of Heavy Industry	83	122,307	12,587
Food Commissariat	12	11,825	—
Commissariat of Communal Economy	7	5,520	503
Commissariat of Railways... ..	11	22,616	2,484
The Northern Sea Route (under the authority of the council of People's Commissaires of the USSR) ...	1	109	—
Commissariat of Agriculture ...	72	54,636	552
State Planning Commission ...	9	7,401	—
Central Statistical Board	2	2,039	196
Commissariat of Finance	9	5,848	118
Commissariat of Education	228	135,616	9,749
Commissariat of Health	—	77,215	8,579

This table shows that every Commissariat or Board takes a hand in the work of training. Even such an institution as The Northern Sea Route has its university where workers are trained for the polar regions. The State Planning Commission trains economists specialising in planning. The Central Statistical Board trains statisticians, and so on.

In addition to the educational establishments enumerated, the respective commissariats conduct courses for the training of workers of average and higher skill. These are three or six months' courses attended by workers and engineers who work in the daytime. In 1935 the higher courses run by the Commissariat of Heavy Industry were attended by 13,151 persons and the lower courses by 16,662 persons; the higher and lower courses conducted by the Commissariat of Light Industry were attended by 145 and 3,665, respectively; the courses under the Commissariat of Agriculture were attended by 5,703 and 789, respectively; those run by the Commissariat of Home Trade by 378 and 9,328, respectively. The total lower courses offered by the various Commissariats and Boards were attended by 30,600 persons, and the total higher courses by 16,600.

There are besides these courses some correspondence courses. In 1935 as many as 35,255 persons took higher correspondence courses, 16,598 average correspondence courses, and 12,653 primary correspondence courses.

In addition there are courses offered by mills and factories where instruction is given in elementary technical knowledge, and there are also workers' preparatory schools where hundreds of thousands of workers are being trained. These workers' preparatory schools, which are likewise run by the respective economic organisations, train workers who have had no secondary education and prepare them for entry into university or institute. Training in these workers' schools runs from three to four years, the courses embracing the programme of secondary schools.

Great popularity is enjoyed by the technical training schools or courses, which offer every worker the opportunity to improve his skill and increase his earnings. In the technical schools or courses of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry about 700,000 persons were being trained in 1935, and altogether about 2,000,000 persons were being trained at the various technical schools or courses throughout the Union.

In order to give a more complete idea of the work of training in the USSR it is necessary to say a few words about the financial

side of the matter. Article 121 of the new Constitution deals with the "right of the citizens of the USSR to education" and says that the enjoyment of this right is secured by the fact that education in the USSR, including higher education, is free and that students at the higher schools are granted a stipend by the Government. This statement is corroborated by the following figures: in 1935 the Government spent 5,440,000,000 roubles on purposes of training, or almost twice the sum spent in 1932, which was 3,146,000,000, although the number of students did not double. Expenditures under this head in 1936 will far exceed those of 1935. In 1935, expenditures on training represented 65 per cent. of the total of 8,310,000,000 roubles spent on education, while in 1936 the budget of expenditures on education amounted to 12,000,000,000 roubles.

In 1935, the average expenditure on each student was 2,116 roubles in the industrial universities and institutes, 1,927 roubles in the agricultural colleges, 2,080 roubles in the pedagogical colleges and 2,323 roubles in the medical colleges. These average expenditures include cost of equipment of educational establishments and laboratories, payment of teachers, stipends, which are also continued during the two months' holiday, maintenance of dormitories, etc. They do not, however, include medical aid to students, recreation at sanatoria and rest homes, etc. It should be noted that most of the students who receive a stipend are sent annually for a two months' holiday to the country with full board and lodging free of charge. The cost of medical aid, sanatoria, and rest homes for students is disbursed out of the Social Insurance Funds.

The greater number of students are accommodated in dormitories either free of charge or at nominal rent. In 1935 there were 180,293 students living in the dormitories of 15 universities and institutes belonging to various commissariats, and there were 252,329 students living in the dormitories of the technical colleges of the various Commissariats.

During the periods of the First and Second Five-Year Plans, the Soviet Government spent close on 49,000,000,000 roubles on education. Of this sum about 65 per cent. falls under the head of training.

NOTES ON THE BATTLE OF NICOPOLIS (1396)

THE battle of Nicopolis (1396) has been studied by many historians interested in its relation to the general European situation and in the history of the battle itself. Apparently nothing more can be said about it, especially after Mr. Aziz Suryal Atiya's excellent study *The Crusade of Nicopolis*.¹ Even this last account however is not exhaustive² and contains some uncertainties and errors.³ It is in the hope of contributing to the clearing up of some of these uncertainties and of filling in some omissions in previous studies that the following notes have been written.

Though perhaps of secondary importance from the general European point of view, yet very important for the understanding of the battle of Nicopolis, it is necessary to sketch the policy of the Wallachian Principality in those days and to show its motives. This is all the more necessary as this policy has hitherto been shown only in studies written by foreigners, and based on foreign and generally hostile sources.

Wallachia (Tara Românească = The Roumanian Country, as it was called in old chronicles and charters) had then emerged comparatively recently as an autonomous political body with a strong tendency to independence. Inhabited by a Latin-speaking population, after centuries of barbarian invasions and periods of Bulgarian, Hungarian and Tartar overlordship, Wallachia had emancipated and formed a national state bounded by the Carpathians, the Danube and the Black Sea. This state was small and weak as compared with its Bulgarian, Hungarian, Serbian and Tartar neighbours. It was only owing to a policy of alternate alliance with one or the other of the neighbouring countries and by playing them off one against the other, that Wallachia was able to

¹ London, 1934. Methuen & Co.

² Except for three of Mr. N. Iorga's studies, and these not dealing principally with the battle itself, the author does not seem to be familiar with Roumanian historical sources and with Roumanian studies of the battle of Nicopolis.

³ See Mr. N. Iorga's review of Mr. Atiya's book (*Revue historique du Sud-Est Européen*, XI, pp. 276-8).

An error occurs in map III (p. 114) in which the South-Eastern part of Bessarabia, subsequently known as the Bugeac, is shown as having been conquered by Bayezid I after Nicopolis, while in reality it was conquered by Suleiman I in 1484 (Iorga, *Geschichte d. Rum. Volkes*, I, p. 357).

maintain its more or less independent existence. The apparent submission at crucial moments to the will of the most powerful neighbour and the revolt against him when oppression was too strong, or the passing over to the side of another prince, were the constant lines on which the policy of the diverse Roumanian political entities was conducted. If not particularly moral—but were the political standards of English, French and German sovereigns higher in those days?—this policy is a historical fact, and for centuries it rendered possible the existence of Roumanian more or less autonomous states within whose frontiers the Roumanian nation was able to exist and develop its own civilization. After all, this is the aim of any government, and this policy has been continued with conscious persistence up to our own days, and has resulted in the realisation of the long-dreamt-of union of all the parts of the Roumanian nation. The persistence with which this policy was followed and the success achieved are sufficient proof that such an attitude was necessary, and necessity is law.

While the conflict between the Wallachians and their southern and eastern neighbours was merely political, Hungary and Wallachia disagreed not only on political but also on religious grounds, as did Hungary and Bulgaria likewise. The Hungarian kings wanted to impose their overlordship, as well as the Roman Catholic faith, and to this latter, more even than to the former, the Greek-Orthodox peoples on both sides of the Danube were utterly unwilling to submit.

With the second half of the 14th century a new and powerful political element intervened in the valley of the Danube: the Turks. These conquered the Balkan Peninsula in a very short time. To ensure the possession of this peninsula and to guard the right flank of their advance towards Central Europe,⁴ which had been and was to be the Turkish aim for centuries, the Sultans were obliged to ensure the possession of the defensive line formed by the Danube. To do this, they had to occupy not only the right bank with its fortresses—as the Romans and the Byzantines had had to do before them—but also the bridgeheads on the left bank, so as to be able to impose obedience on the peoples north of the river, and to give assistance to those Wallachian princes who were, if not favourable to their policy, at least no instruments of the Hungarians. That this was their deliberate policy, that the Sultans considered the Danube as their frontier to the north, is shown by the fact that they

⁴ Roumanian Academy. *Memoirs of the Historic Section*. Series III, tome VI, p. 36.

never conquered the territories north of the Danube and of the Black Sea, although they garrisoned some of the fortresses in those parts to ensure the obedience of Moldavians, Tartars, etc., but were satisfied with exercising only a suzerainty over them, while Hungary (and if the Turks had gone further west, other states would have had the same fate) was transformed into a pashalik.

The Turks' approach, their conquest of the Danube line, constituted, especially after Kosovo, a great danger to the Wallachian Principality, for it substituted a new and very powerful State, full of energy and driving power and tolerant in religious matters, to the Bulgarian neighbour and often ally, whose power was declining.

At the same time, the Hungarian king could only tolerate the presence of a Turkish agent on the Wallachian throne (as was the case with Vlad Mircea's rival), all the more so as Sigismund was not on friendly terms with the Czechs and Poles.

This being the general situation, it was natural that Mircea, the reigning Prince of Wallachia (1386-1418)—whose policy, as shown by the different treaties of which he was a signatory⁵ and by his domination of the Dobrogea,⁶ tended to ensure at least the autonomy if not the independence of his principality, by playing off one neighbour against the other—should take part in the resistance to the Turkish advance both by sending troops to help his southern neighbours⁷ and by personally fighting at the head of his troops against the Turks.⁸ It was also natural that Mircea should be wary of siding with the Hungarians, who had endeavoured for more than a century to bring Wallachia under their overlordship,⁹ who he knew, by Sigismund's recent campaign,¹⁰ had held the same policy

⁵ Treaty with the King of Poland, 1389 (Dogiel, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniæ*, I, 2, p. 597); treaty with the King of Hungary, 1395 (Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariæ* X, II, pp. 270-72)

⁶ C. Jiriček. *Geschichte der Serben*, II, I, p. 130; D. Onciul, *Mircea cel bătrân*, pp. 8, 9.

⁷ Mircea's troops took part in the battle of Kossowo (June, 1389)—L. Kupelwieser *Die Kämpfe Ungarns mit den Osmanen bis zur Schlacht bei Mohács*, 1526, p. 8; V. Motogna, *Politica externă a lui Mircea cel bătrân*, pp. 5, 34; Atiya, *a.c.*, p. 5

⁸ In 1394, the Sultan being occupied in other parts of his empire, Mircea enters Bulgaria (which had been under Turkish overlordship ever since 1391) and devastates it. The Sultan comes back, crosses the Danube and after a battle fought on 10 Oct., 1394, Mircea, though tactically successful, has to retire northward. The Turks occupy Nicopolis Minor on the left bank of the Danube (N. Iorga *Studiu istorice asupra Chiher si Cetății Albe*, p. 65; C. Jiriček *o.c.*, II, I, p. 130, C. Jiriček *Zur Würdigung der neuentdeckten bulgar. Chronik in Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, XIV, p. 269.

⁹ R. W. Seton Watson *History of the Roumanians*, pp. 26, 199.

¹⁰ 1395 (Hurmuzache *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, I, 2, p. 333).

towards the sister principality of Moldavia,¹¹ and who had continually tried to impose a Catholic clergy and, through the latter, obedience to Rome and, above all, to Buda.

It was of course necessary to drive the Turks from the Danube line,¹² which only a coalition of Christian states could accomplish. But, during the fortnight preceding the battle of Nicopolis, Mircea had daily before him a sad example of what the crusaders were after. Not only the debauchery, the lack of discipline of all the allied contingents, both Western and Hungarian,¹³ but also the very conception of war—a sport according to the western (Catholic) knights—were not very reassuring to one who knew by experience the discipline, the conception of war of the enemy, and in whose own mind, as in that of his countrymen, past, present and future, war was not a sport but a dire necessity, the only means of ensuring their existence and their faith.¹⁴ Although, for different reasons,¹⁵ both Sigismund and De Coucy—the latter a friend of the Wallachian nobles and an admirer of their knowledge of the terrain¹⁶—had agreed to let Mircea and his men begin the battle,¹⁷ the Wallachians were prevented from doing so. This, together with the disorderly way in which the French launched their attack, was bound to diminish the confidence of the Wallachians in a possible victory of the Christians.

Speaking from a political and psychological point of view, can we then wonder that Mircea and his troops should have retired from the battlefield when they saw they were on the losing side,¹⁸

¹¹ C. Fejér, *a.c.* Tom. X, vol. II, pp. 274, 444.

¹² N. Iorga *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 278.

¹³ Bellaguet, *Chronique du religieux de Saint Denys*, II, p. 497; *Mer des Histoires*, P. le Rouge, Paris, 1488, part II, folio 2306, quoted by C. J. Karadža, *Die ältesten gedruckten Quellen zur Geschichte der Rumänen* (in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1934, p. 124); *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. baron Kervyn des Lettenhove, XVI, pp. 454, 516.

¹⁴ Roumanian Academy. *Reception speeches*, LXV.

¹⁵ Bellaguet, *o.c.*, II, p. 491, *Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, Königshofen*, p. 835; Justinger *Berner Chronik*, p. 239, quoted by Dr. J. Aschbach *Geschichte Kaiser Sigismund's*, I, p. 102; *Die Schlacht von Nicopolis* von F. von Šišić (*Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina*, VI, p. 311).

¹⁶ *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes histoires de la Grant Bretagne, a present nommée Engleterre*, par Jehan Wavrin, ed. by Hardy, 1891, pp. 108, 109.

¹⁷ *Reisen des Johannes Schödberger aus München in Europa, Asia und Afrika von 1394 bis 1427* (edited by) K. F. Neumann München, 1859, pp. 52, 53; Latin Ms. 3471, folio 93, 94, Wien, Hofbibliothek, published by N. Iorga in *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria Românilor*, III, p. 77; Mme de Lussan quoted by J. C. von Engel *Ältere Geschichte der Walachei*, p. 161; *Sethi Calvinii opus chronologicum* . . . , Leipzig, 1685, p. 864.

¹⁸ Some of the Wallachian noblemen fought in the ranks of the French and were taken prisoners (Wavrin quoted above (note 4) pp. 108, 109).

Mr. A. S. Atiya (*o.c.*, p. 6) explains in the same way Mircea's behaviour.

knowing as they did that, after the Turkish victory, the Sultan would attack their own country?¹⁹

One of the points on which sources and consequently historians disagree is that of the number of fighting men in the ranks of the Christian and Turkish armies.

Mr. Atiya, after showing that the available sources place the numbers of the Christians between 16,000 (Schildberger) and 130,000 men (according to the Turkish historians), comes to the conclusion that, at a rough estimate, the Christian forces were of about 100,000 (pages 67, 68). In his later pages, when examining the numbers of the Turkish army, he shows that they are given as from 10,000 to 400,000, and comes to the conclusion that they may be estimated at 110,000 men. He then adds: "Medieval estimates of numbers in such cases are notoriously open to suspicion. The essence of the previous argument is, however, that the hostile armies were almost equal; and any attempt to account for the victory of the Ottomans by their superiority in number, is to avoid the real issue. The victory was won by the party that possessed unflinching unity of purpose, a strict and ruthless discipline, prudent tactics and wise leadership."

I agree with Mr. Atiya's assertion that the opposing forces were almost equal, and that the victory was due to the Ottoman tenacity of purpose, discipline, tactics and leadership, but not to any superiority of numbers. My reasons for not agreeing with his very high estimates and for thinking that, in reality, the numbers were much lower, are the following:—

It is impossible, owing to lack of space, for a force of 100,000 men, much less for two armies of 100,000 men each, to manœuvre on the plateau south of Nicopolis. It is not only the study of the map and a personal reconnoitring of the battlefield which leads me to this conclusion, but also the last battle fought at Nicopolis (July, 1877) between Russians and Turks. Though, in 1877, the Russians and Turks fought on a more extended front than Christians and Turks in 1396, yet on practically the same ground on which was fought the battle of 1396, the Turks had only 8,000 men and the Russians had 12 battalions and 14 squadrons, amounting to a grand total of 10,000 fighting men. Neither the text nor the sketches of

¹⁹ In 1396 (D. Onciul *o.c.*, p. 12, who quotes Chalco-condylas, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*—Bonn edition, pp. 79, 80) and in 1397 (N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiilor și Cetății Albe*, p. 68; V. Motogna, *Politica externă a lui Mircea-cel-bătrân*, p. 21).

the Russian official history of the war of 1877-78²⁰ show any gaps in the fighting lines.

Besides, it is difficult to believe that Mircea had 10,000 men behind him.²¹ Our studies of the military forces of the Wallachian Principality show that two kinds of troops could be raised by the Prince, in a sense a small feudatory force of 2-3,000 noblemen and the *levée en masse*.²² Now the battle of Nicopolis was not a case for a *levée en masse* and it must not be forgotten that part of the Wallachians were siding with Mircea's rival, Vlad. It must also be kept in mind that Mircea was able to cross the Danube during the very short space of time during which Sigismund was fighting the second part of the battle, and that he had available only a few small boats for the crossing.²³

Fifty years later, his son Vlad, who had promised Wavrin to collect as many men under arms as possible and who also took some peasants with him, could not get together more than 6,000 men.²⁴

While authors of other contemporary descriptions give numbers only by hearsay, Schildberger, who took part in the battle and who is considered a very reliable source,²⁵ gives 16,000 as the total number of the Christian forces,²⁶ and there is no reason to believe it was much more.

On the other hand, two Turkish authors²⁷ reckon the number of the Turks at 10,000; this is certainly below the truth, but if we consider Froissart's estimate of the Turkish vanguard as 8,000²⁸ (a ridiculously small vanguard for an army of 100,000), Nesri's and Sead-eddin's estimates of the number of prisoners taken, and the latter's statement that each Turkish soldier had a prisoner,²⁹ then the total of the Turkish army may be put down as between 15,000 and 20,000.

Some of the modern authors consider that the figures were even

²⁰ Roum. trans. by Col. J. Gardescu, II, pp. 143-155, and maps nos. 20 and 21.

²¹ Atiya, *o.c.*, pp. 67, 184.

²² Roumanian Academy, Hist. Section, series II, vol. XXX, p. 406; series III, vol. XI, p. 276.

²³ Wavrin, *o.c.*, V, p. 71.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁵ Gustav Kling, *Die Schlacht bei Nikopols im Jahre, 1396*, p. 8; J. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^e Siècle*, I, p. 260.

²⁶ *O.c.*, p. 52.

²⁷ Atiya, *o.c.*, p. 68.

²⁸ *O.c.* (ed. Buchon), p. 261.

²⁹ Nesri *Târik-i-âl-i Oszman* (Thúry József, *Török történetiről*, vol. I, p. 50); Sead-eddin *Tads-et-tevarikh* (same editor, p. 119).

smaller,³⁰ and Professor Delbrück, who has shown in his studies how exaggerated were the numbers of fighting men as stated in ancient history and how impossible it was with the then means to feed considerable masses of men and horses, has, in his *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*,³¹ reckoned the numbers of the Christian army at Nicopolis at 7,500 men and of the Turkish army at 11,000–12,000.

Mr. Olgierd Görka, a Polish historian who is studying the question of the number of fighting men as shown even in modern times, has come to the conclusion that, generally speaking, they are highly overestimated. In a conversation which we had some months ago he expressed very strong views on the exaggerated numbers attributed to the Turks in general and at Nicopolis in particular. In conclusion I think that the numbers, on each side, were no less than 10,000 and that they certainly did not reach 20,000 for each of the opposing armies.

Another question is that of the actual site of the battle. Contemporary and other sources do not fix the place of the battle: from their descriptions, the battle was fought somewhere on the plateau above (to the south of) Nicopolis. They only say that the Turkish camp was a mile (Schildberger),³² two miles (Dlugosz,³³ Stromer, Königshofen³⁴), four miles (Chalcocondylas),³⁵ six miles³⁶ from the Christian camp, or less than three leagues from the Danube.³⁷

Modern authors are divided in their opinion as to the precise place where the battle was fought. Some of them situate it on the plateau to the south of Nicopolis near the present village of Vubla (Vrbl)³⁸; others, farther away between Mirșovița and Lozica³⁹; Sir Charles Oman⁴⁰ places it across the Târnova road, four miles to the south of Nicopolis, which would be between Vubla (Vrbl) and Mirșovița; while Mr. Atiya puts it to the south-east of Nicopolis,

³⁰ Gustav Kling, *o.c.*, estimates the Christian forces at 9,000 (pp. 14–24) and the Turkish army at 16,000–20,000 (p. 81).

³¹ III, pp. 492, 495.

³² *O.c.*, p. 52.

³³ G. Kohler, *Die Schlachten von Nicopoli und Varna*, p. 16, n. 3.

³⁴ *Chroniken der Deutschen Städte*, IX, p. 855.

³⁵ Atiya, *o.c.*, pp. 65 and 183, note 103.

³⁶ Bellaguet, *o.c.*, II, p. 503.

³⁷ Wavrin, *o.c.*, V, p. 108.

³⁸ G. Kling, *o.c.*, p. 62; G. Kohler *Die Schlachten von Nicopoli und Varna*, p. 26; L. Kupelwieser, *o.c.*, p. 24, and sketch, Bárczay Oszkar *Nikápoly (Haditörténelmi Közlemények)*, VII, p. 494; Wertner Mór, *A Nikápolyi hadjárat, 1396-ban* (same review, XXVI, p. 244).

³⁹ F. Kanitz, *Donau Bulgarien und der Balkan*, II, p. 189.

⁴⁰ *Art of war in middle ages*, II, p. 349.

on the ridge to the west of Ermenlui.⁴¹ This would seem to be—though not expressly stated—also Delbrück's opinion.⁴²

A careful study of all the descriptions as well as of the opinions of modern authors and a personal inspection of that plateau, make me think that Kupelwieser and Sir Ch. Oman are right and that the battle took place between Vâbel (Vrbl) and Mirșovița, the Turkish light cavalry being deployed at the beginning of the battle about one kilometre north of Vâbel.

This site fits in best with all contemporary descriptions of the battle; it lies along the direct road from Târnova to Nicopolis, a road which—as was the custom in ancient times and during the middle-ages—followed, whenever possible, a ridge and not a valley⁴³ (in this case the ridge separating the Osma (Osem) from the Danube). Another reason for this conclusion is that the sky-line, which for the Christians going uphill as they were coming from Nicopolis, was formed by the ridge across the plateau slightly to the north of Vâbel (Vrbl), could easily hide a mass of horsemen, not to mention infantry, stationed anywhere to the south of Vâbel.

If Bayazid had occupied the position marked on Mr. Atiya's sketch, the slopes of the plateau towards Ermenlui, being much steeper than those towards Vubla, the charge of the Turkish reserves would have been very difficult, which was not the case. Likewise the French, who were encamped to the west of Nicopolis,⁴⁴ would have had to pass in front of Sigismund's camp (which was to the south-east or east of Nicopolis), when rushing to their first ill-conceived attack. There is no trace of such a passage of the French along the front of Sigismund's camp and a modern author says, rightly I think, that the French corps left Sigismund's army behind its (left) flank.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Map II (p. 83) and pp. 86, 87.

⁴² *O.c.*, III, p. 493.

⁴³ A study of Roman and medieval roads from the Danube across the Balkans towards the South in : V. Avramov's *Voinata na Bălgaria s Bizantia v. 1190 god. i pogromat na imperatora Isak Angelov pri Trievna*. Mr. Atiya says (p. 152) that there is an ancient Roman road from Plevna (Pleven) direct to Nicopolis. Unfortunately this road is *not* marked on Tab. IV of the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum III, supplementum pars II*, and I could find no trace of it, nor obtain any information as to its existence at the beginning of Oct., 1935, when I visited the battlefield.

⁴⁴ The *Chronik von Bern* (quoted by G. Kling, *o.c.*, p. 41, note 5) says : et iam minitores comitis Nivernensis usque castellum in et miniores regis Hungariæ in civitatem vias occultas . . . disposuissent. Kling concludes that the French were encamped opposite the fortress, while Sigismund and his forces were encamped opposite the town. Kling's conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the French, being the vanguard of the Christian army in its

Moreover the occupation of the position indicated by Mr. Atiya would also have exposed Bayazid's left flank to an attack, which would have thrown the Turkish army—if the Christian attack had been successful—into the marshes along the Danube. Besides, the outflanking movements—particularly those by which the Turks finally defeated the Crusaders, of the Turkish right wing—would have brought the Turks nearer to the Danube than the Christians were, and would then have prevented any of the Christians from reaching the river.⁴⁶ This movement would have cut off Mircea's retreat as he was placed on the left of Sigismund's forces.⁴⁷

Finally, a point on which modern authors are not agreed is that of the reconnoitring parties sent by the Christians before the battle.

Contrary to the generally admitted idea that the Christians were surprised by the Turks owing especially to a lack of reconnoitring on their part, I am of opinion that in spite of the faulty leadership of the Christian army, historical sources show that reconnoitring parties had been dispatched (although modern authors exclude some of them), but that in their presumption and foolhardiness the Crusaders disregarded the reports they had received.⁴⁸ At first the Christian armies had sent foraging parties who are repeatedly mentioned in all sources⁴⁹ and, as the stay of the Christian army before Nicopolis became longer, these parties had to go farther afield. Some of the sources attribute to these foraging parties the first news of the Turkish advance

We know further that, in order to verify either the information brought by his foragers or that obtained from the Bulgarian population,⁵⁰ Sigismund sent John of Maroth to reconnoitre as march towards Nicopolis, encountered first the fortress (which was, as it is today, to the west of the town) and settled their camp opposite it, while Sigismund, under protection of the French vanguard, occupied the space to the right (east) of the French, opposite the town.

⁴⁶ Sir Ch. Oman, *o.c.*, II, p. 351.

⁴⁷ In his circular letter to the provincial chiefs, informing them of the victory, Bayazid says that after the victory "my victorious army drove them (the Christians) up to the Danube river" (Thúry, *Torok történetirok*, I, p. 368). This means that, though locally—on the battlefield—the victory was won by flank attacks, the Turks had not cut off the retreat—or flight—of the Christians towards the Danube.

⁴⁸ Atiya, *o.c.*, p. 93; J. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^e siècle*, I, p. 272; F. von Šišić, *o.c.*, p. 313.

⁴⁹ "Il (Sigismund) eust establi assez de gens pour bien prendre garde au dessem des Sarrasins" (Froissart—ed. Buchon, III, p. 593); Bellaguet, *o.c.*, II, p. 501; Froissart, *o.c.* (ed. Buchon), III, p. 261.

⁵⁰ Bellaguet, *l.c.*; Wavrin (Hardy ed.), p. 109.

⁵⁰ The Bulgarians seem to have given only a half-hearted help, as they were discontented because the Christians were taking their crops and generally misbehaving (Alois Brauner, *Die Schlacht bei Nikopolis*, 1396, p. 32).

far as Târnova, where the presence of Turkish troops had been reported.⁵¹

We also know that on the day preceding the battle⁵² the sire De Coucy, either to shake off the dulness of the prolonged encampment before Nicopolis⁵³ or influenced by his Wallachian friends,⁵⁴ had made a reconnoitring expedition⁵⁵ which, although successful in its limited scope,⁵⁶ was resented by other Frenchmen and caused much discord.⁵⁷

Finally, on the very day of the battle, there were at least two reconnoitings: that of Mircea—Schildberger, the very truthful eye-witness, states this expressly⁵⁸ and there is no reason to disbelieve him⁵⁹—and that of the Palatine of Hungary.⁶⁰ If considered in their chronological order none of these reconnoitings excludes the other.

Sugura, 18.11.1936.

R. ROSETTI.

⁵¹ Sigismund's rescript of the year 1404 (Hurmuzache, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, I, 2, p. 431); L. Kupelwieser, *o.c.*, p. 19.

⁵² "Le seigneur de Coucy, lequel, comme il lui dist, avoit le jour devant la bataille (my italics) rue jus bien six mille Turqz qui estoient venu en intencion de sorprendre les fourrageurs christiens" (Wavrin—Hardy, ed., p. 109).

⁵³ Atiya, *o.c.*, pp. 82, 84.

⁵⁴ "Seigneur de Coucy quy toujours voullentiers retenoit vers lui les gentilz compaignons Vallaques qui scavoient les aguez du pays de Turquye" (Wavrin—Hardy ed., pp. 108, 109).

⁵⁵ Froissart, Lettenhove ed., XV, pp., 264-7; 466-9; Wavrin, *see above*, note ⁵².

⁵⁶ It did not go far, as Coucy came back the same evening (Froissart, XV, pp. 267, 469).

⁵⁷ Froissart, XV, pp. 268, 314, 474.

⁵⁸ *O.c.*, p. 52; Latin MS. 3471, folios 93, 94, Wien Hofbibliothek published by N. Iorga in *Acte si fragmente cu privire la istoria Românilor*, III, p. 77.

⁵⁹ Mr. Atiya says (p. 65) that Schildberger "wrongly" attributed the reconnoitring to Mircea, but does not say why it was "wrong" to attribute it to the Wallachian prince—other authors think Schildberger perfectly truthful (J. Delaville le Roulx, *o.c.*, I, p. 260; F. Kanitz, *o.c.*, II, p. 189; G. Kling, *o.c.*, p. 8) and admit Mircea's reconnoitring (J. Aschbach, *o.c.*, I, p. 102; G. Kling, *o.c.*, p. 45, note 6; Oman, *o.c.*, II, p. 350).

⁶⁰ Bellaguet, *o.c.*, p. 503; J. Delaville le Roulx, *o.c.*, I, p. 259; Froissart (Buchon ed.), III, p. 261.

MOHAMMED THE CONQUEROR¹

THE personality of Mohammed the Conqueror has for the most part been represented by western European writers in two sharply contrasted ways : he has been characterised either as a monster of unbounded lust, bizarre cruelty, shameless perfidy, diabolical ambition, and vengeful hatred of the Cross ; or as a vigorous man under rigid self-control, an exacting but magnanimous chief, a just judge, a wide-visioned empire-builder, and in religious matters one of the most tolerant rulers of mankind. At the outset let it be said that the second portrait is far nearer the truth than the first. At the same time, like most human beings, the Conqueror possessed a variety of qualities, some of which were mutually inconsistent. The exact truth about him is not easily to be determined. Even among his contemporaries the contrast of estimates began. His enemies by race, language, loyalty and faith are certainly not to be trusted when they repeat about him scandalous tales, but they also frequently bear witness to his noble traits. His friends, moreover, did not always admire him for precisely those qualities which the changed values of our time esteem most worthy.

Some examples of differing estimates may be given. Knolles (a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, but the author of the fullest history of the Turks in English) said : " In his love was no assurance, and his least displeasure was death : so that he lived feared of all men, and died lamented of none." But Count Wackerbarth, writing two centuries later, after calling Mohammed II " a very great extraordinary commander, an unexampled conqueror, the outstanding hero among the valiant Ottomans, one of the universally renowned princes among the vigorous Turks," says that " the success of his actions, the goodwill of his regulations, and the memory of his astonishing achievements can never be lost for his successors, nor indeed for the whole civilised and uncivilised world."

A clear contrast of false and true as regards this mighty man appears in the accounts of the death of his son Mustafa in the year 1474. Certain writers, including Knolles, and Arthur Thomas, wrote astonishingly that Mustafa offended his father by violating the wife of the trusted officer Ishak Beg, and that in punishment Mohammed had him slain.

¹ Based on an address delivered in the Slavonic Section of the Anglo-American Historical Conference, at the University of London, July 1936.

The truth about the death of Mustafa is revealed in the words of the eyewitness Angiolello, an Italian youth who was servant to the young prince.² Mustafa, as governor of Caramania, was successfully reducing the outlying districts to obedience when he fell ill. Accompanied by his army, a miniature of that of his father, he travelled as a stricken man from Nigde toward Konia, where resided his mother, wife and daughter. He was expecting the arrival of the sultan's own physician, an Italian, Master James of Gaeta. Mustafa had his tent pitched near the little town of Buru; he went to the public bath for the customary exercises, then returned to his tent, lay down, and received some food; but his fever grew worse, and at midnight he died. The sorrowing attendants carried his body to Konia, and caused it to be embalmed. Messengers rode forth bearing the tidings to the Sultan his father.

Says Angiolello: "When the courier who bore the news to Istanbul (arrived there), all feared to tell the Great Turk, except one, whose name was Hajji Sima, he who was like a preceptor, and who frequently read aloud to the Great Turk; this man dressed in sackcloth with a black girdle, and went into his presence. When the Turk saw him, he understood without asking, and descended from the sofa on which he was sitting; he lifted the carpets which were spread on the ground; he stood on the pavement and wept and lamented for his son; and gathered the dust from the fissures of the pavement and put this dust on his head in sign of great grief, and beat with his palms his face and then his chest, and wrung his hands and uttered great groans; and in this way he continued three days and three nights."

Mohammed then sent word that the body of his son should be brought to Brusa, to be buried there with much ceremony. He gave orders that the young man's mother was to live there. The daughter of Mustafa who, Angiolello says, was named Nerzisdad, was brought to Constantinople, and given in marriage to her cousin, the eldest son of Prince Bayazid, to whom, now Heir Apparent, was assigned the government of Amasia. The remaining women of Mustafa's household were given in marriage to officers of the court; and Mustafa's manservants, among them Angiolello, were placed in the Sultan's own household according to their capacities. The fatally destined Prince Jem, now second in line for the throne, was transferred from Amasia to the place left vacant by Mustafa's death in the government of Konia.

² As found in Donado da Lezze, *Historia Turchesca* (L. Ursu, editor), Bucarest, 1910, pp. 64-70.

So much by way of coming as close to the heart of Mohammed as is possible, after the lapse of 450 years, and after all the changes that the world has known. The episode, wholly devoid of scandal, reveals the middle-aged Mohammed as in sovereign control of the powerful governmental institution which he had helped to create, and which ruled the Ottoman empire; but also as a lonely and sorrowing man, the affectionate and considerate head of a very human family. To comprehend him more fully, the discussion may now go back to the beginning of his life.

Mohammed, or Mehmet as the Turks usually call him, was born, it seems, early in 1430. His father was Sultan Murad II, high-minded and peace-loving, but bound by inheritance to the great machine of war and government which he conducted well and improved greatly. Mohammed's mother remains unknown. According to varying accounts she was either a Serbian princess, or a slave, or a proud lady from an important Turkish family in Anatolia. It may be assumed that she alone guided him to seven years of age, after which his father provided preceptors to begin teaching him the Arabic and Persian languages, the Mohammedan religion and laws, and manly and martial accomplishments. Tradition has it that for some time he was unruly and refused to learn, until he came into contact with Mollah Kurani; this educator made vigorous use of the rod, and by this and other means converted the young prince into an earnest and brilliant student. Mingling for some years with his brothers and with hostage princes and selected pages, he would naturally have learned to speak Turkish, colloquial Greek, and Slavonic; but the tradition that he also read Latin and classical Greek does not fit the probabilities. When Mohammed was about 11 years of age, the death of his elder brother Aladdin made him immediate, and at the time, it seems, sole heir to the throne. Not long afterward he was probably assigned to a nominal governorship, with the presence of his mother and the guidance of trusted councillors.

The campaign of John Hunyady, in the winter of 1443, disastrous to the Turks and ending in a ten years' peace, left Sultan Murad very weary after 22 years of unceasing governing and fighting. He formed a plan of withdrawing to a life of leisure, literature and learning in his quiet, lovely seat at Manissa. He declared the 14-year-old Mohammed to be Sultan, and left him, with the aid of the most experienced advisers and soldiers, to conduct the state.

Had there been indeed a ten years' truce, Murad's plans might have succeeded. Mohammed might have learned gradually to

exert the authority of his exalted post. But the faithlessness of Christendom led to a crusade which threatened the Ottoman power with destruction. Murad was warned, returned in haste, and commanded successfully at Varna in November, 1444. Then he promptly returned the leadership to his son and retired again to Manissa.

The youth Mohammed endeavoured to do his duty. Averse to wine, not much interested in women, somewhat devoted to song, the principal charge brought against him by his greybearded councillors was that of being too fond of the chase. But military perils gathered; in 1446 a great fire destroyed much of Adrianople; and the Janissaries—the regular infantry—got out of hand. Prudent Kahl, of the Chendereli family, Grand Vizier almost by hereditary right, sent word to Murad that his return was necessary. Finally abandoning his dream of dignified leisure, Murad, only about 45 years of age, again grasped the helm of the state.

In these unparalleled circumstances, the behaviour of the youth Mohammed was exemplary. Whether ordered to the supreme command, to a quiet life in Manissa, or to a military post under his father before Kroja or on the famed "Field of Blackbirds" at Kosovo, he was always dutiful. In these years he became a superb horseman, a campaigner without fatigue, an impetuous commander, something of a scholar, certainly a lover of historical biography, a polished courtier, a keen diplomat, and a shrewd statesman. According to tradition he early reached the firm conclusion that the future of Ottoman Turkey demanded the capture of Constantinople, pitiful remnant of a vast old empire, lying unconquered at the centre of the Turkish dominion.

In the autumn of 1450, after one of many Albanian campaigns, with Europe and Asia apparently quiet, Murad celebrated with unprecedented splendour the marriage of Mohammed with a Turkish princess, perhaps a cousin on his mother's side. The young man retired once more to quiet Manissa. But in February, 1451, he was recalled to Adrianople by news of his father's unexpected death.

Now at 21 years of age the power of government was irrevocably his. Mature and experienced beyond his years, he took hold firmly. The oft-rebelling Caramania rose again, only to be surprised. Having quickly adjusted relations with neighbouring powers, Mohammed set off on his first independent campaign, which was not much more than a rapid ride in Anatolia, so promptly did Caramania subside. Returning after some 90 days to Adrianople, he deposed the too lenient Agha, or General, of the Janissaries. He then

proceeded to lay the foundations of a palace, or new portion of a palace, on an island in the Tunja river at Adrianople. Thus in his first few months of genuine power he proved his fitness for war, government, and princely construction.

The story of his building the castle of Rumeli Hissar in 1452 and of his capture of Constantinople after the 59 days' siege of 1453, does not need retelling. Considering the disproportionate forces of attack and defence, the capture was hardly a military feat of the first order. Noteworthy, however, is the engineering originality of the young Sultan in creating and transporting great cannon for battering down the massive old walls, and in moving galleys overland into the Golden Horn. Beginning from this victory, the Turks aspired to become a naval power.

But historically, to contemporaries and ever since, the taking of Constantinople was a major event, reverberating through the world. Nor did it seem a small matter to the Conqueror himself. He held that thus he had risen from the position of King to that of Emperor. Therefore the dignified but crude ceremonies of the camp were to be greatly extended into the splendours of a palatial court. In this the system of the Eastern Roman Empire could serve only partially as a model, because of its poverty and decay, and because in Turkish court ceremonies women had no place. Mohammed furthermore counted himself territorially the successor of the Cæsars. He visualised the extension of Turkish power not only over all Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula, but over Italy and Rome itself. He thought especially to revivify and restore the second Rome, Constantinople, as a populous, rich, and splendid city, inferior to no other capital of the world.

Mohammed entered promptly upon the proud but disastrous path of exalting himself and his male descendants into an order of being far superior to the rest of mankind. Not all contemporary authorities agree that he slew a young brother in the cradle, in order to remove a possible rival from the path of himself and his sons; but he is reputed to have been the author of a *Kanun-nameh* or law enjoining such a practice upon his successors. Without any question he promptly ordered the bowstringing of Khalil, the Grand Vizier, the first of that high position to suffer the death penalty. The ostensible reason was Khalil's treachery in showing favour to the defeated Greeks; rumour had it that the young Sultan bore a grudge because of his having been deposed in 1446 by Khalil's advice; sufficient, however, may be the reflection that Mohammed would tolerate no hereditary Mayor of the Palace. At the time of

his accession four or five great families had been accustomed to provide the incumbents of great offices. A century later these had all disappeared from power. Correlative with this discouragement of inherited authority, other than that of his own House, is the enlargement, improvement, and establishment in fixed places of the Palace Schools, in which youth selected from Christian captives and Christian subjects were trained rigorously to become officers of camp and government.

During all their time of power the great Ottoman Sultans gave constant attention to the living, growing, changing institution of rule and government. It may be called a machine, a court, a government, a state, but it was not exactly any one of these. I have elsewhere discussed it at some length as it existed in the time of Mohammed's great-grandson Suleiman. For Mohammed himself the chief problems were of personnel, employment, and improvement. Personnel included recruitment of officials at the beginning of their careers and their retirement at the end; between these points the success of the entire Ottoman enterprise depended upon having the right men in the right places; this demanded the wisest possible use of reward, punishment, and promotion. The employment of the machine involved a necessity of war to keep its component parts supple and active; in Mohammed's time the environing states and peoples provided abundant incitements toward and opportunities for war. Legislation and administration also presented increasing demands. Improvement of the machine was not only possible, but distinctly actual throughout Mohammed's reign. One of his last changes was to divide the office of Kaziasker or judge of the army into two, as earlier the territorial army itself had been divided into two under the command of Beylerbeys, one for Europe and one for Asia. The task of controlling the machine could be done well only by an exceptionally able man: untiring, alert, and just; shrewd, diligent, and dependable; and above all highly intelligent.

The mention of Mohammed's sense of justice brings up naturally the charge against him of extreme cruelty, and the more or less associated charge of extraordinary sensuality. Remember in the first place that while he was a great fountainhead of reward and punishment, no human authority existed which could restrain or punish him; the reader may imagine how he himself would behave, if placed completely above the law as was Mohammed the Conqueror—or Catherine the Great of Russia. But the whole trend of the evidence indicates that Mohammed, brought up from infancy as a prince, taught by wise preceptors the inward restraints of the

Moslem religion, kept in singularly close relations to a royal father of the noblest character, and proud beyond expression of the Ottoman achievement and promise—the evidence is that he was cruel only as he believed Allah, the Divine Being, God, to be cruel. His God was severe, a punisher of evil-doers, criminals and traitors, including as a matter of course among the latter all who might be disobedient, all opponents of His will, all who might stand in the way of the coming of His kingdom. The anecdotes which make Mohammed go beyond his model in deeds of cruelty are all, I believe, devoid of anything which resembles proof: such as that he ordered 24 pages to be cut open in order to ascertain which one had eaten stolen cucumbers, or that he had a slave decapitated to show that Gentile Bellini had not portrayed correctly the severed head of John the Baptist, or that with his own hand he struck off the head of the beautiful and beloved Irene, in order to prove to his assembled captains that he was not a man who would put love above duty. When moreover Greek writers affirm that he slew a young woman or a young man of noble Greek race, because of refusal to yield to his sensual desires, the propagandist animus is so prominent that in this present open-eyed time the story can have no credence. Again, one should not forget that the West, which on the whole is hardly in a position to throw stones, has always been inclined to believe that the harem of an eastern monarch is a centre of irregular promiscuity; when actually it is a multiple home, rigidly regulated, where the wives and children of the monarch are taken care of, entertained and educated, with the primary aim of maintaining the royal line. Likewise certain mistaken outsiders have interpreted the palace schools of the Sultans as harems (using the word in the same perverted sense) of boys; when actually they were well-ordered schools, under the sternest discipline and training, intended to provide a great and expanding power with generals, admirals, and statesmen.

Mohammed chose two large areas in the scantily inhabited city, one immediately after the capture and one five or six years later, to be the sites of palaces: the first for the women of his household and his young children, and the other for the business of state and the palace school. The first palace has disappeared, but the second, after much destruction and replacement, is still much as he planned it. Aya Sofia he took over as a principal house of Moslem worship. On the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles, ruined by time and earthquake, he built a mosque of his own. Earthquake again prevailed, and 200 years ago the building had to be replaced.

The cluster of ancillary buildings, the schools and libraries, kitchens and dormitories for students and strangers, and hospitals for the sick and the insane, has proved to be more durable than the main structure; most of them are standing, though used for changed purposes. At the supposed burial-place of Eyub, companion of the Prophet Mohammed, the Sultan erected a mosque, a part of which still stands. Mohammed gave some attention to the repair of existing buildings and of the city walls. But the place where his mighty cannon had reduced the walls to a ridge of stones was left unrestored.³

Constantinople had been declining in population for centuries, especially since the two destructive captures of the Fourth Crusade. On the eve of the siege it probably contained far fewer than 100,000 inhabitants. Of these not more than four or five thousand are believed to have perished. Some thousands were held to ransom or made slaves. But not many of them can have been carried away. The Conqueror was greatly concerned throughout his reign with repopulating the city. Not content with attracting the return of former inhabitants, and with encouraging the settlement of Turks, he brought in with more or less compulsion groups from many parts of his empire, especially from new conquests. A greatly increased population had been assembled by the end of his reign.

The centre of Mohammed's empire was thus made secure. How many great capitals in history have in any period of 465 years never once admitted a foreign victor? Perhaps only Rome, Kyoto, and London, besides Istanbul.

Mohammed's army was perhaps the best organised, the most flexible, and the most devoted and obedient of all the armies in the world of that day. Perhaps also in all these respects it was superior to the Turkish army at any previous or subsequent time. Its sturdy and invincible core was his personal army, containing some 10,000 Janissaries or regular infantry, and a similar number of Spahis of the Porte or household cavalry. Other elements which could either be assembled or be used separately were the feudal cavalry of Anatolia, the feudal cavalry of Rumelia, and the Akinji or irregular cavalry, a terrible body of advance guards or raiders. For the great campaigns the Azabs, or municipal and volunteer infantry, were also to be added. Contemporary estimates give him a maximum strength of 150,000 or more. Probably the most numerous force

³ Recently the loose stones have been cleared away and utilised in the foundation of a road, leaving standing the remaining portions of the shattered walls.

that he ever actually assembled was of about 80,000 for the campaign against Uzun Hassan in 1473. Two years later he was able to send a substantial army across the Black Sea in his own ships. In 1479 his general and admiral Gedik Ahmed landed a large expeditionary army in southern Italy.

But the times and the Turks were not adapted to such a conquering career—and complete collapse—as that of Timur before the time of Mohammed II, or Napoleon I later. His people were only in part nomadic, and therefore could not, like Timur, live entirely upon herds of animals. Nor did they move in rich and thickly-settled regions where, like Napoleon, they could live indefinitely off the country. The great army could be held together for a summer's campaign, but hardly longer. The cavalry subdivisions could sally forth on raids that were lucrative but also brief. Nor were the enemies of the Turks to be despised. Turkomans, Caramanians, and Persians of Asia could stand and give battle fiercely. Greeks, Serbs, Vlachs, and Bosnians, and particularly Hungarians and Albanians, under John Hunyady and Scanderbeg, could break up raids, sustain sieges, and advance in pitched battles. Mohammed did not suffer as many severe defeats as his enemies reported, but he or his generals were beaten on various occasions in Eastern Asia Minor, Wallachia, and Serbia. He failed at first to take Kroja and Jajce, and failed completely before Belgrade and Rhodes, which held out until the campaigns, 40 years after his death, of his great-grandson Suleiman. One of his most noteworthy characteristics was that, like the English people on many occasions, he obtained from defeat not discouragement, but only a more dogged resolution to win.

Nevertheless, the military success of Mohammed II, in addition to the capture of Constantinople, is not to be belittled. One does not need to agree fully with the traditional summary, that he took two empires, 12 kingdoms, and 400 cities. But the assured dominions of the star and crescent were much increased between his accession and his death. It is true that in many of his conquests his work was in lands previously subordinated, where he proceeded to extinguish a degree of local autonomy which he found troublesome and to replace it by direct administration. But he added: Trebizond, Caramania, and the lands between; Euboea, the Peloponnesus, Albania, and Croatia; Crimea, Lesbos, and Mitylene. In general, he left the Turkish power supreme in Asia Minor, and in the Balkan and Crimean peninsulas. In addition, he suggested the programme of his conquering successors, Selim I and Suleiman II,

for he threatened Persia, Egypt, Hungary, and Roumania. His design toward Italy did not appeal to his successors; never again did the Akinji raid as far as the Isonzo, nor did a Turkish army ever again lie two years in Otranto or any other Italian city. Secretive in his intentions, he left as a riddle without answer the destination of his campaign of 1481. But doubt can hardly exist that had he survived and enjoyed good health and average good fortune, he would in, say, 1484 or 1487 have transported the complete Turkish army to his bridgehead at Otranto, whence he might have reached Rome with little effective opposition. Hunyady, Scanderbeg, and Uzun Hassan were dead. Not yet were French, Spanish, or Austro-German armies ready to enter Italy in force. Turkish horses might indeed have been stabled, if not in St. Peter's, at any rate in the Eternal City.

Space is not now available for discussing at any length the influence of Mohammed II as a promoter and patron of trade and commerce, of useful and fine arts, and of culture and civilisation in general. In all these respects he was interested and active. But the times were less propitious in such directions than in military and governmental advances. The Byzantine civilisation had reached a low ebb through successive terrible shocks. The Turks were separated from the past of the lands in which they dwelt by the heavy curtains of differing language and religion, both of which were absent in contemporary Italy, where the Latin and Greek Revivals were well advanced. A slender bond between Mohammed and the personalities of the Italian Renaissance was created by the visit of Gentile Bellini. The Arabo-Persian culture had a more direct appeal to the youthful Ottoman Turkish people, through the tradition of seven centuries, embedded in education, law, religion, literature, and art. This outlook upon life made less appeal to Mohammed than to his successors down to Abdul Hamid II.⁴ The genuine old Turkish tradition was far away in space and time, and had for the most part to await the 20th century for adequate recognition and cultivation.

ALBERT H. LYBYER.

⁴ But the books which remain from his personal library are apparently all in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

LELEWEL AS HISTORIAN

IGNACE JOACHIM LELEWEL was born in 1786, the eldest of six children, of a father and mother who deserved well of posterity. Karol Lelewel, son of an immigrant from Prussia, had studied at Göttingen, and entered the Civil Service. From 1773 he served creditably as Treasurer of the National Commission of Education, having as life-partner a sister of the Catholic Bishop of Kiev. It is significant that both parents, in a time when it cost something, were ardent patriots; although, on the word of the historian, neither of them had in their veins a drop of Polish blood !

Joachim was fortunate in his upbringing. At fifteen he entered the Piarists' College in Warsaw, creation of "the wisest of all the Poles," Father Stanislas Konarski. Here he found just the thing he needed : not too much instruction, but rather encouragement and guidance. He was slowly introduced to the great world around him, whose past excited him from the outset. From school he went on to the newly reconstructed University of Wilno, which at that moment was entering on a whole generation of unusual distinction. The ageing Father Husarewski started him on riper historical studies; but it was the merit of the eminent Groddeck that he led young Lelewel into the grand literature of the classical age, notably to Homer. The boy soon showed promise of rare insight and energy, both in the acquiring of knowledge and in the uses of it for the helping of others.

Completing the courses required for the status of a teacher, Lelewel sought a post; or rather he accepted one offered him by the famous Czacki, who as inspector of schools had created a centre of culture of special interest in Krzemieniec in Podolia, far out on the Ukrainian border. But various considerations seem to have held him in uncertainty, and when he finally arrived there in the spring of 1809 the place was already taken. The result was a return to Warsaw, and the tenure of a desultory post in the Home Office. The important matter was that wherever Lelewel went his papers and books went with him; his interest in studies was unbroken. The years in Warsaw saw him welcomed as a guest, and later as a member of the Scientific Society, which had been made by men like Staszic and Albertrandi into a sort of Polish Academy. In 1814 he published a volume, *Notable Geographico-Historical Documents*, which at once attracted the attention of Sniadecki, Rector of the University of Wilno, and resulted forthwith in a call to the

department of History in that school. After three years he was again brought back to Warsaw, this time as Curator of the University Library at the side of the great Linde. By this time Lelewel was recognised as the first authority on all matters relating to books and their history in the nation, and it was during these years—in 1820—that he was awarded his Doctor's degree by the University of Cracow. By ancient usage, this event completed his admission into the ranks of the learned.

I

In 1821 the opportunity was given him for which he may have been hoping during many years. His own Alma Mater in Wilno was looking for a Professor of General History, and he was invited to submit a Dissertation on the theme set for candidates for the position. It was one that he had meditated very much, a theme that must have startled the uninitiated of those days, and which even today would be called "modern":

"History: its extent, its relations with the other branches of knowledge; together with the most desirable way of teaching and expounding it at the university."

Lelewel won the post with an essay which was really only a maturer version of a paper he had read at a student society a dozen years earlier, and which is fortunately preserved to us. He now entered on the three happiest years of his life. Throngs gathered to his lectures, among them the intelligentsia of the city. He was welcomed back by many who had known him before: one of them being the still unknown Adam Mickiewicz, whose *Ode to Lelewel* was read at the Inaugural Lecture and acclaimed as a document of value in its own right. The new professor had won fame already reaching beyond the frontiers of Poland. Both in Germany and in France the foundations were being laid in these years for the science of history as we know it; and Lelewel could rightly claim to be in the front rank of pioneers in this vitally important enterprise.

Unfortunately the satisfactions of his new position were to be of the briefest. As a part of the reaction engineered by Metternich, the heavy hand of Tsardom was settling down on everything in the Polish lands that savoured of national aspirations or independence. Now it was precisely in Wilno that the first-fruits of the Romantic Movement in literature and living had made themselves felt, not the least owing to the influence of Lelewel himself. In 1824, along with three colleagues, he was deprived of his *jus legendi*, and forced to retire into private life. Five years of research and writing followed,

partly in the capital but partly in the eastern borderlands. Then came a call to public office, and Lelewel became a Deputy in the Diet, representing Zelechów.

November, 1830, saw the outbreak of the fateful Insurrection, at once so glorious and so disastrous. Lelewel was called from the bedside of his dying father to become adviser to the insurgents, and from now on he was thought of by many as the national leader.

“The most popular man in the Kingdom,” says Feldman. “Learned, and more energetic and deserving than a whole college of teachers under other circumstances, he was built for research rather than for politics; and was endlessly acute in deciphering ancient documents, but less in reading men. He was too unfortunate in his outward appearance to be a tribune of the people; yet he was the living embodiment of what he put years later into a single sentence: ‘The heart is the last and only impregnable fortress of every nation.’”

It will be seen at once that the demands of a violent revolution were distasteful to him. His position was that of Minister of Education in the National Government, and in all councils of state he took a firm stand for two things: that Lithuania and Ruthenia should at all costs be drawn into the common struggle with the tyranny of Tsardom, and that the emancipation of the serfs should be publicly acclaimed as a part of the Rising. In other words, he wanted not only national but also social revolution. It is a matter of history how the undertaking ended in tragedy, and how Lelewel and so many of his gallant comrades, were forced into exile in the autumn of 1831. Leaving family, friends, books and documents, he found safety in flight, and a refuge in far-away France.

As the foremost champion of what was called Polish “democracy,” he was welcomed in Paris and became Chairman of the National Committee. Here he carried an enormous burden of work, but soon saw that the odds against him were too strong. Both within the camp of the emigrés and in the outside world, everything was feared which savoured of radicalism, of “the Left.” Because of an appeal to the Russian people over the head of the Tsar and his advisers, Lelewel had to leave the French capital. He found shelter at LaGrange, the country-house of Lafayette, in whom he discerned a kindred spirit. Not for long, however; and in September, 1833, the hunted patriot and historian found a final retreat in the capital of the newly-created Belgium.

The brief stay in Paris had been a time of mingled hopes and disappointments, and not for Lelewel alone. Neither the aristocratic group, gathered at the Hotel Lambert around the illustrious figure of Prince Czartoryski, nor the Democrats themselves really trusted him. "All of them," says Feldman, "wanted political advantage; Lelewel wanted the truth. They stood for material interests, he for ideals. As a result of this, detached from the passions and tendencies of the hour, Lelewel has come down in memory as the master of republican leadership, as the true Polish saint." He found his fellows lacking in two essentials: real faith in their cause, and the resolve to help themselves. They were too eager to seek assistance from strangers, and it was this that drove the historian to despair.

"Woe to that people," he wrote, "which raises itself by the help of others! Such a nation will never be free. Experience has shown that counting on diplomacy to help kills every move. Such material is poor stuff to build with. From it can arise at best a Duchy of Warsaw, or a 'Kingdom', . . . clay structures, which rain and sleet will suffice to wash away."

On these lines he had appealed to various subject-nations of that time—to Finns, Italians, Hungarians, even Germans. To the last-named he wrote a letter, addressed to the Congress that met in Hambach Castle in May, 1832:

"One way is left for you to travel. It is that of the political union of Germany, which should be realised by the joining into one body of the brother-stocks of a great nation."

This challenge, pointing directly to the effort of 1848, sounds significant in our own times. Curiously enough, it was Lelewel who reminded the German people of their need of "being separated from Tsarist Russia by a democratic Poland."

In Brussels the tired spirit found at least security, though at the price of fearful losses. He also found a growing circle of admirers and friends. For a generation he lived the life of a hermit in a room over the *Estaminet de Varsovie*, refusing every offer of material assistance, and devoting his strength to one or another branch of the learning he held so dear. It is no wonder that the best account of his life and work, accessible to the student in the west of Europe, is that given by the *Biographie Nationale Belgique*. What is more, the first move duly to honour his name in 1936 came from the land of his adoption and not from that of his birth. Here he is acclaimed

as the founder of the *Société numismatique belge*, of which he was the first Honorary President. Two medals were struck in recognition of his work, in 1847 and in 1858: the former of them the work of David himself. On the second was inscribed this eloquent tribute:

Inter eruditissimos orbis terrarum principi !

The end came in 1861. Knowing of his weakness of body, friends at last prevailed on him to allow himself to be moved to a nursing home in Paris. He lived only a few days, before dying in his sleep. His funeral on Montmartre saw all nations, and parties, and creeds gathered to do him honour. Already in 1853 he had made a last will and testament, of which two items are significant. He wished to be buried "sans aucune pompe, sans aucune ceremonie, sans dépense inutile." Further, he desired that his books and papers be returned to his native university in Wilno, "as soon as it shall again be a Polish institution." This wish was at last fulfilled in 1926, and the visitor can now see the fine Sala Lelewela, in which are gathered many and interesting souvenirs of the greatest of Wilno's students and professors.

II

Lelewel was born into the generation that saw the storm of revolution break over western Europe. His elders had been brought up in the age of Pope, of Leibniz, and of the younger Goethe. All of them were people who declared that things were going well in the best of worlds. Rationalism might poke fun at the existing order, but it was always there to defend it. Then came a mighty change—heralded, among others, by Rousseau. Generations followed in which everything was felt to be wrong, and to need setting right. It was here that Lelewel belonged, as citizen, as historian, as thinker. What has been called today "the revolt of the masses" was already on the way. Scientific invention and discovery were changing the face of things while the nations fought Napoleon; and within a few years of his death steam had made itself master of the world. No less significant was the beginning of popular education, and the claim of the masses to the franchise. Finally, the legacy of the Revolution was felt no less strongly in the field of belief. The same people who denounced thrones as symbols of oppression objected to altars: the Church was seen as a hindrance rather than a help to progress, and the trend toward secularisation was established.

It is not surprising that such a time of unrest should have driven people to a study of the past; and that out of these years came the

beginnings of history as a science. What had been either simply annals and narrative, or on the other hand—as in the case of Gibbon—an instrument to prove a formidable thesis, now developed astonishing powers, extending its interests into every area of thought and action. Of all this Lelewel was a great part. He might have been just a professor, and nothing more. Such a life has its merits; nevertheless learning is not an end in itself. Life is more than contemplation. For reasons that often cause sorrow, it compels to action, and to passion—in the generic sense of the word. Toil and trouble become the lot of many; forced out of the study into the heat of the market-place. It was inevitable that Lelewel should be drawn into the drama being played out around him: his thinking was of the kind that must find expression in action.

To write of this would demand a volume. A many-sided life offers a variety of themes for discussion, a host of problems for solution. In Lelewel's case there is the personal one—Was he a Catholic, a believer, or not? There is his civic, or political, *credo*: Was he a Jacobin, a “Red,” or was he simply a radical Liberal? Again there is the whole range of questions dealing with ways and means: Should one seek national and social emancipation by force of arms, or only by peaceful change? And so one might go on. The purpose of this paper is more modest. In the space remaining, we shall study Lelewel the Historian; hoping only to get nearer to his ideas about the methods and purpose of historical writing, and to place him fairly in the galaxy of those who can claim to be called the Founding Fathers of Historical Studies.

We have seen already how, in the whole realm of intellectual pursuits, the boy was father of the man. Already at school he amazed his teachers by the range of his interests and ambitions. Very early he discovered, so he tells us in a document published when he was over seventy, that the only things one really acquires are those one gets for oneself. “The teacher can only provide the raw materials of knowledge”; this was his way of putting it. At the age of ten he devoured an encyclopedia that came into his hands; and then set about adding to it things he knew but could not find there. At fifteen he came on a French edition of Dr. Blair's famous *Chronology*, and saw how incomplete it was in respect of Polish affairs. He at once set about filling in the gaps. At fourteen he had made plans of Batory's siege of Pskov in 1581. All this was the fruit of what he liked to call *studium privatum*; and when he went to the university in 1804 he carried this passion with him. At once the problems connected with methodology intrigued him, and

his first formula in this regard was taken from a French source : " If you want to study a subject properly, write a book about it ! " This precept was to remain with him through life ; and it accounts in large part for his astounding industry and productivity.

I have suggested that the unrest of those times was driving people in every part of Europe to examine the past. There is no doubt that just here we have one of the major reasons for the re-birth (if not the birth !) of historical science in Europe in the early years of the 19th century. But there is another. As Gooch has pointed out in the Introduction to his classical *History and Historians*, the bringing in of history as a subject to be taught into the schools and universities changed in a generation the whole face of things. Charles Rollin had long ago declared that it was " a disgrace " for Frenchmen to ignore their own history, and D'Alembert seconded him later on. Yet little was done till after the turn of the century ; and it was the awakening in the German world after Jena that brought things to a head. The year 1810 saw the first courses given in the new University of Berlin, by Niebuhr—the theme was Roman History. The same year saw the appearance in the same university-halls of Wolf's distinguished pupil, August Boeckh : who was to lead the way for half a century in reconstructing the past as something to be learned from. It was Boeckh's achievement to relate philology to history, and to seek in the two the understanding of all that men thought and did in antiquity. Chronology, politics, trade and industry, science and invention, took their place alongside of letters and philosophy. His *Public Economy of Athens* marked a new era in our understanding of the classical world ; and with other kindred works there came a new phase of the writing and appreciation of history.

These facts are relevant to our present study. They show how contemporaneous were the ventures of Lelewel in Poland ; how rightly, and how early, he had sensed the spirit of the age in demanding for history a range of interests hitherto unsounded in the country ; and for the historian an equipment in the way of learning as yet undreamed of. It is true that he only began to teach in 1815 ; but already as a student he had been an active worker in the organisation which was later to become so famous, the Philomathians ; and about 1807 he read a paper there which foreshadowed the main ideas of his later work. As noted above, they went into his *Historyka*, published in Wilno in 1815, and were then used in an amended form for his Dissertation of 1821. A critic has dared to call it " the first essay of its kind in the record of historical studies." Be that as it

may, we know that before 1810 he had not hesitated--again at a student meeting, to rate all the work of previous Polish historians, even of Naruszewicz, as of small value, until the task had been accomplished of collating and publishing the source materials. In a somewhat poetical mood, he wrote :

“ Our country has been until now enclosed as if in a tomb. Let us clear away the shrubbery that obscures the spot ! Let us clean out the layers of earth ; let us break into the mausoleum, and revive the ashes of our Mother who lies there ! ”

This challenge was made to himself quite as much as to others, and in fact became the programme of his life-work. The contribution he lived to make, in spite of all obstacles, can be roughly divided as follows :

(i) He sought a history, not of rulers and their doings but of peoples and their work ; not of wars so much as of peace ; not of politics as such, but of all that goes to make up the common life.

(ii) He wanted not merely a narrative of events, but also the unfolding and play of forces ; not a registering of facts, but rather a revealing of the relationships between those facts.

(iii) He resolved to lay under contribution the raw materials of every kind furnished by unwritten quite as much as by written sources : the data of archæology, of ethnology, of geography, of numismatics, architecture and its subsidiary arts ; without of course neglecting for a moment folk-lore, song, legend and tradition or the monuments of language and literature.

So accustomed have we become to the use of all these materials that the recording of them seems a common-place. It is hard to realise what a revolution this sort of thing meant a century and more ago, and what a storm of opposition resulted. How right Lelewel was could be seen when, in 1828, he ventured to put his principles into practice for the average man. His *History of Poland, Told by an Uncle for his Nephews*, while slight in dimensions, fulfils just the requirements described above. It falls into four periods, with an introduction called “ Uncertain Tradition.” At every turn we are introduced to the way people lived. There are sections on migrations, on settlement, on trade and industry and agriculture, on food, clothing and travel, on education and invention, on religion and its functions, on the administration of justice, on class differences, and on such matters as the clash between private and public interests. All this in a story of Poland, told for youth !

III

Nothing is clearer than that Lelewel, the historian, took his calling very seriously indeed, not only in theory but also in practice. We must now turn to examine more closely the contention that he may lay claim to a place among the pioneers of the art and science of history, as we know it today. The grounds on which the claim may be established can be found in various papers written between 1807 and 1826; in other words in the second twenty years of his life. We have first the student essay which, when revised, was published in Wilno in 1815 as *The Art of History*. Then comes a lecture delivered in Wilno in 1816, *The Easy and Useful Teaching of History*, to be followed soon by two papers published in the Wilno Weekly: (i) *On the need of a thorough knowledge of history, and on what this thoroughness depends*, and (ii) *What kind of person must a historian be?* Finally, we have a pamphlet written for the use of his students in 1822, *Helps to the Knowledge of Historical Sources*, and a revised form of the same that appeared four years later in Warsaw: *History: its Branches, and the Sciences Connected with it*. We shall confine ourselves at present chiefly to two of these documents.

The Art of History, says Lelewel, has three divisions: Criticism, Etiologic and Historiography. The first finds out for us what happened, the second seeks to discover why things happened, while the third is concerned with the manner of telling the tale. As helps in the search for what happened we have oral tradition, "dumb" monuments and written ones. The nearer in time the sources are to the events, the better. One should learn to use them in such a way that one becomes a witness of what took place. The test of the historian's worth will be his skill in determining the measure of reliability of his sources. Turning to the search for cause and effect in history, we enter a wide field in which the factors known as the physical environment come first. Place will always have more bearing than time, since over the latter, man has more control. (For Lelewel historical "time" is a relative thing—a very modern concept indeed.) The greatest creative factor in history is man himself; whose actions and reactions will be of one kind, if he is free, but of another if he is a slave. Man is always found as a member of a group, which again breeds causalities. Groups are of various kinds, the largest being the nation. In regard to this it is a matter of prime importance that we distinguish between the organisation for authority, i.e. power (the state), and the organisation of society as such. In this field the various kinds of control make their appearance: the end-purpose of them is security for the group;

but in all these relationships every kind of extreme is ruinous. A balance of controls and liberties is the only way to health in the social order, and so to happiness for the individual. Observing the working of these forces, the historian should never forget one other thing : no cause is ever operative singly and alone, but rather in conjunction with many others. This will make us chary of judgments.

With regard to the writing of history, Lelewel has many wise counsels. First that no one should think it easy, it only for the wealth of materials which the writer must command. Further, one should set loyalty to the truth as the highest of assets, as something that can teach and can speak to the heart of the reader. Finally, the historian will hide himself behind his subject : aiming to open up for others a broad outlook—a horizon, through which what is called a synthesis can be found.

So much for *Historyka*. Passing now to the second of the two articles published in the *Wilno Weekly*, we find that very serious demands are made here on all who court the Muse of History. Just because of the awakening of interest in the past, the task of the historian will be severer today than ever before. Expert knowledge is only the first of a long series of *desiderata*. In order to write well on any people at any given time, one must know all peoples and all times. What is harder, one must not only see the trees, but realise that together they make a wood. To a knowledge of the sources, then, must be added the gifts of a philosopher ; since only he can bring the sense of values and of ultimate unity, without which history is a sorry product. Finally, the historian must understand what the social order means, subject as it is to constant change, and revealing, as it does, so many sides to the investigator.

“ The history of mankind exhibits an unexhausted ocean, whose depths can never be finally plumbed. To digest history in its fulness is a task no man can achieve. Even a part of it, if made the concern of the student and writer, will demand all his diligence. The trouble that must be taken to do even this will alarm more than one of us.”

No less daring are Lelewel's comments on the external circumstances indispensable to the writing of history :

“ A hundred generations of human experience have taught us that history is seen in its splendour, and genuine historians appear, only where independence and a matured political sense elevate the nation ; only where liberties are most widely

enjoyed, where flourish healthy virtues and public spirit is enthroned in stable government. There the historian can feel at home, since there historical dignity and fairness can most readily live."

It is true that man cannot wholly free himself from his surroundings, nor is this desirable. Politics, religion, personal connections—all these help to make man what he is. For just this reason the historian cannot live by, nor write mere generalities, nor need he. Rather should he face boldly the demands of *hic et nunc*. The charge of partisanship will always be risked; and even a small dose of this can do much harm. Which only helps to prove his conclusion:

"Heavy is the task of the historian, and of those who essay the path very few reach the top of the hill."

IV

The inference is clear that Lelewel was the herald of many new ideas in the world of Polish historians—where did he get them? This question is a fair one, is indeed unavoidable, if we are to come any nearer to an account of the development and growth of historical science in the modern age. But it is not so easily answered, either in the present case or, indeed, anywhere. The food taken by the body makes it what it is, though the same food produces different kinds of tissue in different organisms. So too the *pabulum* enjoyed by the mind shapes greatly the resultant thinking; but the possibilities of "new things" are infinitely greater in the realm of the unseen. The mind and the spirit have powers of transforming what is set before them far greater than the physical organism. So that we can call mental and spiritual *pabulum* a stimulus, rather than a food. And of this stimulus, no one can foresee the response. Many borrowers simply reproduce, which means imitation and little more. Others reconstruct, and transform. Yet again others create "a new thing":

"not a fourth sound, but a star."

Where must we put Lelewel? How far was he the one or the other of the foregoing? Was he not all of them by turns, and all the time?

Certainly he received many lessons from his own Polish predecessors: both as to what should be done, and what avoided. His strictures on Naruszewicz made him suspect even among the members of the Warsaw Scientific Society. Reversely, he was undoubtedly in great debt to Staszic, and still more to Kottłatay—two of the masters of the Enlightenment in Poland, radical in their

thinking, and courageous in their attack on the obscurantism of the day. Both were priests, but they had left theology for the social sciences and for public service: Koffatay to rehabilitate the moribund University of Cracow, and to rally the group in the "Forge," whose work was to make the Constitution of May, 1791, possible. But Koffatay must be remembered as the first Polish physiocrat, the pioneer of the view that the world we live in is the most important conditioning factor of the life we live.

Naruszewicz had maintained that "the example set by our forefathers cannot teach us anything." This view was to be rejected by the new trend, and Lelewel held with the latter. Social science is only a possibility on the assumption that the lessons of the past have some value for the present, indeed that from history we can learn more things of use to us than in any other way. Small wonder that the crowned heads who still held to the weaknesses of the Bourbons—neither learning anything nor forgetting anything—were hostile to all who stood for the new ideas.

What Staszic and Koffatay set down in theory, Lelewel set himself to realise in practice. From his first studies in the origins of the social order in northern and eastern Europe, through his researches into the early history of his own land, in his collecting of the folk-tales and songs of Scandinavians and Slavs, to say nothing of his thorough work on the chronology of the Mediterranean lands, his starting point was the same. So were the ends he had in view. Nor did they change as he began to concentrate more on particular periods and problems of Polish history; or to set forth the wealth of interests associated with the uses of books and their story. When the break of the Insurrection came, he was robbed for years of his books and papers, but he recovered most of them in time: and after 1840 he began to publish in a connected series what came to be an encyclopedia of Polish historical and cultural studies—the first of its kind.

So far as I know, there has been no effort made as yet to establish from whom Lelewel drew his chief inspiration in regard to his theory of history. One suggestion has been made, and on this I venture to comment. Krzeminski has mentioned the German writers, Wachsmuth and Rühls, as probable sources of ideas and methodology. From the former he is not likely to have got much, unless in private correspondence (and of this we have no record); if only because the essay by which Wachsmuth is best known, *Entwurf einer Theorie der Geschichte*, did not appear before 1816, by which time Lelewel had matured his own views. The case of

Christian Fr. Rühs is different. It is an odd thing that the direction of the two men's lives had a good deal of similarity. At twenty Rühs was already publishing materials on Scandinavian history; and in 1803 came his *History of Sweden*, whose critical worth far surpassed anything done before. Curiously enough he, too, served for years as university librarian, just as Lelewel did. Now it would be surprising if the Polish student did not use his elder German colleague's work, in his own researches into Scandinavian matters; and this alone would suffice to prepare him for the *Entwurf einer Propädeutik des historischen Studiums*, which appeared in 1811.

This "Sketch," apart from a short introduction, falls into three parts; and could suggest not a few things to be found in the *Historyka*. We have, in the first place, brought to our attention, "Helps" to historical writing, namely: Language, Philosophy and Political Science. Then come "Foundations," that is, Chronology, Geography, Ethnology, Genealogy, and Heraldics; after which we have a discussion of "Research Materials," such as Numismatics, Epigraphy and Diplomacy. The book concludes with a short chapter on "the Art of History." Setting the essay of the younger Pole beside that of his German colleague, one finds the latter fuller, with more illustrative material; but the *Historyka* is logically more of a unit. Many of the points made are common to both, and the end in view is the same.

How much Lelewel owed to Rühs is a matter no one can decide. A likely surmise would be this: put in colloquial terms, the new approach to historical study and writing, with all that it involved, was "in the air," while these men were maturing their powers. Both of them had ears sensitive enough to catch it, and minds keen enough to develop it for their own ends. Thanks to this Lelewel went from one triumph to another.

No other word is possible. The very propositions that got him into trouble with the existing order and made him suspect to all conservatives, were to ensure his claim to greatness. He ventured the view that to history belongs "everything that happens in space and time." He dared to forestall the materialistic interpretation of history which was already then in embryo, holding that man himself is the prime creative factor in events. Finally he held that "whoever wants to meet worthily the high destiny of his race, and in any degree to investigate nature and mankind, must seek his guide in history. He must become a 'shareholder' of historical truths, and accept them with enthusiasm." It was his good fortune, both as a teacher and as a writer of books, to realise in practice his own

high preaching. One can only conjecture what might have been, had his career not been so rudely broken; had he been able to enjoy even half the measure of years that came to so many French, German or English teachers in the 19th century. He would undoubtedly have become a political and scientific power in Central Europe transcending anyone else—perhaps even Palacky.

Not that he cared about fame, or was attracted by the idols of the market-place. When drawn into public service, he showed no enthusiasm for its methods, and little for its purposes. "Science has been the occupation of my whole life," he said in his maturity. "She is my second mother-land. If I have done any service to my country, it has been nowhere else save in the realm of science alone." Here, however, his deserts were immense. The Belgian investigators, Picque and Van Bemmél, who prepared a survey of Lelewel's work after his death, were amazed at what they found. "No historian, no man of learning, has ever produced so many useful works." Of his versatility they had the same high estimate. "It seemed as though the whole world was known to him."

Those who had watched him in Wilno half a century before these words were written, had dared to foresee something of this sort. Word of the young man's promise reached Prince Adam Czartoryski, unquestionably the greatest figure in the public life of those years. The Prince acted at once, and sought to draw Lelewel from his studies of ancient and remote things, so that he might concentrate on the history of his own people. "We have had many chroniclers," he wrote, "but we cannot claim the honour of having a single historian. You, then, can be the first of this category, and may become a model for all who will follow." His wishes were not realised as he had hoped they would be; and yet Lelewel did become in time all that Czartoryski desired. The storm that broke over Poland a score of years later wrecked many hopes, and put off the realisation of many aspirations for a generation, even for a century. The "re-birth" of Polish historical science came in part in the sixties in Cracow, in part a generation later in Lwow; but in its fulness it is only realisable under the conditions of freedom achieved since the world war. So, then, those of our own time, whom the Muse of History has chosen as her worshippers, can scarcely do better than set the ideas and ideals of Lelewel before them: whether as set down in the *Historyka*, the work of his youth, or realised in the eighteen volumes of collected "res polonicae" which crowned his old age.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

THE POLISH NOVEL OF TODAY

THE Polish novel of today presents one peculiar aspect. It differs from that of the previous period in having a flair for modernism and photographic naturalism; and it keeps to the traditional Polish "line" in its didactic tendency which does not admit of *l'art pour l'art* in literature. The psychology of the characters is everywhere quite meagre and simple, save in certain outstanding works. Only rarely does the action leave the national frame in spite of frequent cosmopolitan digressions. The conventional characters possess an infinity of small qualities modelled on living figures, but the truly Polish nature of the landscape, the people and the events, have nothing in them either of chauvinism or of an intentional pandering to the public taste. They reveal, rather, a certain inborn incapacity to see things from any other than a national angle. The borrowings from abroad, such as the putting of the hero into surroundings unusual or exotic, the use of French, English or German jargon to spice the conversations (I know scarcely a story which is free from admixtures of other tongues, or where these conform to the rules of grammar and orthography)—these foreign accessories, if I may use the term, testify to the goodwill and the interest shown, in theory, both by authors and readers, in regard to other peoples.

The egocentric spirit even of the best writers, is universal. Leaving on one side deceased authors like Zeromski, Sienkiewicz or Prus, as well as the popular writers with their inclination to centre the action around a Polish hero—e.g. Ossendowski, known for his real or imagined travels, or Marczynski, the author of exciting detective stories—I could name only two works of real skill, both of them dealing with the Crusades. Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz and Zofia Kossack-Szczucka discover Poles to us, not only taking part in that grand religious pageant and tragedy, but even as the chief actors in places where in fact they never appeared at all.

The Red Shields of Iwaszkiewicz recounts the exploits of Duke Henry of Sandomierz, a Polish nobleman of the 12th century. But we do not trust the authenticity of the portrait, which is too full of confusions of time and of place. This Piast of the Middle Ages is more like a Pilsudskist Colonel, fighting in Palestine, who is finally forced to give up his Jewish paramours out of regard for the anti-Semitic feelings found even in government circles. What is more, there are in this pseudo-historical novel well-camouflaged attacks on clericalism. In short, while reading the story in serial form in the

Gazeta Polska, one often wondered whether the life and views of the good Prince might not well have found a place in the editorial columns, where the unities of time and place would have been better observed. All the same we want to be fair to the qualities of style and the gifts of description of Iwaszkiewicz, an eminent lyric poet, and a fine story-teller, so long as he keeps to the things of his own day.

In the four large volumes of *The Crusaders*, Zofia Kossak-Szczucka portrays the deeds of the liberators of the Holy Sepulchre with a knowledge and a verve as brilliant as the æstheticism of Iwaszkiewicz is dull. She leads us into the past with an unconquerable humour and charm, and succeeds in moving us by scenes horribly faithful to the sad truth of history. She knows her sources, and is herself intoxicated by them. She imparts to us the kind of visionary trance which the secret of the past ages has revealed to her. This fine panorama of the *Gesta dei per Francos*, this superb film of well-chosen episodes, this unforgettable gallery of figures, tender and cruel, gracious and crude, sins by one defeat—the very one noted at the outset. In the midst of a world that has been wondrously called to life by the author's pen, there suddenly emerges a *deus ex machina*, rising as a nefarious idol to destroy our illusions—the eternal Pole.

These two works represent everything of real note achieved by the Polish historical novel during two years. How far we are already from the age in which history ruled in the novel—from Kraszewski and Sienkiewicz, or even from Zeromski and Reymont !

I could not number among successful efforts the learned reconstruction of the past attempted by Anna Ludwika Czerny—poetess and happy translator of the French Symbolists. The “doings” of the Vojevode, *William the Hook-nose*, sung in archaic Polish—a language that was dead before it ever lived—are only a fearfully learned “play” of a rarely learned woman. On the other hand, the touching story of the ups and downs of the Polish national mind, sung by Julian Woloszynowski (the book has the pretentious title *It Happened Thus*), might stir the patriotism of young graduates; but it swarms with oversights and errors, and is obviously written with the sole aim of making converge on the person of Marshal Pilsudski all the grandeurs of Polish history. It belongs doubtless to prose but can only be described as a regrettable aberration of a truly gifted writer, enslaved, alas, by his own bad methods of composition. We prefer the gentle and innocent *Evenings under*

the Lime Trees, from which four generations of children got their first knowledge of the national past.

A cross between an historical novel and a contemporary chronicle, stories set in the immediate pre-war years, occupy a major place in the Polish novel-writing of today. They often hover between narratives of youthful recollections, and political or sociological pamphlets. In any case they move us by their tone of sincerity and truthfulness, which ennoble even books as mediocre, from the psychological point of view, as *The Smuszek Family* by Jerzy Kosowski (we owe to this unequal author some of the best of war stories); or *The Soul of the Home* by Wanda Miłaszewska, who is a sort of Polish Ouida. This same sincerity and honesty we are glad to ascribe to the aims of Emil Zegadłowicz. This has caused him to write an unfortunate sequel to his beautiful and poetic, if rather artificial, *Life of Nicholas Srebrenpisany*. The case of this kindly idealist, whom personal experiences and his false friends, the one sorry as the other, have placed in a situation without escape, is that of the fall of a fairly aged angel, seduced by children of the 20th century, and is revealed in a book worthy of its title—*Nightmares*. Imagine Francois Jammes composing according to the precepts of Joseph Delteil. Add the Bolshevism of a converted anarchist-individualist, the anti-clericalism of a destitute teacher, and the naive satisfaction of calling a cat a tom-cat, a young girl a whore, society filth, and life a confused sequence of obscene gestures! Yet, after all, these by no means new elements—pornography for bad little boys and good little street girls—there remains the individuality of Zegadłowicz, hermit of Gorzen Gorny: and the frenzy of demonstrating by these refuse-heaps the non-conformity of his religious, political and philosophical opinions; which—to judge by his previous work, could have seemed traditional and acceptable to the men of the Church, the Robe and the Sword. Be that as it may, these exhibitionist confessions of a traveller from the earth of Galicia to the moon of poetry do not seem to us to be all too Catholic. Nevertheless, in spite of the loud cries of those same vergers who have driven Zegadłowicz out of heaven and into the hell where he is languishing at the moment, I continue to see in this suddenly bedevilled poet a fine fellow, who has just become worried by the misfortunes of certain by no means model young ladies.

The same subject which attracted Zegadłowicz and Kosowski has also inspired the novel *The Heavens in Flames* by the impassioned Hellenist, Jan Parandowski. The style and workmanship of the volume are perfect, like everything that this author publishes.

I note a lovely Greek Mythology, a fascinating Life of Oscar Wilde and a tale of ancient days, *The Olympian Discus*. The thing we should not agree with is the life-philosophy of Parandowski or of his hero, the high-school boy from Galicia, and of the gallant positivist professor who resembles Flaubert's M. Hommais.

We do not think that the agnosticism of a Renan or an Anatole France sums up the final aspirations of our mystical and anti-rationalist age.

Dare I prefer to the three books mentioned, the brilliant first volume of a trilogy, *The Krauses and Others*, of Herminja Naglerowa? I dare, at the risk of wounding the followers of the didactic novel: for the kaleidoscope here offered, without *arrière pensée* or philosophical musings, more nearly meets artistic demands and historical exactitude. Having studied at close quarters the materials chosen by the author, I can gladly vouch for the authenticity of the whole atmosphere; in which, in the years following Solferino and Sadowa, the family history of the Krauses and their like is unrolled for us. One goes for walks in this delightful *piccolo mondo antico*, which carries on the comedies of Fredro and Bałucki, the satires of Dunin-Borkowski, the tales of Lam, the historical miniatures of Lozinski and Chledowski, and the poetry of Maryla Wolska; not to forget the letters of Smolka or Grottger, or the reviews of the day—from the *Rozmaitości* to the *Dziennik Literacki*. It is the Polish Post-Bidermeier time, which lives again in this charming book.

Nearer to us, and yet at first sight separated by the abyss of present-day Poland, the Galicia of 1914 provides a Marxian novelist of great talent, Leon Kruczkowski, with a pretext for bitter attacks on the parish priests who exploit the superstitions of the poor, and on the demagogues—not the socialist ones!—who win their careers at the expense of simple folk. The simple plot, of which the congenial protagonists are poor little Peter—alas, how the flowers of his time have lost their sweet perfume!—the socialist daughter of a landed proprietor, and the teacher Dutkiewicz, is sown with episodes of a hateful clearness, and is set forth with cutting humour. (The session of the municipal council, the elections, or the dealing out of popular justice that recalls a famous chapter in Reymont's *The Peasants*.) Fragments of articles and of case-hearings in the text resemble in an amusing way the sort of thing one read in the weekly *Piast* before the war, and look very like authenticated official documents. But the satire of Kruczkowski stops here, where the agrarian radicals on the outside-left of the bourgeoisie are rapidly

passing towards the clerical Centre and the conservative Right. It does not see the numberless amusing qualities of the Galician Socialists led by the mellifluous Daszyński, or by the various Blums, called Diamand, Liebermann, etc. For this reason this book, at once sad and amusing, which has borrowed its title from the famous drama of Wyspiński *The Wedding*, remains a clever but partisan fantasy.

One gets here, however, a taste of Attic Salt which is quite lacking in another prose epic of the Great War, *Salt of the Earth*, the work of Jozef Wittlin, translator of the *Odyssey*, and dilettante Hellenist. The fire is Homer's, but only Thersites is present in this tale: a Thersites who has not a penny-worth of malice in him. A certain Piotr Niewiadomski, unlettered porter at a railway station in the Carpathians, is torn from his affection for his task, his dog, his cabin, his native village, and the object of his illegitimate passion, by the mobilisation orders, brought to him by the gendarme in 1914. *Piotre s'en va-t-en-guerre*, like Marlborough. He knows not when he will come back, nor for that matter does he care, since it is the Princess who will pay the bill. The Princess is the royal and imperial Treasury, which ensures a living for the station-master, the gendarme, the doctor-major Jellinek—the titled "provider" for the human cattle, for sergeant Bachmatjuk, and lieutenant-colonel Leithuber—all of them cogs in the same infernal machine, the State. The good folk are at the mercy of these larger and smaller masters, all pitiless. Piotr is taken in the usual open goods-truck (six horses and forty men!) to his regimental-base, and from thence, after proper drilling, to the front. The pretence at humane treatment, the blind doctrinaireism, and the total senselessness of everything that is honour, or courage, or military tradition, do not hinder the author, a writer of note, from giving us a telling picture. The early days of the Great War pass before our eyes as if they were yesterday. The Leithubers and the Bachmatjuks are, each and all, modelled on the one-time higher officer and N.C.O. of the Austro-Hungarian army. We ought only to exclude from our praises the prologue in the Hofburg. Neither Franz Josef nor his paladins were the band of stupid criminals or the idiotic dandies painted by Wittlin.

Wanda Wasilewska uses similar methods in two books, pleasing for their naive freedom and attractive for the gifts they display. *Motherland*, a title half-pitying, half ironical, shows compassion for the proletariat exposed to the disgraces of the bourgeois during the troubles of 1905. *The Face of the Day* draws with hate the picture

of our time, and a fantastic sketch of an egalitarian Heaven in the future. On the other side of the barricade, Zygmunt Kisielewski, formerly an adherent of Marx but now a champion of the national Right, finds in *November Days* a pretext for glorifying the energy of the first soldiers of the new Poland. Without too good a psychology or fidelity to the facts, he handles the conflict between honour and love: between *Love and the Cause*, to use the words of the title of a story by Wiesław Wohnout. This young and very gifted author does not belong to the opposition parties. He is Piłsudskist, and follows in the path of Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski, grand pontiff of official literature, master of contemporary romance, fanatical follower of the deceased Marshal, and sworn enemy of all political camps save that of the régime.

The internal struggles in Poland and its social problems furnish material for a romantic bit of reporting in a book by Władysław Jan Grabski. They are seen from the nationalist point of view—Jews and those friendly to them are not protected; yet his little book *Deceit* is the work of a sincere enthusiast, and a writer of undoubted talent. When two do the same thing, it is not the same. For this reason, then, the formless drum-beating of ill-digested political phrases and sentimental dulness handed to us by Janusz Rabski in *Alma Mater* does no service to the ideas he wants to defend.

The structure of Jan Wiktor's *Ploughing on Fallow* is certainly in no way superior to that of *Alma Mater*. The colours are of the same crying intensity, with red dominating the rest. I should not be surprised to learn that the writer, a Catholic by reputation, had suddenly gone the way of Zegadłowicz and was betraying a faith that has always been Communist. Meanwhile, he tells us for the fifth time that the misery of the peasants is endless, that they suffer from moral and intellectual as well as from material poverty. They drive out their parents as soon as these are too old to defend themselves. They beat their wives, while keeping their liberty to unite with them both before and after the blows and the wounds. The children are only paying back what they had inflicted on them beforehand; and in the main they are the best sons and daughters in the world! Exceptions only prove the rule: standing out by means of their heretical attitudes, in the fashion of Anzengruber's "Wurzelsepp," or of the immortal Vicar of Savoy. The various modes do not end here. One time it is Zola's, another Reymont's, and yet again that of Zegadłowicz or Orkan. These three writers on the Polish peasant have inspired the whole structure and not a few episodes in Wiktor's book. But his central *motif*, the choice of

a woman-teacher, persecuted by the authorities although devoted to the masses, has been borrowed by another book, recently "crowned" by other higher authorities—*The 'Flu Rages in Naprawa*.

The author of this story, Jalu Kurek, in no way sins by too much originality. He has had to defend himself against the charge of plagiarising foreign masters in one of his earlier books. For years he has imitated different writers—cubist and futurist—before combining lyric poetry with the lessons of geographical civics. Kurek has the high gift of sociological truth-telling, neither more nor less. In giving him the Grand Prix for junior writers, the Polish Academy would not have deceived itself, if it had not meant, or pretended, to be honouring a work of artistic creativeness by so doing. Well, the reporting of the troubles of which the village and district of Naprawa were the scene in 1933, does not belong to literature in the strict sense of the term. It is the plaint of a people, devoid of balance, of taste or of style. The characters are disarming in their simplicity, the contents resolve themselves into a record of the acts of physical man, and are relieved only by romanticism of a rather low sort. In Kurek's book, in order to be an angel, it is enough to be a tramp, a street-girl, or a small-town official—it all amounts to the same in respect of one's purse. You are not a man till you are a dull peasant; and you can only die in the odour of sanctity if you are a woman-teacher. These latter, serving in the common schools, have taken the place, both in literature and politics, formerly held by the poets. They are the advance pickets of the revolution, the carriers of the sacred fire, the champions of free thinking. They live on dreams, since they have nothing more substantial to nourish their frames.

A second such piece of journalism, *The Waters Rise*, gives Kurek a chance to take this privilege from the teachers in favour of a young cadet. This hero, resembling mightily M. Rabevel in the Ministry (in G. A. Masson's parody of Fabre), works wonders during the flood of 1934. The famine of '33 had brought forth *The 'Flu*. We fear that every catastrophe for the future will be made worse by another prologue of our author! Alongside the rescuer are the poor farmers and soldiers—all of them fine folk but oppressed, the kulaks and the officials—egoists and malicious, or the army officers, arrogant and heartless. None of them is aware of the Moloch of the State Machine, which feeds on corpses, and demands of the living an obedience of both body and soul. Kurek's inventions are childish, his style is equally immature. It is loaded with false metaphors, swarms with ill-built constructions, and cannot hide the poverty of

life-philosophy preached by our apostle. By contrast with this, the evidence adduced by the author is interesting, in spite of all exaggerations. This alone saves these books—not for literature, but for the records of Polish civilisation.

With novels it is often as with women; the more they are talked of the less they are worth. The tale by Wincenty Burek, *Through the Village*, is tasteful, balanced and truculent. He reflects the reality of the countryside better and more justly than Kurek. Externally, the two works differ little, but with Burek we have a complete absence of false romanticism. There is good humour, and a quiet fatalism—the distinctions of every true poet of the village; and there is that care over structure and style which belongs to every true realist.

But we must turn back to the journalist story-tellers. Helena Boguszewska and Jerzy Kornacki, the most eminent of a group calling themselves "the Suburb," describe the life of certain Warsaw labourers in *The Coal Wagons* and the customs, ideas and doings of the boatmen on the Vistula in *The Vistula*. Moved by a real and generous sympathy for their heroes, which is passed on to the reader, these two writers of Bolshevik leanings and very modern ideals, call to mind the beloved books of the French bourgeois youth in the 19th century, *The Children's Tour of France*. In both cases any sort of story has become the medium of instructive travels through an unknown world—new, though set in our midst. Boguszewska deserves our attention by the curious power she possesses of giving us the illusion of multiple reality. It provokes memories of the impressionists. Spots scattered over a canvas are brought together into a harmonised whole. This is the author's way in her two collective portraits of professional communities. But she handles with great skill the apparatus for retrospection which Proust and James Joyce brought into the analytical novel. An individualist, even egotistical in her truly feminine nature, Boguszewska bows, in *The Whole Life of Sabina*, to the laws of a doctrine in order to escape the dangers of a barren lack of psychology. She never neglects, as some others do, either measure, or taste, or style.

Pola Gojawicińska, in all her literary personality, is of a piece with Boguszewska. She came late to the things of the spirit. The product of a Bohemian *milieu*, close to the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of the village or small town, this energetic woman had won a modest place in society before she held a more privileged one

in literature. She rubbed shoulders with *The Girls of Nowolipek*, a populous suburb of Warsaw, whose obscure life she relates : a black existence, but relieved at times by the divine poison of love. She gives us rough pictures of the ugliness and vulgarity she desires ; letting us discover the treasure of beauty, goodness and tenderness hidden beneath a repugnant exterior. It is in the vexing *Meeting with Silence* (which we should not know where to place, whether in fiction or among the essays) that Gojawicińska initiates us best into the mystery of her art and thought. These monsters that haunt us, these nightmares that steal the thin joy of living and neutralise the fear of dying—they move as spectres, prosecuting the author who has caught them in her soul, and the readers who feel them perilously close. What is notably touching in this self-made woman are the ideas and feelings which she fancies she has discovered for the first time, though they belong to the patrimony of the race. So then, she laments the solitude of man, and the silence of the infinite spaces alarms her. She avoids music, since she might become its victim, unable to resist its charms.

The narrow bonds that unite writers like these ladies with the masses of which they are part, are clearly shown when we enter the presence of the social novel as written by bourgeois people, even as intelligent a woman as Gustawa Jarecka (*Before the Morrow*) or Halina Gorska (*The Second Gate*). These other ladies look from outside on the life of the masses. They hang with curiosity, or even with pity, over the misery they see. They typify the reforming zeal of the proselyte (Jarecka) or an appreciation of the mistrust of the rich felt by the poor (Gorska), which are quite sincere ; though the solutions offered do not picture these two worlds in juxtaposition with the cruel charm of a lived experience such as we have in *The Girls of Nowolipek*.

If the very notable works of Ewa Szelburg-Zarembina and Zofia Rygier-Nałkowska have not the character of human documents, verified with sorrow by the authors, still in both *The Frontier* by Nałkowska and *Joanna's Wandering* by Szelburg the sociological side only constitutes one of the accessories of two fine novels—indispensable perhaps, but none the less secondary. *The Frontier* is the history of a crime told on the lines of Boguszevska and others. A pillar of society is assassinated in his own house by a poor woman, whose motives no one guesses. But the author knows Heaven's secrets : and we watch the Golgotha of a maiden-mother, seduced but not loved ; we learn the career of a model civil servant—an

average husband and a half-way debauchee; finally we have the marriage of the sentimental half-virgin with our Don Juan, and the doings, the views, and the customs of the bureaucracy and gentry who rule Poland. Neither Jew nor Christian, neither pagan nor believer, neither atheist nor adherent of tradition, not even revolutionary—this particular world believes itself to be great; and has not even the courage to be slack, or the inspiration to be malicious. It hurts by its faults that look like goodness, far more than it heals the evils it inflicts on the down-and-outs. The author's indictment is severe. She shows that the weakness of character and principles of those who govern Poland is leading to an *impasse*. All the same, Nałkowska does not throw into bold relief the deeper causes of this moral decline.

By contrast Mme. Szelburg would rather share the joys and the sorrows of her people. By various means she seeks to wipe out the barrier that is raised both in time and in space between herself and *Joanna's Wandering*. She bewails the unfortunates whom Venus has chosen as her prey no less than those in still worse plight whom the goddess ignores. She rejoices with Jeanne-Cendrillon, when that unattractive maiden, changed into a loving and loved woman, reaches the harbour of happiness. In this book, as in most of the works of Szelburg—for example in her more recent tale *People of Wax*, there is something of a realistic mysticism which is missing in the purely worldly volumes of Nałkowska.

It is, however, a mysticism of good metal; disputable in its theology but coming from the heart, in no way artificial and belonging to the works themselves. And this is more than we can say either of such products of literary industry as *The Excursion to Paradise* of Juliusz German, where the supernatural creates the effect of a farce; or of *The Island Itongo* of Stefan Grabinski, where the spiritualism is in keeping with the bad habits of the writer, long since familiar to us. Rather than let ourselves be upset by such extravagances, borrowed from the Other-World of theosophy, we may turn to enjoy honest and quite inoffensive relaxation in the tales of adventure, well written and cleverly constructed by Jerzy Marlicz. Having translated several Anglo-Saxon masters of that *genre*, she cultivated for some years an acquaintance with strange lands; taking us from Canada to Africa in *The Brotherhood of the White Leopard*, and thence to Siberia—*The Wild Cat*. This latter is the first of several stories meant to deal with the Great War and the Bolshevik régime in Russian Asia. Or we could satisfy our simple tastes in turning over the pages of the prolific Ferdinand

Ossendowski; who will take us to Siberia, in *Strong Men*, or the provinces of Poland—anywhere you like—all the time preaching virtue, kindness and love of country. It is very nice; but we do not forget that this worthy pedagogue had his hour of world-fame years ago when he published *Beasts, Men and Gods*!

After this, we are doubly glad of the sure and constant progress so manifest in the work of Jerzy Bandrowski—brother of the celebrated Juliusz. His war stories and tales of adventure, published in a hurry, but written with skill, are yielding today to highly literary works, excellent in style and of uncommonly good psychological finish. Bandrowski has undergone a crisis, both in his life and in his work. Out of it has come the title of a fascinating story, *The Palace of the Broken Dolls*. Like another Polish author, Choromanski, he offers us impressions gathered in a psychiatric clinic, that is, in a mental hospital. He was there as a patient, and that gives to his canvas the unique marks of a confession, necessarily watered down but none the less moving. The book is a work of art, perfectly written and mature. It rises far above an equally touching book by Tadeusz Teslar, *I Want to Live*, which grips us only on the human side—the desperate cry of a man who has just escaped death and yearns to be saved.

In the story by Irena Krzywicka, *The Fight with Love*, I can see no other quality than the wish to tell her own woes. The same is true of other books of the same sort. The spiritual demands of woman, stripped of all higher morality and subject to purely utilitarian conventions and scruples, is a subject which, for literary treatment, demands an infinity of tact and delicacy. Tact and delicacy! It is just here that the least of Krzywicka's defects is found. For is it not to this exhibitionism, this lack of discretion, that she owes her success with a certain public? The same theme is approached with prudence and developed with reticence in a fine portrait of an old maid, drawn by Zofia Kunicka (*Shadows of Evening*), but has brought the author only the votes of a few cautious critics.

The tales of Elzbieta Szemplinska, *Eighteen Meetings*, and of Maryan Prominski, *Roses in Cement*, are pictures of life that deserve our attention. They unite brutal realism with poetic, even extravagant, aspirations: but they are too artificial, too much *gekonnt*—to use a bad but very exact German word—to be praised without reserve. The psychopathological monograph of Wacław Czosnowski portraying *The Bloodthirsty Man* makes clever use of the horrors of the world war, as seen especially in Eastern Europe. To the barbarous

madness of races and peoples, of classes and individuals, it opposes the gospel goodness of a kindly Jew. One recalls a story of Joseph Roth, when meditating on the tendency of the plot. Czosnowski fancies that his naive sadism is a monopoly of his own; he has made a business of it in his verses, which are of cruel pathos, and are comic without wishing to be. One dares to hope that they may be what the title says, *The First and the Last*.

I am content to conclude my survey of the Polish novel during this period with a word about a work which, alongside the stories of Nałkowska and Kossak-Szczucka, is the most remarkable that has appeared for two years. I mean *The Foreign Lady* by Marja Kunciewiczowa. This writer has won for herself the highest esteem in letters, thanks to an unbroken series of fine successes—*The Pact with the Child*, *The Face of Evil*, and *Two Moons*. They are penetrating psychological narratives, very womanly, full of impassioned love and yet chastely cool. Their style is baroque and florid, very personal, and a little pretentious. They were followed a year ago by a series of kindly and tender pictures, *The Warsaw Diligence*. Here we have a study of an unforgettable character, of an egoist amorous out of spite: adored by those next her, whom she torments, and of whom it is impossible to say whether they are loved by her or hated. Madame Rose is the wife of a good pedagogue, Adam; and the mother of a son who has entered on his career, and of a daughter—conceived as if by mistake. She is a terribly complex person. She feels strange everywhere. Brought up in the heart of Russia, she never ceases to be a Pole; having come back now to Poland, she considers herself a Russian! She never does anything to make friends with people. Nevertheless the charm that radiates from this intolerable grown-up child is irresistible. When she dies, after humiliation and repentance, we are not sure whether it was a case of malicious pleasure in torturing her acquaintances, or whether the sense of approaching death sweetened this curious personality. Perhaps she did not know her own intentions properly. We stand, then, and wonder—was she good or was she vicious? This finished portrait is in every way convincing in its outcome. We discover with a shock the treachery of a former betrothed lover, and the explanation of a wasted life. One recalls the horrible drama of Lenormand, *In the Shadow of Evil*. The weak, wounded by the stronger, avenges himself on the weaker for wrongs of which he has been the innocent victim.

OTTO FORST-BATTAGLIA.

THE TERCENTENARY OF THE SLOVAK HYMN BOOK.

THE Slovak Lutherans, who apart from their Slovak home in the Czechoslovak Republic live scattered throughout the world, but mainly in Hungary, Jugoslavia and the United States, celebrated in 1936 an altogether unique anniversary, namely the tercentenary of the Slovak Protestant hymn book, *Cythera Sanctorum*, by George Tranovský or Tranoscus. This book has no parallel in the whole of devotional literature. It first appeared in 1636 at Levoča in Slovakia as "a collection of old and new spiritual songs put together and edited by George Tranovský (Evangelical Lutheran pastor in Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš)." An exile from Silesian Teschen, he lived in a period when Slovakia was in a certain sense the only compact portion of the old Hungary into which the Turks could not penetrate; their advance being checked by the Slovak mountains, but the border suffered all the more severely as being constantly exposed to Turkish raids. It was the period when in Central Europe the Thirty Years' War and the Counter-Reformation were at their height, and the population suffered from the never-ending complications and devastations of war. It is well to understand that all that could bring it spiritual strength, consolation and hope, could not fail to be regarded as a direct act of God's grace, and such an act was for the Slovak Protestants the *Cythera Sanctorum*.

Slovakia had already in the 16th century been deeply influenced by the Reformation and by the beginning of the 17th century had become almost entirely Protestant—for the most part Lutheran, but also partly Calvinist. The new church was now confronted with the task of strengthening itself by sound organisation and by devotional literature. The main lines of the new church system were laid down by the synods of Žilina (1610) and Spišské Podhradie (1614), which carried through complete separation from the Roman Church. The Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia and the Slovaks at that time enjoyed literary and cultural unity; they also had, till the end of the 18th century, a common literary language, and the famous Kralická Bible translation was a common possession, as also their numerous religious songs, etc. When, after the disastrous battle of the White Mountain in 1620, the Czechs lost their independence and tens of thousands of Czech Protestants had to emigrate, this was also a severe blow for the Slovak Lutherans, who could no longer receive their religious books from the Czech

provinces. On the other hand this historical change led to their seeking within their own sphere what they required for their church life. It was in such circumstances that the *Cythera Sanctorum* became the most powerful literary influence among the Slovaks.

George Tranovský was not himself a Slovak, having been born in 1591 at Třanovice near Teschen in Silesia. He studied at that stronghold of Lutheran orthodoxy, Wittenberg, was a teacher at Prague and in Holešov, and after 1615 pastor in Valašské Meziříčí in Moravia; here he worked till 1625, when his religious views forced him to fly, first to Bielsko in Silesia, and from there to Slovakia. Here he worked as chaplain in the castle of Orava and eventually became pastor at Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš, where he died in 1657. His life in these uncertain times of war and religious persecution consisted of continual exile, imprisonment, wanderings and sufferings, but he was untiring in his efforts as a preacher and writer. He brought out in 1620 a translation of the *Augustana Confessio*, published three books on Latin hymns in 1629, a prayer book entitled *Phiala Odoramentorum*, and finally his main work, the *Cythera*, in 1636, so called after the well-known words of St. John in *Revelation*. In this book he brought together 412 old and new spiritual songs. He himself wrote many of them and translated others from Latin or German, in particular songs of Luther, and took several from the older Hussite hymn books of the Czechs. They all bear witness to the firm and unshakeable orthodox Lutheran faith in the Trinity, in God's love for His martyred Church and the firm hope of help for the faithful and repentant.

The *Cythera* filled a much felt want, and after three years a second edition appeared, and then a whole series of new editions, at first at home, afterwards (in the period of violent persecution) in Germany and then once more in Slovakia, in Buda and elsewhere. It became one of the main consolations of the persecuted Protestants at the period of the Counter-Reformation, a support of the Lutheran faith in the home, a guide for all church services and a defensive weapon against various theological arguments, especially in the later period of a somewhat shallow rationalism and, not least, a bulwark against tendencies of political denationalisation which came to threaten the Slovak people in the old Hungary and also in foreign parts. The best proof of its popularity is the fact that it has again and again been reprinted in the last three centuries and constantly supplemented by new, original hymns and translations. No fewer than 137 editions are known to exist, and in its last form it contains 1,149 hymns. The hymn book (*Zpěvník*) issued in 1842

is the daughter of this worthy mother. In effect it is a curtailed edition of the *Cythera*, which had swollen in two centuries to too great a size, but also, it is true, contains more recent hymns more suited to modern times.¹

The *Cythera* is not only in universal use among the Slovaks, but has found its way into many Czech and Polish Protestant parishes, and has thus become a valuable connecting link not only between their respective churches, but also between these three Slav nations. It has had a deep influence not only upon the whole of Slovak devotional literature, but also upon the secular literary movements. It has served as an inspiration to the leading thinkers and poets of the nation, the very great majority of whom have always, and especially during the last century, been drawn from the ranks of Protestantism, although only about 17 per cent. of the whole Slovak population is actually Protestant. This apparent paradox is to a very large extent to be explained by the national influence exercised by the Kralická Bible and Tranovský's hymn book. Moreover, the *Cythera* was not without influence upon the Catholic Slovaks also, whose first hymn book, *Cantus Catholici* (1655), took over 21 hymns from the *Cythera*. In quite recent times, in 1935, the Evangelical Church of Hungary published a complete Magyar translation of the *Cythera* (by Joseph Vietorisz), and it may be presumed that this was intended not so much for the Magyar Lutherans as for the 100,000 Slovaks in the Hungary of today whom it is hoped to Magyarise more easily through the medium of the Church and its literature.

It may be added that the *Cythera* is now in regular use in 165 parishes in Slovakia, in 44 in Hungary, in 30 in Jugoslavia, in 5 in Roumania, in 3 in Bulgaria, in 96 in the United States and in 3 in Canada—to say nothing of numerous scattered communities. It is much more used than the *Zpěvník*, already alluded to, and may be said to be, despite its three centuries of age, a living book for the 400,000 evangelical Slovaks. There must be at least 120,000 groups

¹ In order to meet the requirements of still more recent times the Slovak Evangelical Church in 1932 published a supplement containing 95 new hymns, for the most part in the modern Slovak literary language by known Protestant poets. A few of the best hymns of the Czech "Church of the Brethren" were added, and it may interest English readers to know that it also includes Slovak translations of several well-known English Protestant hymns, such as "Nearer my God to Thee," "Throned upon the awful tree," "Hallelujah" (Wordsworth, Sullivan), "Holy, Holy, Holy," "Lead Kindly Light," "For all the Saints," "Again as Evening Shadows fall" and "Abide with Me"—the first of these having been translated by the well-known poet, the Rev. Martin Razus, and the others by the Rev. Fedor Ruppeltdt.

of them in existence at this moment. Many early editions, bound with iron and copper covers, are still jealously preserved from former centuries.

All this shows the extraordinary influence of the book both in a religious and national sense, above all, of course, for the Slovaks, but, to a lesser extent, for many Czechs and Poles. Its history shows the great role which it has played in the cause of Czecho-Slovak unity, among a people who often sacrificed everything to remain loyal to its teaching and its language. Next to the Bible and Luther's Shorter Catechism, the *Cythera* has always been the most widely circulated book among the Slavonic Protestants, and played a vital part in holding both the Counter-Reformation and Magyarisation in check. Many parishes in the old Hungary, where Magyar preaching had been imposed, still clung successfully to the *Cythera*, which popularly has always been known as "Tranoscius."

It was only natural that the tercentenary of such a book should have been celebrated not only by the whole Slovak Lutheran Church, but by all Slav Protestants in every country. It was attended not only by all the leading organisations of the Church and by representatives of the Government led by the Prime Minister, Dr. Hodža, himself the son of a Slovak Lutheran pastor. Many thousands of the faithful, both in Slovakia itself, in neighbouring countries and on the other side of the Atlantic, held anniversary thanksgiving services, meetings and lectures. The Lutheran bishops of Slovakia and Jugoslavia and the Slovak synods in America issued pastoral letters on the occasion, and the anniversary gave rise to quite a number of publications as well as a memorial medal. The most notable was a large collective work on Tranovský, edited by the present writer, and including contributions also from non-Slovak theologians. A similar book was published by the Šafárik Society in Bratislava. Lesser works were published by Dr. Djurović, Dr. Krčméry and Dr. Plavec, while a dramatic work by J. Barč-Ivan, "God's Singer," was ably designed for the amateur stage.

The festivities culminated in a celebration at Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš, the last home of Tranovský, on 27-28 September, 1936. The official visit of President Beneš, purposely fixed for the Sunday of the anniversary, only gave an added importance to the celebration in the eyes of the general public. Besides many thousands of Slovaks from other districts, there were official delegates and guests from Jugoslavia, Roumania and Hungary, from the sister churches of Poland, Germany and Denmark, and the English-speaking Protestants were represented by the Rev. T. E. Hunter Boyd,

a Canadian Presbyterian. A small exhibition, devoted especially to editions of the *Cythera*, was also arranged. The whole celebration made a big impression upon the visitors, which was voiced by the Danish Protestant, Dr. Jørgenson, one of the organisers of the Lutheran World Convention, in the words: "Today I see that your Church has hitherto lived in the shade, but we will do our best to make it known to the widest public." The whole festival showed that the Slovak Church and people, in the new era of political freedom in Czechoslovakia, is incomparably more conscious of its existence than ever before in its history.

It should in conclusion be added that the *Cythera* in its 300 years of existence has always served to preserve and defend, and at the same time to kindle fresh forces to combat the various negative influences which have been so much in an ethical sense. We may express the lively hope that it will long continue in its newly liberated home with God's grace to preserve the Slovak people against the infidelity and new heathenism of our time.

Bratislava.

SAMUEL OSUSKY
(Lutheran Bishop).

NADSON

The Poet of Despairing Hope

THE optimism of the human race varies constantly. There are periods, when the goal which appeals to some part of humanity appears to be almost within the grasp of the eager seekers. There are periods when it seems remote and far away and when it requires all the resources of the human mind and heart and aspirations to believe that it can ever be reached. So it is with pessimism. At times this may seem to swell into a surging wave which sweeps everything before it, and at times it sinks into a faint undercurrent which bids people to doubt the success which is at their hand. Yet whether optimism or pessimism be the supreme mood of the passing moment, there are always those who swim against the current and who lay to their hearts that spirit which is apparently at odds with the whole society.

So it was with Russia in the 19th century. During the reign of Alexander II, there was a period when it seemed to all the eager leaders of the intelligentsia that final and definite realisation of their ideals was at hand. They ignored perhaps all those qualities of human nature which did not harmonise with their goal, and they concentrated all their energies on the speedy fulfilment of their dreams. Later on a period of disillusionment began. First slowly, in the last years of Alexander II and then with the accession of Alexander III, this period of despair broke over the thoughts and minds of all the reformers and the advocates of a new and better order, until the period of the eighties became for all the Intelligentsia one of the darkest and most hopeless eras in the history of their country. It seemed, then, as if there were no bright future possible. It seemed as if conditions could never improve. All but the most fanatical realised that the old period of Narodnik ideals had come to an end. The new period of Marxian conceptions had not yet opened, nor had the school of writers who advocated art for art's sake found a proper representative and organ. The future seemed almost hopeless and the guide, if there might be one, had to be sought among those who believed and yet who were ready to admit that the goal was far in the future.

We can see this period reflected in almost all the authors of the decade. It poisoned the bright hopes of Chekhov and changed the light and jesting Chekhonte into the Chekhov who acquired

world fame as an apostle of futility. It turned the hopes of Korolenko into a radiant glow which hung like a veil over the despairing content of his stories. It permeated all the authors who succeeded the writers of the Golden Age; and after the death of Dostoyevsky, almost at the same time as the death of Alexander II, there was no one with a positive message for the Russian people and the intelligentsia.

It was at this time that Semen Yakovlevich Nadson emerged from obscurity and made himself for a few short years the spokesman of that group who still wanted to believe in the future of humanity. Perhaps at no other time would he have won the hearing for himself that he did during the few sad years of his short life; but he gained the ear of the public and he has remained to this day not as a great poet, not as a man who had a great message for the human race, but as a humble writer who uttered in a smooth, if average, poetry the word which society desired to hear. Again and again he harped upon the one theme that conditions could not fail to improve and that the hopes and aspirations of his people could not perish without a trace. There is not a sign of fervent optimism about Nadson. There is not a sign that he expected any immediate change for the better. Yet he never lost sight of that hope, however faint, that things would improve, and he had become the favourite of all those people who insist, despite all apparent facts and logical theories, that the world must have a future which is brighter and more hopeful than the gloomy present.

Nadson was born in Petersburg, 14 December, 1862. On his father's side he was of Jewish origin, for it was his grandfather that had embraced Orthodoxy. The poet's father died, when he was only two years old, and his mother was compelled to make a living for herself and her two children, the poet and his sister, by working as a housekeeper and private teacher. When the boy was seven years old, she tried to improve her situation by moving from Kiev to Petersburg, but it was of no use. Disaster and poverty hung like a cloud over the family, and even when his mother married again, this, too, was doomed to failure—for her second husband soon committed suicide, and by the time that the boy was twelve years old, she, too, was in the grave with tuberculosis.

Just before her death, young Nadson was sent to the 2nd Military Gymnasium, where he could receive an education at the government expense. It was a sad blow to him to be separated from his mother and sister, for he could only see them at week-ends; and after the death of his mother, Anna was placed in the Nikolayevsky

Institute. As a result, Nadson, who yearned for relatives and friends, saw himself separated at an early age from all of his family and was compelled to live alone. His health was not good and his nervous system was also easily upset. Nevertheless, from his diaries, we can see that the unhappy boy developed early intellectually. He read copiously and thought deeply. He had a tendency to picture for himself that ideal work of reality in which so many of his schoolmates seemed to be living; but apart from his dreams and his music, there seemed to be little for him in life.

On the other hand, he was not unable to make friends. As one of the brightest students in his class (he ranked second soon after he entered the Gymnasium, although he did not hold this position long), he loved history and literature and tells us in his diaries how he used to write essays and compositions for the other students, sometimes nine or ten at a time. Apparently the authorities never discovered it, or were too careless to try to stop the precocious young child. He endeavoured also to start a literary journal in the school, but again this never seemed to be an unqualified success. However in May, 1878, when he was sixteen, he succeeded in having his first poem published in the journal *Svet*, and this gave him more confidence in himself and his ability.

At about the same time he fell violently in love with Natalya Mikhailovna Deshevova, the daughter of a friend and the sister of a classmate. She was somewhat younger than he. Once more it seemed as if some light would shine in Nadson's life, but again this was of short duration for, on 31 March, 1879, she, too, died of tuberculosis. Thus the next person to appeal to the young boy was carried away by the same scourge that had swept away his mother. The loss of Natalya, soon after he had begun his literary career, was overwhelming, and he remained true to her memory. The edition of his poems was dedicated to her. He entered in his diary: "After her death, I do not fear death, but I would not wish to die, on principle; first, I must still work hard over myself to be worthy of her; secondly, I must work for others, I must try to do alone what we were preparing to do together. I have talent—I am sure of that—and in her name I promise not to permit a single false and insincere note in my songs, not a single mercenary word."

The same year he finished the course in the Gymnasium and then entered the Pavlovsky Military School at the wish of his guardian. Almost at once his health broke. At the first review in the autumn, the chill air caused catarrh of the right lung and

the young man was forced to go to the hospital. That winter he was sent to Tiflis to recover at the government expense and he remained there nearly a year. During the summer Tiflis and the south became repugnant to him, and he was only too glad to be allowed to return north to the school, however much he disliked the military training. Finally, on 10 September, 1882, he notes with sadness that he has become an officer, and he adds, "A friendless life, a solitary life has begun for me, and my heart is overwhelmed with fear on the threshold of this new life."

He was stationed at Kronstadt with the 148th Caspian Regiment, but during all this time, it was evident to him and to his associates that he was ill with tuberculosis. His sense of solitude constantly grew, although he found himself the centre of considerable literary and musical activity. He seems to have been fairly popular with the regiment, but the activity did not satisfy him and the constant inroads of tuberculosis upon his system bound him to long periods of inactivity.

In the summer of 1883 he suffered from a tuberculous fistula in one leg, and finally this healed; but from then onward his life is but one long series of steadily increasing illnesses. Finally, in the spring of 1884, he left the army for literary work. This change did not bring any good, and in October of the same year his friends sent him abroad to Wiesbaden. Again he wandered for nearly a year before he returned to Russia in the fall of 1885. His health constantly grew worse, and finally in the autumn of 1886 he made his last journey, this time to Yalta in the Crimea.

At this time, with the aid of the Literary Fund, which had already helped him when he was ill abroad, he succeeded in publishing a volume of his poems which he dedicated to Natalya, and by various means he succeeded in paying back the money which the Fund had advanced him. All this was a great exertion; and when he reached Yalta, he was worn out. Then came some merciless attacks upon him in the *Novoe Vremya*, and these proved too much. The tuberculosis attacked his brain and he passed away on 19 January, 1887, when he was only one month over twenty-four. His body was taken back to Petersburg, and his funeral was attended by large numbers of the literary men of the day and by admiring friends.

It was a sad life that Nadson led, and there was in it hardly a single gleam of light. It suited well the cheerless mood that was dominating Russia; and in his poems he had caught this, and still preserved the faint, but unfaltering, confidence in the future. We

can see this well reflected in his poem *Dreams*. He tells us first of the vision which he had had as a young boy, how he had dreamed of royal courts, of appearing there as a favoured bard, who was able to stir the Court and to rouse the feelings and the hearts of a great and noble society. Those days had passed, and instead :

They are no more, those dreams that stirred my youthful days.
 I stood within the ranks of those who fought for freedom,
 I was the bard of toil, of knowledge, and of woe.
 I make no songs myself in praise of beauty fair,
 I never sing of arms and deeds majestic, grand ;
 I weep with those who weep and all men's sufferings share,
 And to the worn and lone I lend a helping hand.
 Then let my cross be hard, with storms and doubts around,
 What has it brought to me ? Both struggle and despair,
 But it for my poor soul bright moments too has found,
 Bright moments full of joy, for which 'tis good to care.

Then the poet tells how in a poor room to some despondent and discouraged advocates of freedom, his voice has brought consolation and encouragement on the great path which alone can find peace and happiness for humanity.

Here Nadson sums up his whole significance. At times he may have believed in a bright future for himself. We have the few lines which did not appear in his lifetime :

At times it seems to me, my life is not yet started,
 That what is past and gone is but an unclear dream,
 And that ahead of me, a future bright is charted.

Yet as time passed and the ravages of tuberculosis grew ever clearer, notes such as this steadily became more and more rare. The old doubts that tormented Nadson in his youth revive. We see them in *The Word*, which dates from 1879, but they recur again and again.

THE WORD

Oh, if the Muse had given me
 A word of blazing fire,
 How sternly and how savagely
 I would have shown my ire.
 I would have roused all men 'gainst vice
 And wide displayed the flag of light,
 Then with a strong and living word
 Have fought for truth with all my might.
 With what a laugh I would have laughed,

With what a tear I would have blazed
 And once again the great ideal
 Would high above the earth have raised.
 The world in terror would have waked
 And trembled in its craven guilt
 And looked aghast at all its deeds
 And waited with contrition filled.
 In that dread moment as it waited,
 My voice would sound without a fear,
 Both blazing with the rage of anger,
 And sobbing with a righteous tear.

I was not given such a word,
 My voice is weak at this great hour.
 My soul is ready for the struggle,
 But in it dwells not youth's strong power.
 There is a sob within my breast,
 And on my lips remonstrance clear;
 My heart is saddened by the thought
 That I'm a slave and not a seer.

Nadson was right in this. He did not have the power or the strength to lead a crusade for the ideals in which he so firmly believed. Yet that very weakness won him the popular favour and has ensured a certain popularity for his works.

He steadily believed; and his creed is perhaps at its best in one of his best known poems :

O my friend, O my brother, so weary and sad,
 Whoever thou art, lose not heart;
 Let injustice and evil command with full power
 This old earth which is drenched with men's tears.
 Be the noble ideal polluted and mocked,
 Should innocent blood flow apace,
 Believe me, 'twill end; Baal cannot endure
 And then love will return to the earth.

Not wearing a crown of sharp thorns, and enchained,
 Not bearing a cross on her back,
 She will come to the world in her beauty and might
 And carry a torch of calm peace.
 Then there shall be nowhere more weeping and woe,
 No graves without cross, not a slave,
 And no need with its hopeless and death-dealing load,
 And no sword, and no pillars of shame.

O my friend, this bright future is no empty dream,
It is not a mere hope that we have;
Look around; the whole world is oppressed by the ill,
And the night on all sides is so dark.
The world will grow weary of torments and blood,
It will sicken of struggle for nought,
And will lift up to love, to all-merciful love
Its eyes with a pitiful plea.

This poem sums up the hopes and the method of Nadson. It is a simple statement that the world must become a better place to live in; and in its simplicity and sincerity, it found a response in the hearts of many people who wished to believe, even when it seemed impossible. The poems of Nadson touched a sympathetic spot in the hearts of his fellow countrymen, and they have remained despite all the changes and chances of history. Perhaps the most striking illustration of this continuous vitality may be seen in the fact that some years ago I saw the first stanza of this poem scrawled on a notice in the New York Subway. The man who did this was obviously, from the writing, not an educated person. It was at the height of the depression; and it is at such times that the poetry of Nadson makes its appeal to those who wish to believe that conditions will improve. There is here no question of a reasonable basis for the belief. There is no attempt to estimate the literary value of the poem. There is a mere desire for improvement and an earnest grasping for some expression of this hope and desire.

When we consider the poetry of Nadson by the standards of Russian poetry, we find that it is not great. It is not filled with splendid images and deep thought. It is not distinguished by metrical variety and mastery. It does not show a command of the Russian language. It is merely a simple and sincere voicing of those thoughts that stirred in the minds and hearts of millions of unfortunate and unhappy people, who looked at the world around them and found no consolation and then in the words of the simple, ill, wistfully optimistic Nadson they saw something that appealed to them. It is easy to understand why poets have not appreciated him; it is easy to understand why he is really a minor poet; but it is equally easy to understand his appeal to humanity.

Perhaps there is no Russian poet—and very few in the world's history—who knew better how to grasp the feelings of the average

unfortunate victim of society and of nature and to translate those feelings into verse. The average man is afraid of a great interpreter, as he is afraid of a great master. There is something so human and yet so Titanic in a Pushkin or a Lermontov, that it takes man at his best. In Nadson we do not find that; but we find a quality which is akin in its own way to many of those hymns in the English-speaking countries which appeal neither to the artist, the musician, or the educated thinker, and yet which have a constant and a deep appeal at revival meetings, at Salvation Army gatherings, and at occasions of similar character. They do not enter into the higher literature except on rare occasions. They do have a wide appeal. So it is with Nadson. Critics may condemn him, artists may cavil at him, thinkers may mock him, but he still remains as he was in life, a poet without the fiery word to rouse mankind from its lethargy, but with a sincere power to comfort the downhearted and to relieve the hopeless. He was aware of the tragedy of his own fate. He realised that there were no signs of social amelioration. But he still hoped wistfully, firmly, quietly; and in that, he won for himself a place which none of his greater brothers were able to attain. That is his glory and his power, that explains his success; and his poetry will always fail to appeal to the prosperous and the happy and will gain support and love among the unhappy and afflicted. He was sincere; his poetry echoed his sad and joyless life; and in a sad and joyless decade he won his way; and so he will, until love returns to earth and happiness is visibly accessible for all.

UNPUBLISHED PUSHKIN DOCUMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ALTHOUGH it has been for long time a matter of general knowledge among Russian literary historians that a great part of the library of Sergius Sobolevsky was acquired after his death at a Leipzig auction (in 1873) by the British Museum, very little apparently has been done (at least until quite recently) to investigate this collection. Yet *a priori* one could expect the Russian books of Sobolevsky to contain interesting autograph dedications, notes, etc. Sobolevsky, who died in 1870, had been on terms of close friendship with Pushkin and the majority of the writers of the period; later he was bound by ties of friendship to Turgenev, Mérimée, and others.¹

The difficulty as regards the Sobolevsky collection in the British Museum lay evidently in the fact that no detailed record of the transaction had been preserved and the books had not been kept together.² Thus, in order to find books which belonged to Sobolevsky, one has to grope about. In the course of my literary researches in the British Museum during the last few years I have chanced upon several Russian books bearing Sobolevsky's bookplate and the date of their acquisition by the Museum ("9 oc 1873"). Most of these books are not to be found in the printed catalogue of the auction of Sobolevsky's library.³ Some of them have autographed dedications to Sobolevsky. Still, a careful investigation of all the editions of Pushkin's works published during the poet's lifetime available in the Museum resulted in a disappointment: none of them can be traced back to Sobolevsky, nor do they bear any inscriptions or notes. Three months ago, however, I came upon an entry in the general catalogue of the Museum which looked "exciting": against the title of the book

¹ About Sobolevsky see V. Sartov, *Sobolevsky, drug Pushkina*, 1922, and A. K. Vinogradov, *Mérimée v pismakh k Sobolevskomu*, Moscow 1928. This latter publication contains a great wealth of interesting material, but suffers from numerous defects. The publication of documents from Sobolevsky's archives acquired at the same Leipzig auction by Count Sheremetev is still going on in Russia.

² Sobolevsky, who was himself a bibliophile and bibliographer of world-wide fame, had a most valuable collection of old travel literature which was partially also acquired by the British Museum.

³ *Catalogue de la collection précieuse de livres anciens et modernes formant la bibliothèque de feu M. Serge Sobolevski (de Moscou), dont la vente se fera le Lundi 14 Juillet 1873 et jours suivants à Leipzig, dans la salle de vente de MM. List et Francke, 15 rue de l'Université. Leipzig (1873).* xvi + 314 pp. There was to be, and I cannot verify at present whether it was ever published, a special catalogue of Russian books, but it is not in the British Museum.

(a duplicate of the 1861 Berlin edition of Pushkin's forbidden poems edited by N. Gerbel, Pressmark 12264. c.18(2)) there stood : " Partially inter-leaved. Copious MS. additions." Somehow this entry had so far escaped the attention of those who studied Russian documents in the British Museum. V. Burtsev in his well-known article⁴ does not even mention Sobolevsky's name. On closer investigation these " copious MS. additions " turned out to be :

1. Copies of three official documents dealing with the censoring of the so-called Gennadi-Isakov edition of Pushkin's collected works (the third posthumous edition which followed closely in the wake of Annenkov's) ;

2. An unknown MS. copy of Pushkin's *Gavriiliada*⁵ evidently made by a copyist for Sobolevsky, probably from the copy which belonged to the latter ; the copy in question is incomplete, its object being to supply the gaps in the printed text of the Gerbel edition ; it contains some variants that are not to be found in any other extant text of the poem, and others that coincide with this or that of the known copies⁶ ;

3. A correction of one line in Pushkin's poem *Skazki (Noël)* (in the above-mentioned Gerbel edition) made in Sobolevsky's hand.

A detailed study of all these texts, including a comparison of the variants of *Gavriiliada* with other known copies, is made by me in a special article appearing in the Pushkin Centenary Miscellany published by the Pushkin Committee in Jugoslavia. Here some brief general remarks will suffice.

I.—*Censorship documents*

These comprise :

(1) An " abstract " (*vypiska*) of Pushkin's poems for which Isakov sought permission to be included (or amended, as the case might be, to restore the original version) in his proposed edition of

⁴ *Russian Documents in the British Museum*. (London) 1926. 17 pp. (Reprinted from *The Slavonic Review*.)

⁵ *Gavriiliada*, Pushkin's erotic and blasphemous poem, written by him in Kishinev in 1821-22. When it came to light in 1828 he denied his authorship, but the quality of its verse, together with other evidence, leaves no doubt as to this. The case begun by the Government against Pushkin was stopped after the poet wrote a personal letter to the Emperor. The contents of the letter were never divulged, and the original has not been found.

⁶ The best study of *Gavriiliada* and its extant copies (the original is unknown) is that of Tomashevsky : *Gavriilhada*, Petersburg, 1922. 220 pp. Some valuable addenda are to be found in the article of Tsyavlovsky in *Pushkin. Sbornik pervy*, ed. by N. K. Pksanov. Moscow, 1924, pp. 165-175.

Pushkin's complete works. It contains either poems that had never been published anywhere, or those that were "illegally" printed in the review *Bibliograficheskia Zapiski* in 1858,⁷ or else those which had appeared in Annenkov's edition (of 1855-57) with alterations demanded by the censor.

(2) A letter from the Minister of Education, Kovalevsky,⁸ dated 9 March, 1859, addressed to the Curator of the St. Petersburg Educational District, proposing to the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee to examine all the poems not included in Annenkov's edition but contemplated for inclusion by Isakov, and to report to the Censorship Department (*Glavnoe Upravlenie Tsensury*) all those which might arouse doubts, and enjoining to exclude in any case all those which had appeared in *Bibliograficheskia Zapiski*. The letter recalls also that the publication of those poems had led at the time to "a severe rebuke" to the late Censor Kruze and the editor of the review, Shchepkin.

(3) Another letter from the same high personage (and again in his capacity of Head of the Censorship Department), dated 30 October, 1859, specifying which of the poems or passages in the list drawn up by the Censor Beketov (this is apparently a reference to the list submitted by Isakov and cited above under (1)) are not to be included in the new edition. This enumeration of prohibited poems or passages contains fourteen items (out of twenty-three in what I take to be a copy of Beketov's "abstract"); to the remaining nine the Censorship Department did not object. In conclusion, the letter once more enjoins the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee to see to it that none of the poems excluded from Annenkov's edition by the Emperor's command shall be included in the new edition.

II.—*Gavriiliada*

The interesting point about this new copy of *Gavriiliada* is that not only did Sobolevsky preserve it, but that he deemed it necessary to insert it in his copy of Pushkin's forbidden works. There is a story that Pushkin bound his friend by word of honour to destroy all copies of *Gavriiliada* which might come into his hands. Longinov,⁹

⁷ The story of the publication by the *Bibliograficheskia Zapiski* of several poems of Pushkin which Annenkov was not allowed to include in his edition, is told by S. Pereselenkov in "Pushkin i ego sovremenniki," VI, pp. 34-43.

⁸ Kovalevsky, Evgraf Petrovich (1792-1867), the liberal-minded Minister of Education in 1858-61, who intended to carry out a far-reaching reform of the censorship.

⁹ Longinov, Mikhail Nikolayevich (1823-75), a well-known bibliographer and author of a standard work on Novikov and Russian Freemasonry.

who tells this story in connection with the copy of *Gavriiliada* which he possessed,¹⁰ adds that Sobolevsky did his best to comply with Pushkin's request, as to which another friend of both, Poltoratsky,¹¹ remarks caustically: "with the exception of this particular copy which he had under his nose." We see now that Longinov's copy was not the only one which Sobolevsky did *not* destroy.

With the exception of the *addenda* to *Gavriiliada* and a minor (and mildly unprintable) correction in one of the poems, there are no other notes and observations in Sobolevsky's copy of the Gerbel edition of Pushkin's poems. There may be some temptation to infer from this that all the poems contained therein were admitted by Sobolevsky to have been written by Pushkin; although not only is Pushkin's authorship in some cases highly doubtful, but some of these poems and epigrams have even been commonly ascribed to Sobolevsky himself. It is to be noted, however, that, in addition to the sheets containing *Gavriiliada*, numerous blank sheets of the same paper (ordinary notepaper of cheap quality) are inter-leaved in the volume. They are not regularly spaced, and may have been intended by Sobolevsky for observations on poems either not belonging to Pushkin or requiring comment. They are to be found chiefly in the section containing political epigrams or frivolous verses. For a more detailed examination of this problem I refer the reader to my Russian article.

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¹⁰ See Tsyavlovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

¹¹ Poltoratsky, Sergey Dmitrievich (1803-1884), a well-known bibliographer, contributor to the *Revue Encyclopédique*, etc.

CURRENT RUSSIAN LITERATURE

V. NEW NOVELS OF FEDIN AND LEONOV

DESPITE all the high-sounding phrases of two years ago it is now being commonly admitted in Soviet Russia that the promise of a literary revival consequent upon the adoption of the method of Socialist Realism has not been fulfilled. The literary output since the Pan-Soviet Literary Congress of 1934¹ has not been very considerable, and the works of merit and interest are very few. No new names deserving attention have appeared on the Soviet literary stage with the possible exception of Yury German whose long novel *Nashi znakomye* recently appeared in book form (it has definitely become now a habit with Soviet Russian writers to extend the writing and publication of a novel over a number of years, a procedure which, under the existing conditions, offers some advantages but more than often results in a lack of unity, especially as it is applied to novels of a type different from, say, Jules Romain's *Les hommes de bonne volonté* where it is natural). Nor are the recent achievements of the established writers of great value. But when such distinguished writers as Fedin² and Leonov³ produce new novels, especially after such a long interval (in the case of Fedin six years, in the case of Leonov three years), these cannot help attracting attention. Even their failures are usually interesting and never all-round failures.

I

The first volume of Fedin's *Rape of Europe* (*Pokishchenie Evropy*—the title alludes to the mythological "rape of Europa," but it is meant to symbolise Europe) appeared in 1933-34, but its sequel was published in book-form only early this year. It was originally conceived as a novel dealing with one of the aspects of the Five Year Plan—the Soviet trade relations with Europe—and its title was to be *Dumping*. This was later changed to the present title, with its symbolical and mythological implications which the contents of the book fail, however, to bear out.

The action in the first volume is set entirely out of Russia. Of all Soviet novelists Fedin was perhaps the best qualified to deal with non-Russian surroundings. He spent the War years in Germany as a civilian prisoner and has travelled a great deal since the Revolution. The scenes of his novel are set in Norway, Holland

¹ See the note on it in *The Slavonic Review*.

² See *The Slavonic Review*, vol. XIII, No. 37.

³ *Ibid*, vol. XII, No. 34.

and Germany. The main episodes take place in Holland and the chief characters are Dutch. The central theme of the novel is the trade relations between Soviet Russia and the capitalist world and the clash of two different outlooks. The object of the author in the first volume is to portray the decaying bourgeois Europe as seen by a keen Russian observer, a Communist journalist Rogov who has some traits in common with Fedin's two earlier heroes—Startsov in *Cities and Years* and Nikita Karev in *Brothers*—and probably reflects something of the author's own personality. But from the Communist point of view he is an improvement on both of them in that he is a Communist and therefore no longer faced with the problem of reconciling himself to the Revolution, although in the first volume he is shown as almost entirely beset with personal affairs and easily succumbing to the charms of bourgeois women. In Fedin's (or Rogov's) approach to Europe (as opposed to Russia) there is something of Dostoyevsky's spirit *à rebours*: Europe appears to him also as a kind of cemetery full of sacred but dead things, the source of all life being in Communist Russia.

The capitalist world is personified chiefly in the van Rossums, a family of Dutch timber-merchants who had vast interests in Russia prior to the Revolution and obtained from the Soviet Government a concession for their former forests. Philip van Rossum, the younger brother, who is responsible for the firm's dealings with Soviet Russia, stands for the modern progressive spirit in business; knowing Russia and the Russians well, he likes the country and has no bias against the new régime. In this he finds himself more or less opposed to his elder brother and partner, Lodevijk, who dislikes the idea of trading with "those godless Bolsheviks" and looks with disfavour on the extension of the firm's business with Russia, especially as the affairs of the concession run far from smoothly and there are growing signs of the Soviet's unwillingness to continue it in the old form. But Lodevijk's health is failing (he dies soon after), and Philip has it his own way. The third representative of the van Rossum family is Philip's and Lodevijk's nephew, Frans, who is the firm's agent in Russia and is married to a Russian lady with a somewhat romantic past: dissatisfied (though without any underlying political grounds) with her drab life in Soviet Russia, Klavdia Andreyevna escaped across the Finnish frontier and became virtually an emigrant, espousing the career of a cabaret dancer (Fedin falls here an easy prey to the temptation of portraying the life of the Russian emigration as centred round cabarets and night clubs). It is in one of the cabarets

of Riga that Frans van Rossum meets her and falls in love with her. He takes her back to Russia as his wife. At the time Rogov arrives in Holland she is there on a visit to Philip. It is now Rogov's turn to fall in love with her—they go back to Russia as lovers.

A different type of capitalist mentality to Philip van Rossum's is represented by Sir Justus Eldering-Geyser, in whom the Soviet critics perceive an intentional likeness to Sir Henry Deterding (it is true that although Fedin took pains to disguise his name, that of "Shell" appears in the novel *en toutes lettres*). But whereas the van Rossums are portrayed as three-dimensional human figures, Sir Justus resembles a flat cartoon of a capitalist "shark." There are also some episodic figures of German and Swiss industrialists, social-democratic town councillors and Fascists.

There is little incident and little movement in the first part of the novel. Much of it is taken up by descriptions—some of them very good, such as the urban landscapes of Bergen and Amsterdam, executed in the Dutch manner; by long conversations between Rogov and Philip and Rogov and Klaydia on the subject of Europe and Russia; by Rogov's own meditations; and by several interpolated episodes, such as the rising of the German unemployed. There is about the whole novel that static quality which was already felt in Fedin's *Brothers*, but here it is still more accentuated.

It also pervades the second volume which, if anything, is still more slow-moving. The action is transferred here to Russia and passes in Soroka on the Murman coast, in Leningrad, and in Moscow.

At the end of the first volume Philip van Rossum sails for the North of Russia to discuss and settle the affairs of his concession. The second volume opens with his arrival in Soroka. The scenes of the official welcome to van Rossum and to foreign sailors, of the modest "banquet" in the local club, are well done, though some of the Soviet figures are somewhat conventional. There is also a very good description of North Russian nature as a setting to Philip's hunting expedition with some local sportsmen to one of the White Sea islands.

The main lines of the narrative are pursued in the second volume. We see Philip and Frans fighting a losing battle over the concession, which is finally annulled: the Soviets are now strong enough to dictate their terms and Philip has to content himself with the rôle of a timber broker on behalf of Soviet Russia. His business defeat is compensated by his "conquest" of Klaydia, whom, after Frans's death in a motor accident (or suicide?), he takes back with him to Holland.

The main defect of the novel is the lack of unity of design between its two parts—easily accountable if we take into consideration that the theme which was to form the core of the first volume lost its actuality and acuity by the time Fedin came to the second volume. The latter therefore degenerated into a series of scenes with no backbone to them (in the first volume this backbone is constituted by the satirical picture of decaying Europe). There are some good character drawings; but as a novel it does not come to life and is definitely inferior to Fedin's earlier novels, especially to *Cities and Years*, which remains his best. The attractive mythological title seems hardly justifiable. If in the first volume one could relate it somehow to Rogov's "abduction" of Klavdia, this is undone in the second volume where Klavdia is abducted by Philip. Whereas though Philip van Rossum is thwarted in his plans and returns from Russia disillusioned, there can still be no question of any ideological or political "rape of Europe."

II

Everything that Leonid Leonov writes is always interesting, and therefore his first novel after *Skutarevsky*⁴ naturally aroused great expectations.

The Road to the Ocean (*Doroga na Okean*) is certainly an interesting work. I doubt, however, whether it is an unqualified success, and on the whole I should hesitate to place it on the same level as the same authors *Badgers* and *Thief*.

As usual with Leonov, it is extremely complicated and unwieldy in structure, with numerous intersecting lines of narrative and a great mass of characters bound to each other by complex ties.

Its usual structural complexities are still further complicated by the superimposition of three temporal planes in the narrative: the present, the past and the future. These form, as it were, three independent stories. In one which unrolls in the present—somewhere in the year 1934 or 1935—the background for the action is provided by the life, political and otherwise, of the Volga-Revizan railway of which Kurilov, Leonov's principal hero, is the political director. The actual life of the railway does not, however, play much part in the novel; it is only a background and, although there are a couple of chapters dealing with that life and a particularly good one describing the failure of the young Tartar boy Saifulla to run a newly-built Komsomol engine through a heavy blizzard, there is no attempt even to bring to the foreground the actual

⁴ This has recently been translated into English (Lovat Dickson). Only *The Badgers*, Leonov's first novel, remains untranslated.

problems of social construction, as there was—however unsuccessful it may have been—in the same author's *Sot* and *Skutarevsky*. The main interest remains psychological and lies in complex human relationships. Kurilov takes a notable place in Leonov's portrait gallery, this being Leonov's first attempt to put a real Communist in the centre of the picture, to make him the pivot round which the story turns and all other relationships are built. Uvadyev in *Sot* was so far his nearest approach to it, for Cherimov, the ideal young Communist in *Skutarevsky*, is overshadowed completely by Skutarevsky himself and looks wooden. But even Uvadyev, to whom Kurilov bears a distinct likeness, remains on the outskirts of the novel, and his personality does not affect to the same extent numerous other characters of the novel. Kurilov is right in the centre of the picture. One feels that the novel was written for his sake (which does not mean that he is the best-drawn character). In Kurilov, Leonov has portrayed an active Communist with a distinguished party and civil war record, with a past that obliges and a responsible position in the present. Communist critics have reproached Leonov for not having sufficiently shown the political "aspect" of his hero, for dwelling on his "human, all too human" feelings and failings. It is no accident, perhaps, that Leonov shows us Kurilov under this "human" angle, at grips with an incurable disease and gradually realising, as death approaches, how little personal enjoyment he has had in life. Hence his mild platonic "affairs," first with Marina, then with Liza Protoklitova, his friendship with Marina's boy, his interest in other people's lives, his unexpected tolerance for one of his bitterest class enemies, his brother-in-law Omelichev whom he discovers in the employ of his railway. In the end Kurilov dies after an unsuccessful operation performed on him by the famous surgeon Ilya Protoklitov, the husband of that same Liza, a small and insignificant actress whose whole life and outlook are transfigured after she meets Kurilov. Ilya Protoklitov has a brother, Gleb, who is, next to Kurilov, the most important character in the novel and whose presence in it is its most dynamic factor. Gleb is a former White officer, an active enemy of the Communists, who by clever deceit manages to work his way into the Communist Party and obtains an important post on the railway line under Kurilov. In Kurilov he sees a danger and by a series of clever strokes, beginning with a visit to him and an open hearted talk, tries to forestall him. Afterwards he almost suggests to his brother Ilya the idea of a surgical murder. Protoklitov's undoing comes during a periodical purge in the

Communist nucleus of his railway depot. Despite his clever tissue of lies, despite an artistically faked proletarian autobiography (Leonov is here at his best) his efforts are of no avail; for at the last moment his brother, informed by a former friend of Protoklitov, arrives to expose him. Although some of Leonov's best writing and deepest psychological insight went to the making of Protoklitov, the ultimate mainspring of the latter's activities remains obscure. Is it sheer ambition, a desire to succeed? Or is he sincerely repenting of his past and trying to build up a new life? Nor do we learn his ultimate fate.

So much for the present plane of the story. Parallel to it runs the story of the past, concerned with the past of the same railway, its construction with the concomitant interplay of private interests, of unsavoury speculation, etc. This past is being dug out from the forgotten archives and oral legends by Kurilov's friend, a young Komsomol journalist, Alesha Peresypkin. The link which connects the past story with the present is a certain Pokhvisnev who happens to be the uncle of Liza Protoklitova. But this story of the past, told with many unsavoury details, in that Dostoyevskian vein which Leonov more than once adopts in his novels, seems hardly an indispensable element of the whole.

Superimposed on those two stories, which jostle and interfere with each other making the reader sometimes lose his bearings, is a third story—a Utopian picture of the future world, of Ocean, "the mother of the cities of the future" (situated apparently somewhere in the Far East), to which Leonov journeys in company with Kurilov and Peresypkin and which is presented simultaneously as a projection of the author's and Kurilov's mind and as a reality of the future. A great deal of this story is given in long footnotes, sometimes occupying whole pages—a most irritating device!—and the greater part of it is devoted to the *military* events of the future, to the wars between the Federated Soviet Republics and the remaining non-Sovietised world. Soviet critics have already reproached Leonov for having thus circumscribed his vision and failed to visualise the *man* of the future and the kind of life he is going to live (there are only a few allusions to it). It is true that Leonov has shirked this most difficult part of his Utopian venture. He has also failed in blending organically his Utopia with the rest of the novel (the footnote manner is a clear proof of this failure). But though taken as a whole Leonov's new novel is a failure, it is an interesting and at times a brilliant failure.

GLEB STRUVE.

OBITUARY

GEORGE CHICHERIN

"You never said your grace, Georgie. Come back at once, please, and say it." The future Commissary for Foreign Affairs climbed back into his chair at his nurse's bidding, put his small hands together and thanked God for his good tea. This tiny incident is the first of which I have cognizance in the career of George Vasilievich Chicherin. It occurred in the day nursery at Karaul, the family seat in the Tambov Government. Its interest lies in the peep it gives into the circumstances which surrounded Chicherin's childhood. Noble Russian families in those old days were wont to have English nurses to whom the early training of their children was entrusted and who frequently became very important persons indeed in the household. One of these English nurses was responsible for the upbringing of George Chicherin in his tender years.

He was born at Karaul in the year 1872 and was of ancient Russian lineage. The form of the name before the 18th century was Chicherini. His father, who was in the Diplomatic Service, had been attached to the Russian Embassy in Paris. His mother—a Meyendorff—belonged to one of the best-known families of the Baltic nobility. He was connected, too, with the Chapsky family and through them with various strains of the Polish aristocracy. In short, he had illustrious and cultured forbears. Many of his kinsmen had rendered service to their country, the most notable of them in recent years being his uncle, Boris Nikolayevich, professor of constitutional law, whose liberal views and published works won for him a European reputation and who was in his day one of the glories of Moscow University. In the ordinary way of things, it is to be supposed that the glamour of his ancestry weighed little with George Chicherin and there must have been times when his "stemmata" were frankly an embarrassing possession. On one occasion only, so far as I know, did he appear to glory in them. At the Lausanne Conference Lord Curzon received him in his private room in a manner which he found condescending and resented. "What have you got to say to me?" was—it would appear—his Lordship's *entrée en matière* when he reached the presence. "Of course," commented Chicherin whimsically, "he would not know that my family is several centuries older than his."

He inherited in large measure the intelligence which was the

patrimony of his stock. Indeed, from early childhood his outstanding intellectual qualities were apparent. They were allied with a queerness of outlook and a lack of orthodoxy in his ideas which became a source of no small embarrassment to his mentors. Possibly the somewhat puritanical severity in matters of religion and conduct in which he was reared may have driven a nervous organism like his to a movement of revolt. Whatever the cause, there is no denying that George Chicherin grew up undisciplined and eccentric. An English influence, too, must be mentioned as having played a part in the formation of the man we had to deal with in later days. The third Lord Radstock spent some time in Russia in the later seventies of the last century. His spacious, evangelical views, his gift of wide human sympathy, his striking personality, appealed strongly to those of the Russian intellectual youth of the higher social strata who were seeking a broader horizon than that which bureaucracy and standardised Orthodoxy permitted them. Radstock became a cult: the "Radstokisty" a sect, the number of whose adherents ran into thousands. Pashkovs, Chicherins, Golitsyns, Lievens, Chertkovs and so forth were of the number. One of them was the subject of this memoir. Strange that a fervent pacifist such as he grew up—I am sure that he wilfully never harmed man or beast—should be destined to become a part of a human mechanism which systematically employs processes of calculated severity to attain its ends.

Chicherin's education followed the normal lines laid down for young Russians of his standing. The study of languages was a prominent feature in it. English he had, of course, imbibed in childhood. He spoke and wrote it with pedantic accuracy. He had, too, a perfect knowledge of French, German and Polish and I think I am right in saying, of Italian and Serbian. At St. Petersburg University he studied under the illustrious professor Petrazhitsky, taking his degree in 1897, when he was 25 years of age. The same year he entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as a junior official in the Department of the Archives.

His career as a "Chinovnik" of the old régime was, however, destined to be a brief one. In 1904 he was already in the revolutionary camp and had left Russia to take up his abode in Germany. Tsardom had fallen and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat been established in its place when he returned to his country. For a while he resided at Bonn; and it was at this time that his uncle Boris, owner of the Karaul property, died. George Chicherin was his sole heir; and fellow students, hearing of what had happened,

rushed in to congratulate him. Their congratulations fell flat. "Had my uncle known," said Chicherin, "that his nephew had become a revolutionary, not a kopek would he have left to me. And not a kopek will I take. After all, what does it matter? A few years hence and everything my uncle owned will belong to the Russian people." The prophesy was to be fulfilled.

In 1905 Chicherin joined the Russian Social Democratic Party and started to work among the youthful Socialists of the time. He joined originally the Menshevik wing, and it was not until after the October Revolution that he adhered to the Bolsheviks. Before long his activity brought him into collision with the German Police. In 1907 he was arrested in Berlin and in the following year expelled from Germany. He sought sanctuary in France, where he remained for some six years. Only when the proclamation of mobilisation took place in August, 1914, did he make up his mind to go further. He crossed the Belgian Frontier and stayed a few days in Brussels. August the 13th found him already in London. He settled down at 12, Oakley Gardens and lost no time in becoming a member of the Communist Club and a habitu   of Bebel House.

What induced Chicherin to come to England at this time, it is difficult to say. His feelings towards this country were, I should say, an odd compound. At the back of his head was, I think, always the idea which has pervaded Russian diplomacy ever since Lord Palmerston's day, that England is Russia's hereditary foe, watching relentlessly for an opportunity to encompass her undoing. The belief has a strong grasp on Russian mentality. Nor is it surprising that it should be so when one remembers the conflicts of interest in the Near and Far East, which have marred relations between the two countries for more than a century past. Chicherin was, I am sure, imbued with this conviction. On the other hand, with his passion for individual liberty of thought, his repulsion for dogmas and "creeds that refuse and restrain," his sympathies went out to a country which has so much elasticity in its constitutional methods and has gone so far along the road of social and political progress. It was, I should say, more than anything else his longing for freedom that drove Chicherin to seek the hospitality of Great Britain in those years of exile.

He was a singularly tiresome guest. A pacifist, internationalist and anti-imperialist such as he was, who is not content to keep his opinions for his own delectation, but insists on forcing them on his fellow men, is out of place in a belligerent country in wartime. The views to which he subscribed were given with unabashed

clarity in *The Call* of 4 January, 1917. "The Proletariat's task," it said, "its present historical mission—the international struggle against war, against the very foundations of the capitalist system—must be carried on without taking the least notice of the interests of the military defence of the respective countries. If in our international fight we damage those interests, it will not stop us, as it did not stop Liebknecht and his friends in Germany. If, on the contrary, we adhere to the principle of military defence which is inseparable from the war waged by Imperialism for its own ends, then all our proletarian phrases are a sham and Imperialism has got us." It is not surprising that his activities were looked on askance by those responsible for the maintenance of public order. The organisation styled "The Russian Political and Exiles Relief Committee," of which he was the Secretary, by no means confined its energies to the objects for which it purported to exist. It was a centre of anti-militarist propaganda, and Chicherin was known to be engaged in a campaign against conscription in the East End. Further, in the persons of Peter Petrov, who did no small harm by fomenting agitation among the munition workers on the Clyde, Dmitry Anichkin of "The Russian Seamen's Union," and others of the same kidney, he had associates who were thoroughly undesirable, not to mention a number of English Left Wing Socialists with whom he was clever enough to maintain contact. The flexibility and pertinacity which he displayed might in another cause, and at another time, have been admirable: directed as they were, they were disquieting. The only wonder is that the authorities concerned, who were much better informed as to his misfeasances than he believed to be the case, were so long-suffering in their treatment of him. It was not until 22 August, 1917, that he became an inmate of Brixton gaol on a charge of "hostile associations" and "anti-Ally and pro-German activities," nor was his incarceration to be of long duration. Lenin at once announced his intention of appointing him Russian Ambassador in London and—to prevent reprisals of which the British representative in Russia would be the object—his release was decreed. Thus it was that, early one Sunday morning—as he was always happy to recount—he found himself on the quayside at Newcastle-on-Tyne in charge of a full-sized policeman whose mission it was to put him on board the steamer bound for Norway. The steamer did not sail until night-time, and an odd 2/6 which the departing guest happened to have in his pocket was all the two had between them.

The rest is soon told. On arrival in Moscow Chicherin became

Deputy Commissary for Foreign Affairs. In May he took over from Trotsky the post of Commissary. On 3 March he signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. In the early part of 1922 he took the Soviet Delegation to the Genoa Conference, and on 16 April he signed the Treaty of Rapallo. In the same year he attended the Lausanne Conference. During his tenure of office he was responsible for various treaties with Russia's Eastern neighbours, the most important of which was the Non-Aggression and Neutrality Treaty he signed with Turkey in Paris in 1925. It was in this year that the symptoms of diabetes, the malady to which he was eventually to succumb, declared themselves. For the next four years he was under the treatment of German doctors. In 1930 he returned to Moscow and in July of that year resigned from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. The last six years of his life he dragged out in a house placed at his disposal by the Soviet Government in an old residential quarter of Moscow. He died on 7 July last year.

He was a strange, impersonal creature, who had, or seemed to have, no interest in life other than that which he found in his work, to which he was devoted. His one relaxation was the piano, which he played as an artist—somewhat to the inconvenience of subordinates in the Commissariat, who were apt to find his evening improvisations distracting. The small room in which he was wont to receive foreign representatives in the old Hotel Metropole in Moscow, where the Commissariat was lodged temporarily, was piled up with papers from floor to ceiling. The table disappeared under the files lying on it. To the uninitiated the disorder was hopeless. Yet Chicherin could place his hand on any paper he needed with uncanny celerity. His clothes in those days were unbelievably shabby—not, I feel sure, from pose, merely from complete disregard of such trifles. Subsequently there was a change and he reverted to despised bourgeois raiment. Occasionally, indeed, he would appear in a costume which, in a pacifist as he was, seemed singularly incongruous, that of Colonel-in-Chief of the Infantry Regiment of which he was appointed Honorary Commander. He was a small man, with a little pointed beard, a sallow complexion and a pair of large, dark eyes which had something of the nightbird in them. And a nightbird he was. Time meant nothing to him: his favourite hours for receiving visitors were from twelve to two in the morning. Yet, despite his eccentricities, those who had to work under him were devoted to him, for he was sincerity itself, had the gift of inspiring enthusiasm and was himself indefatigable. Moreover, his knowledge, especially of historical, political and social questions,

was phenomenal, his memory astounding, and he was a master of dialectic. Those who remember his passages of arms with Lord Curzon in the days when diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union were in their hectic infancy, will concede that he was no mean antagonist in this last field. It is said that during the miserable years which preceded his death he was engaged upon the preparation of his memoirs. Maybe one of these days we shall see them. It is much to be hoped that we shall, for they would not only throw a light upon a period in international affairs of intense interest for humanity, but would reveal the workings of a remarkable and singularly agile brain. George Vasilievich Chicherin is one of the really picturesque figures that the turmoil of the Russian Revolution has thrown upon the waters.

ROBERT M. HODGSON.

ANTONY, METROPOLITAN OF KIEV

ON 10 August, 1936, there died in Sremski Karlovtsy, in Jugoslavia, one of the most outstanding bishops of the Russian Church, Metropolitan Antony.

He was a man of many gifts, a notable educationist, an original and often paradoxical theologian, an energetic ecclesiastical and political leader. His manifold interests and activities often appeared to be contradictory; for instance, his enthusiastic support of the restoration of the Patriarchate in Russia stood in open opposition to his close association with political reaction which tried to undermine the last traces of Church independence.

But whatever the limitations of this remarkable man may have been, his contribution to the life of the Russian Church can never be forgotten, and with his passing a whole period of Russian Church history comes to an end. Metropolitan Antony (Khrapovitsky) was born on 17 March, 1863. He belonged to the gentry, and throughout his stormy life preserved an independence of spirit, which was often lacking in bishops recruited from the priests' class. He started his career as a professor of the Old Testament at St. Petersburg Theological Academy (1887). In 1889 he became Dean of Moscow Theological Academy, and in 1894 was transferred to Kazan Theological Academy. In 1897 he was appointed a suffragan bishop. In 1902 he was elected to the see of Volyn, where he remained till 1914. The Revolution found him in Harkov, whither he had been transferred at the beginning of the War. At the Moscow Council of 1917 he was an obvious candidate for

the Patriarchate. When, however, Tikhon, the Metropolitan of Moscow, was appointed to take the patriarchal throne, Metropolitan Antony was offered the See of Kiev. He left Russia in 1920 with the remnants of the White Army, and spent his last fifteen years in Jugoslavia, where he was the head of the Russian Synod in Sremski Karlovtsy.

His name is especially associated with three causes:—

(1) He stood for the revival of the monastic ideal among the students of theological academies. Being professor of one of them and dean of two others, he succeeded in inflaming a large number of students with his love for the monastic life. Several of the most conspicuous bishops of the Russian Church of our time took the monastic vows under the direct influence of Metropolitan Antony.

(2) The uncompromising struggle against Western scholastic influence in Russian theology was the second cause dear to his heart. Metropolitan Antony was the chief advocate of the moral interpretation of the principal doctrines of Christianity, such as the Trinity, Incarnation and especially the Atonement. His theological works contained such a radical denial of the traditional expiatory theory of atonement that he was several times accused of heresy by the more conservative-minded theologians.

(3) The third cause was the restoration of the Patriarchate, as a visible sign of the spiritual independence of the Russian Church, of which it had been deprived since the time of Peter the Great.

All these three causes were revolutionary. They brought Metropolitan Antony into open conflict with the Church and the State authorities, and here he displayed a real strength of conviction. His radicalism in ecclesiastical matters makes it especially difficult to explain his extreme conservatism in politics. Broad-minded and stimulating in his theological works and especially in his dealings with students, Metropolitan Antony was a supporter of extreme reaction both before the Revolution and after it. He was the spiritual leader of the Russian monarchists from the days of his episcopate in Volyn, and he took an active part in the political life of the Russians in exile.

N. ZERNOV.

SOVIET LEGISLATION (XVIII)

(*Selection of Decrees and Documents*)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR

On Lowering the Age of Conscripts for Active Military Service.

Considering the improved physical fitness of Soviet youth, due to the increased welfare of the population and the widespread development of sport and physical culture in the USSR, and taking into account that the calling to the colours of youths at an earlier age will render possible their subsequent work in chosen careers or study to proceed without intermission, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries decree :—

1. That in amendment of Article 10 of the Act on Compulsory Military Service of 13 August, 1930 (Laws of the USSR, 1930, No. 40, Article 424), the age for the conscription of citizens for active service in the Red Army of workers and peasants be fixed at 19 years by January of the year of conscription (instead of 21 years).

That it be proposed to the People's Commissary for Defence of the USSR to effect the transition to the conscript age of 19 years within four years—from 1936 to 1939 inclusive—by calling up annually one and half classes, namely : in 1936, the whole of the 1914 and half of the 1915 contingents; in 1937, the remaining half of the 1915 and the whole of the 1916 contingents; in 1938, the whole of the 1917 and half of the 1918 contingents; in 1939, the remaining half of the 1918 and the whole of the 1919 contingents. From 1940 to revert to the normal conscription of a single class.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR

M. KALININ.

Deputy-President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR

V. CHUBAR.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR

S. AKULOV.

Moscow, Kremlin.

11 August, 1936.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 12 August, 1936.)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On the Criminal Offence of Refusing to Engage Women for Work and of Reducing their Wages on account of Pregnancy.

In conformity with Article 9, Section II of the Decree of the Central

Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of 27 June, 1936, on the Prohibition of Abortion, the increase of Material Assistance to Mothers, Establishment of State Assistance to Large Families, Increase of the Number of Maternity Homes, Crèches and Kindergartens, Increase of Punishment for Non-payment of Alimony, and some amendments of the Divorce Law (Laws of USSR, 1936, No. 34, p. 309), the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decree :—

To propose to the Central Executive Committees and the Councils of People's Commissaries of the Allied Union Republics to include in the Criminal Codes of the Union Republics a clause establishing penalties in the form of reformatory-compulsory labour for a term of up to six months or a fine up to 1,000 roubles, for refusal of work or the reduction of wages to women on account of pregnancy.

In cases of relapse of the above-named transgressions, the penalty may be increased up to two years' imprisonment.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR

A. CHERVYAKOV.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR

V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR

S. AKULOV.

Moscow, Kremlin.

5 October, 1936.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 8 October, 1936.)

Decree of the Extraordinary VIII Congress of Soviets of the USSR.

On the Ratification of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR.

The Extraordinary VIII Congress of Soviets of the USSR ordains :—

To ratify the Draft of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR as drafted by the Draft Commission of the Congress.

Presidium of the Congress.

Moscow, Kremlin.

5 December, 1936.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 6 December, 1936.)

Decree of the Extraordinary VIII Congress of Soviets of the USSR.

On Elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR.

The Extraordinary VIII Congress of Soviets of the USSR ordains :—

To entrust the Central Executive Committee of the USSR to draft and ratify on the basis of the new Constitution of the USSR the Statute

of the Elections and likewise fix the dates of the elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR.

Presidium of the Congress.

Moscow, Kremlin.

5 December, 1936.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 6 December, 1936.)

Decree of the Extraordinary VIII Congress of Soviets of the USSR.

On the Commemoration of the Adoption of the New Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR.

The Extraordinary VIII Congress of Soviets of the USSR ordains:—

That to commemorate the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR, the day of the adoption of the Constitution—5 December—be declared a public holiday.

Presidium of the Congress.

Moscow, Kremlin.

5 December, 1936.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 6 December, 1936.)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

On the Formation of an All-Union People's Commissariat for Industries of Defence.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR decrees:—

1. To form an All-Union People's Commissariat for Industries of Defence.

2. The People's Commissary for Industries of Defence shall present within a month to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR a draft of the state and structure of the People's Commissariat for Industries of Defence.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR

M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR

A. AKULOV.

Moscow, Kremlin.

8 December, 1936.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 9 December, 1936.)

CHRONICLE

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Nothing of note has occurred in the sphere of foreign relations since the New Year.

Spain.

At the meetings of the Non-Intervention Committee in London, M. Maisky continued energetically to uphold his Government's policy in favour of the establishment of a ban on volunteers and outside assistance to Spain and of an effective international control over the Spanish coasts and frontiers. On 15 January M. Litvinov handed the British Ambassador in Moscow a reply to the British Note of 9 January on the proposed agreement to establish such a ban. M. Litvinov pointed out that the Soviet Government, as far back as 4 December, had insisted on extending the principle of non-intervention to include a ban on volunteers, and that on 29 December he had already expressed his Government's consent to such a ban being established and had stressed the urgency of creating a strong and effective control over the Spanish frontiers. In his Note of 15 January M. Litvinov recapitulated his former statements and insisted on the importance of the ban being accepted and adhered to by all States-members of the Non-Intervention Committee, as a one-sided application of the measure would lead to a direct intervention by certain States in favour of the insurgents. On 23 January the Soviet Government approved the decision passed by the Non-Intervention Committee prohibiting the enlistment, departure and transit of volunteers to Spain. With regard to the control over Spanish frontiers and coasts, M. Maisky in the Committee opposed the proposal of the German and Italian delegates to entrust the naval control to four Powers, insisting that the USSR should be included. When this was granted, he made a statement that once the right of the Soviet Union had been recognised, his Government did not at present intend to make use of it, as they had no interests in the Mediterranean or the Atlantic.

Several Soviet steamers carrying war material to Spain were alleged to have been captured by Gen. Franco's forces. As has recently been stated in the House of Commons, it was "common knowledge" that both sides in the Spanish civil war were receiving help from other Powers, and that in this respect the work of the Non-Intervention Committee had been a failure. It was hoped that the establishment of the bans and of a strict control might yield better results.

Finland.

For the first time since Finland had acquired its independence in 1917, a Finnish Minister—M. Holsti, Minister of Foreign Affairs, paid an official visit to the Soviet Government. He was officially entertained both by M. Litvinov and M. Molotov, and conversations took place which covered the range both of mutual relations between the two countries and the international situation. For some time past, relations between the USSR and Finland had been somewhat strained. Moscow accused the Finnish Government of working with the “anti-Soviet bloc”; while the Finnish Government resented the Soviet’s repressions on the Finnish tribes of Russian Karelia and Ingria, where whole villages were deported to distant territories of the Union. After the visit, an official *communiqué* was published, stating that amicable conversations on mutual relations and the international situation had revealed that the former could be further developed within the scope of the existing agreements. With regard to the latter, all peace-loving countries should redouble their efforts to consolidate peace on the basis of collective security and the principles of the League of Nations.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

The Budget for 1937.

The All-Union Central Executive Committee met in the Kremlin on 11 January to pass the State Budget for 1937 and hear the report on the past financial year. The Budget for 1937 was passed as follows :—

Revenue	98,069,500,000 mil. r.
Expenditure	97,119,500,000 mil. r.
Surplus	950,000,000 mil. r.

As customary, the chief sources of Revenue were the deductions from profits and the turnover of and taxes on the socialised industries, income tax on collective and state farms and other sources of socialised national economy, 74,072.4 mil. r.; state loans subscribed by the population, 5,975.0 mil. r.; agricultural and other taxes levied from the population, 2,645.0 mil. r. On the expenditure side, the grant to state industries (minus the military industries) is comparatively smaller than in previous years, 10,068.8 mil. r.; agriculture (including state farms), 9,059.1 mil. r.; transport and postal services (all branches), 8,533.0 mil. r.; Internal Affairs and State Security Department (former OGPU), including the prison camps, 2,699.3 mil. r. There is a considerable increase in the grants for public education, 18,269.8 mil. r. (compared with 13,900 mil. r. in 1936) and Health, 7,500 mil. r. (instead of 5,700 mil. r.). The biggest increase, however (nearly 35 per cent.), was in the estimates for national defence, 20,102.2 mil. r., compared to 14,815.5 mil. r. in 1936. To this, strictly speaking, should be added the estimates for the new Commissariat of Military Industries, 2,328.7 mil. r., thus making a total of 22,430.9 mil. r.

The past financial year had been successful. Production, both in heavy and light industries and the retail turnover had exceeded the Plan. This, together with a revaluation of prices, had led to an unexpected surplus in the revenue. Contrary to custom, however, the National Economy Plan for 1937 was neither published nor submitted to the Assembly. M. Grinko, Commissary for Finance, gave a brief outline of it in his report on the Budget. The Plan provides for an all-round increase in output of 19·5 per cent. for capital and of 20·8 per cent. for consumers' goods, an average increase of 21 per cent. in heavy industries, 22·6 per cent. in light and 16·4 per cent. in food industries. Strict adherence to standard and attention to the quality of the produce is emphasised. The increase in the productivity of labour is fixed at 20 per cent., and the reduction of costs at 10 per cent. A big increase in agricultural produce and stock-breeding is also scheduled.

Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Trial.

The verbatim account of this trial now available in English¹ calls for serious study and in any case throws light on the most important political and economic processes in the USSR during the last five years, and especially on the conflict between Stalin and Trotsky. Radek's last plea is reprinted in this number on pages 588-598. Taking the report as it stands, the attitude of the State Prosecutor in the different stages of the trial is specially interesting. During the many days engaged in examination of the accused and of some witnesses, he confines himself very scrupulously to the elucidation of the facts alleged, always pressing home each point with severe logic and sometimes even himself suggesting considerations which might tell in favour of the prisoner—and on very rare occasions, with exclamations of indignation at the admissions made. Of his concluding speech, the long initial part is devoted to stating his theory as to the general intentions of the accused, in which the reader will very probably not follow him; he then proceeds to a vehement denunciation of the offences admitted, and, finally, he returns to a calm examination of the legal value of the evidence at the disposal of the court apart from the admissions of the accused. This is the most interesting part of his speech.

The picture which one derives from the report is as follows. Trotsky and his supporters, as is known, quarrelled with Stalin as a traitor to the world revolution when he concentrated on the realisation of a programme of socialist construction in Russia itself. Stalin's programme could not have been carried out without the sharpest measure of compulsion, and in 1931-32 many judges regarded it as doomed to failure. In these circumstances Trotsky rallies his more vigorous supporters, his campaign taking the two forms of wrecking and terrorist attacks on the lives of the leaders of the Government; but his colleagues in Russia

¹ See note on page 588 of this number.

gradually come to the conclusion that against all expectations the programme of construction is going through, and that, reaching that point where its benefits are beginning to be felt, it is rallying the support of the masses. At this point Trotsky, outside Russia and in their opinion out of touch with what has happened, urges more desperate measures, including co-operation with other governments hostile to the Soviet Union. His colleagues do not suspend such action as has already been taken, but consider that the rank and file of their agents have a right to be consulted before the last extreme directions of Trotsky should be put into effect; but some difference of opinion among these agents themselves delays the calling of such a conference, and in the interval the accused are all arrested.

The distribution of the sentences is indicated by a reading of the report. The minor adventurer, Arnold, a man of no name and no home, connected with a very half-hearted attempt to carry out a terrorist act against the Premier, Molotov, receives eight years' imprisonment. Shestov, another minor agent, whose complicity was also half-hearted, gets a similar sentence. And, what might not have been anticipated, two of the four principals, Sokolnikov and Radek, escape with ten years' imprisonment. The rest are condemned to death.

Pushkin Celebrations.

The centenary anniversary of Russia's greatest poet, Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin, was celebrated on a vast scale throughout the country on the lines forecast in an article in this *Review*.² Among the very striking features of this celebration may be specially mentioned the degree to which the whole population of workers took part in it and the colossal issue of literature on every aspect of Pushkin's life and works, and in particular the translation of many of his poems into languages of the Soviet Union which have only recently acquired even a written alphabet. Equally enthusiastic tributes to this, the greatest master of Russian literature and the greatest of the makers of the Russian literary language, have taken place in other countries, both under the auspices of sympathisers with the Soviet Union and of the organisations of Russian emigrants in those countries. In England Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr. John Drinkwater, Professor Elton and others took part in such a tribute at the Hyde Park Hotel on 10 February. Special tributes were also paid at Oxford and Cambridge. In America there were similar celebrations at several universities, and the occasion was marked by a publication of the principal works of Pushkin in English translation, edited by Mr. Avrahm Yarmolinsky, which is reviewed in this number on page 714.

² Vol. XV, No. 44, January, 1937. Pp. 309-327.

REVIEWS

The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890-1902. By William L. Langer, Harvard University. New York (Knopf). 2 vols. 797 pp. \$7.50.

PROFESSOR LANGER has already won the regard of all serious historians by his big book on "European Alliances and Alignments" between 1871 and 1890 (to say nothing of his admirable monograph on the Franco-Russian Alliance). But in some respects these two new volumes, which carry on the narrative to 1902, are even more remarkable, resting as they do upon a thorough documentation in almost every language (he has had Japanese, Bulgarian and other sources translated for him and, unlike most diplomatic historians, is himself able to use Russian sources). Moreover, he is thorough without thrusting his learning upon the reader, and his narrative, though not perhaps of outstanding literary merit, is well digested, eminently readable and, above all, extremely impartial and moderate in statement.

He starts from the fall of Bismarck, which he rightly regards as "the great dividing point in the history of European diplomacy," in the period separating 1870 and 1914. His first two chapters deal with the "New Course," the temporary isolation of Russia and her slow evolution towards the Dual Alliance. Using, for instance, the little-known Lamsdorff diaries, he brings out very clearly the extreme reluctance of men like Giers and Lamsdorff to unite with so unstable a government as the French, and the way in which, despite even the setback of the Panama scandals, events seemed to drive Alexander III into alliance with a régime for which he could not have any sympathy. Another point too often slurred over (and indeed not fully brought out even in Lady Gwendolen Cecil's brilliant life of Lord Salisbury, much less in the official biography of Lord Rosebery) is the critical position of Britain in the period immediately following the Russian naval visit to Toulon (pp. 54-7). Here Mr. Langer's summary shows his capacity for steering a middle course. "The Franco-Russian Alliance turned out to be no less pacific than the Triple Alliance, at least so far as the old European issues were concerned. Indeed, it may be said that the four years from 1890 to 1894, outwardly quite unspectacular, were years during which the problems of the preceding period were gradually coming to rest and the transition to the new world policies was being made." He modestly assumes his own failure to clear up the whole story, but he has provided the main key when he writes:—"It is really misleading to speak of Russian Policy. There were always several conflicting policies, with the ultimate decision resting upon the Tsar." And yet he surely goes too far in closing this section on a note of "indignation at the heartless irresponsible way in which this stolid, not to say stupid, man (Alexander III) directed the fortunes of millions according to the dictates of his personal dislikes and rancours."

There follows a very fair summary of "The Triumph of Imperialism" in the two last decades of the century, starting from an attempt to define the word and disentangle it from rival theories, but concentrating on the pronouncements of British statesmen and writers, and treating their complacency by no means cruelly. "The line of argumentation is complete from the theory of evolution through the doctrine of the Divine mission back again to the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest."

It is not of course possible to analyse in detail the contents of what is inevitably a very long book, in view of the method of treatment employed. It is very fully documented throughout and, in addition to constant references in the text, there are admirable specialised bibliographies at the end of every chapter (Professor Langer has long been an expert in this direction, as his quarterly bibliographies in *Foreign Affairs* testify). The two chapters on "The Struggle for the Nile," dealing especially with the Congo problem and the reconquest of the Sudan, bring together in a very lucid narrative what was already known, but scattered over a number of books: while those on the Armenian question and on the Far East are based on much new material hitherto inaccessible to western historians. It is made clear that the Armenian revolutionaries "were quite prepared to have thousands of their fellow countrymen massacred in order to force intervention by the European Powers": and Miss Bishop's view that "the Armenian peasant is as destitute of political aspirations as he is ignorant of political grievances," is perhaps too readily endorsed. But his balanced verdict on the Armenian revolutionaries has already found almost universal acceptance.

Mr. Langer accepts the view that Japan precipitated the Chinese War of 1894 "because of domestic considerations." He very rightly hesitates to take Count Witte too literally, especially when denouncing his rival, Prince Lobanov, as utterly ignorant of Far Eastern affairs. The complicated interplay of forces between the Great Powers after Shimonoseki is narrated in a curiously matter-of-fact way, and in the dearth of published material he reserves judgment as to the motives which inspired the British Cabinet in standing aside. The years 1893 to 1895 he characterises as a period of "complete flux" in international relations, which were rapidly "coming to mean world politics," and this he ascribes to two main parallel causes, "the marked economic development of the continental countries during the nineties" and "the evolution of the new alliance system." "The creation of the Franco-Russian alliance established a delicate balance of power on the Continent and brought about something like a deadlock. Neither the French nor the Russians were desirous of challenging Germany or the Triple Alliance. Two defensive systems stood opposed to each other. Nothing could be done, excepting at the cost of a great conflagration." Moreover, "as Africa and Asia came to play an even greater role in international relations, it was inevitable that England's position should become ever more precarious" (190-1). This

passage is fairly typical of Mr. Langer's method of exposition—lucid and persuasive and rarely overstated—and may stand for many others.

Both volumes are full of contentious and suggestive passages on which it would be tempting to dwell, and very special praise may be reserved for Chapter VIII on the opening scenes of the South African crisis (e.g. the contrast drawn between British reactions to the Kruger telegram and to the Cleveland message about Venezuela) and Chapter XVIII on the origins of the Boer War, and yet again those dealing with Fashoda and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. But enough has already been said to indicate that Mr. Langer has written a most stimulating and indispensable book, which towers above any rivals.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

The Works of Alexander Pushkin: Lyrics, Narrative Poems, Folk Tales, Plays, Prose. Selected and edited, with an introduction, by Avrahm Yarmolinsky. (Random House, New York.)

OF all the foreign tributes to the centenary of Pushkin's death it is probable that this volume will be regarded as the most considerable. Mr. Yarmolinsky is very well known to all Slavonic scholars as the Russian Librarian of the Public Library in New York. There are at least four other first-class Russian libraries in the United States, those of Congress, of the Universities of Harvard and California, and the Hoover War Library at Stanford University, but none of them has in its policy of acquisitions followed with more alertness and breadth the literary output of Soviet Russia than the Public Library in New York. Mr. Yarmolinsky is perhaps even better known to the public for many creditable translations from the Russian in collaboration with Babette Deutsch, who is a large contributor to the present volume, in particular we recall a unique translation of Alexander Blok's *The Twelve*, to the knowledge of which we were allowed to call further attention by republishing it in this *Review*.¹

It seems to me that the most valuable part of the present volume is Mr. Yarmolinsky's own introduction of thirty-seven pages. For those who take account alike of the general literary interest in the centenary of the greatest of Russian poets and of the almost complete ignorance of him in the original among foreigners, what was called for was evidently this kind of article, at once a narrative and general sketch, which would bring the reader straight into Pushkin's life with critical guidance to the understanding of the wealth and variety of his extraordinarily rich output. This is just what Mr. Yarmolinsky has given us, and it is a quite admirable piece of work. It runs of itself with a simplicity which is worthy of the subject and even of the prose style of Pushkin, and it contains all the detail which the reader should know and understand. It is essential that this introduction should be read first before proceeding to the rest of the volume.

It is well recognised in this preface that when we pass on to the actual

¹ *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 22.

translations we are bound to become more critical, for reasons which are fully explained there. It is certain that there can be no such thing as a perfect translation of Pushkin into any other language. Personally, I have always thought that Russian in general goes better into English than either into French or German, as I think it is more possible for us to retain what we can of the restraint, the reticence and the considered directness of the original. With Pushkin this is possibly so more than with some other Russian writers, and that is partly because, although he had far more familiarity with French literature, none I think left a more profound influence on him than the English.

There is, further, the distinction between his prose and his poetry. I agree with D. S. Mirsky in thinking that the prose is even the more admirable model of the two. One loses in reading it all thought of anything but what it tells, and follows his narrative as one would the most perfect account of things as they happened, and of characters as they reveal themselves. Clearly, here, the translator has a far easier task so long as he realises that it is still a very exacting one, and the translation of Pushkin's major prose work, *The Captain's Daughter*, by Mrs. Nathalie Duddington must be described as very good. The other prose translations are the work of Mr. T. Keane, and have been revised by Mr. Yarmolinsky himself—one may imagine with advantage; one finds here this same quality of naturalness. Pushkin was extremely facile but took immense pains over his work, and with adequate translations this is well reflected in the prose portion of the volume.

Turning to the drama, in which Pushkin did not do much that left his definite mark, the shorter pieces are translated by Mr. A. F. B. Clark, from whom we printed in our last number a singularly facile and sprightly version of one of Pushkin's most exacting pieces of verse, *The Little House in Kolomna*. It cannot be said that his translations in this volume come up to the same standard. Mr. Yarmolinsky, who misses nothing in his introduction, has pointed out that in these small dramas Pushkin has deliberately used a more commonplace and colloquial style; and as they are in blank verse, this is a peculiarly severe test in their reproduction in English. At times one cannot help feeling that some of the prosiest lines of Wordsworth are here almost caricatured, or, wicked as it may be, one thinks of the prologue of the small play that is presented by the tradesmen in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. This, however, applies in the main to the translation of *The Stone Guest*.

Among Pushkin's charming folk-tales are included *The Tale of the Pope and his Workman Balda*, translated by Oliver Elton, which goes with a rare swing. *The Tale of the Golden Cockerel* has also been published in his translation in this *Review*², but in this volume the version of Babette Deutsch has been preferred, and it seems to me that there is not much to choose between them. The same two translators are in friendly rivalry in the most substantial and comprehensive of all Pushkin's

² Vol. VII, No. 21.

poetical works, the novel in verse, *Evgeny Onegin*, which the editor, like Mr. Maurice Baring in his preface to the *Oxford Book of Russian Verse*, truly describes as the fountain-head of the Russian novel. Professor Elton's translation is now in course of publication in this *Review*³ and will later, it is hoped, appear in book form. It is the translation of Babette Deutsch that is included in this volume. Here, again, it seems that there is little to choose between the two versions in spite of obvious differences : possibly that of Professor Elton is the more conscientiously accurate, and that of Babette Deutsch runs with the greater freedom and smoothness. Neither could claim the merit of being one of the world's great translations, nor is it likely that any such translation of this work could ever appear in English ; possibly the French would here have a better chance, or it might be, the Italians. For a work of these dimensions, the regular use of rhymes of two syllables is imperative and that is practically prohibitive in English ; one constantly sees the translator's devices to adhere to Pushkin's favourite metre, and over and over again it compels him to flow over the line with a frequency that Pushkin would never have allowed himself. It is all very well ; there are the convenient present participles or the working in of other double syllabled terminations, all of them familiar to the English versifier ; but the taste and precision of the real Pushkin disappear. Elton's *Bronze Horseman*, which is included in this volume, is one of his best attempts to meet these difficulties. There remains a wide selection of Pushkin's short lyrics, letters in verse or epigrams, and these perhaps are more exacting still. Of the translations, one belongs to Maurice Baring, not I think his best, for that is most certainly his superb translation of *The Prophet*, which we reprinted in our last number and of which I would not scruple to say that it is the only translation into English of Pushkin's verse which he might himself have recognised as his own. In Babette Deutsch's version there is not the same compelling drive of inspiration. To her belong nearly all the other translations of Pushkin's short occasional verses, and some of them do her great credit. In particular one might single out *Autumn* on page 78 (which is peculiarly happy), and one of Pushkin's few political pronouncements, *Secular Power*, on p. 85. Equally well done is Pushkin's message to Siberia (p. 62), this time by Mr. Max Eastman. The main credit, however, of the verse translations in this volume must go to Babette Deutsch, for her comparative success in a task which must always remain beyond achievement. We teachers of Russian must of course urge everyone to learn the language and read Pushkin for themselves ; but as it would be quite impossible to expect this of the ordinary man of letters or literary critic, we must be grateful to those who can even suggest to him a reflection of that assured potency which every Russian reader must feel in anything that Pushkin wrote.

BERNARD PARES.

³ Canto I in Vol. XIV, No. 41 ; Cantos II and III in Vol. XV, No. 43 ; and Cantos IV and V in this number.

Anton Chekhov The Voice of Twilight Russia. By Princess Nina Andromkova Tounanova. New York : Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. xiii + 239. \$3.00.

IN the present volume the author has supplied a brief but lucid account of the life and literary achievements of Anton Pavlovich Chekhov. The elements of Chekhov's biography are few. He was born in 1860 at Taganrog and brought up in a household governed in the strict traditional fashion. The church and its ritual formed a vital part in his life. As a boy Chekhov showed no unusual brilliance in his studies, but he possessed a peculiar ability "to tell stories. These were so funny as to keep his whole class laughing, while he would maintain perfect impassivity himself" (pp. 17-18). Owing to a turn in the fortunes of the Chekhovs, Anton, when 16 years of age, was forced to earn his own living by tutoring until he entered the University of Moscow to take up the study of medicine (1879). In his second year there, he turned to literature in order to help his father to support the family. At first he wrote on every topic under the sun for various humorous periodicals under the pseudonym of Antosha Chekhonte. After 1886, when his story, *Mass for the Dead*, appeared in *Novoe Vremya* under his own name, Chekhov's fame grew slowly, as trees grow which are destined to last for centuries. Chekhov died in 1904, aged 44, leaving a name familiar to tens of thousands in every country of the world.

Chekhov's literary activity began about 1880. His talent was devoted to the portrayal of Russian society of the eighties and nineties of the last century. His analytical genius penetrated to the innermost depths of the Russian soul and revealed the psychological make-up of contemporary life, an effete society, with intellectual indifference and irresponsible levity as its main characteristics. He created a procession of spiritless weaklings, of disillusioned men and women with thwarted ambitions and shattered ideals, weary of struggle and humiliated by the sense of their own ineffectiveness. These baffled characters, arid alike in their vices and virtues and given to gross habits and banal sentiments, suffer from their own aimless existence. Almost all of them belong to the category of the "superfluous people"; they reflect national conditions and represent a generation that, as a result of the decline of the reforming zeal of the Emancipation, succumbed to the reactionary policy of the Tsars. Their dreams of freedom and tolerance were ruthlessly checked, and, with the suppression of everything that was salient in the life of the country, their hopes of political regeneration were abandoned and their individual initiative was reduced to nought. The wings of Russia's spirit were clipped by the scissors of the censor, and the Russian soul sank into torpidity. To the men of Chekhov's time it seemed that society was too circumscribed for any human endeavour and that, plunged into an interminable night, it would never see the dawn of a new day. No wonder then that most of these people sank in the deluge of the petty and the banal.

But in this vast sea of desolation, and amidst the shipwrecked humanity depicted by Chekhov, there are occasionally types of moral excellence and spiritual loftiness. Besides commonplace and tiresome mortals with no ambition, no enduring passion, no love for honest work, there emerge, now and then, characters who are animated by honourable aspirations and directed by a steadfast purpose. They shed a new light upon the life of gloom and boredom. And from their very presence emanate a freshness and vigour presaging the dawn of an era of social regeneration and activity. Such characters appear in some of Chekhov's works published during the concluding period of his literary career, when the first glimpses of the awakened national consciousness were breaking through the grey pall of social torpor and lifting the weight of moral and intellectual stagnation. In his story *Betrothed* (1903) and in his play *The Cherry Orchard* (1904), the author portrays a new generation, alongside of whom the men of the eighties seem to belong to a distant and half-forgotten past. It is in these young men and women, with their passionate dreams and invincible faith in a better future, that Chekhov saw the dawn of a new era.

Throughout the book, the author shows how truly in sympathy she is with the great Russian wizard of atmosphere, who "in the reticence of his dialogue, in faint music or the sound of a falling axe amid complete stillness . . . conveys the mystery of silence, saturated with hidden potentialities more eloquent than action itself" (p. 221). The style of Princess Toumanova is lively and entertaining. Her volume ought to be in the hands of all lovers of Chekhov.

University of California.

GEORGE Z. PATRICK.

Bibliographie des œuvres littéraires russes traduites en français. Par Vladimir Boutchik. Paris: Librairie G. Orobitz & Cie, 1935. 8°. Pp. viii + 198. Frs. 25.

STATISTICAL collections and tabulations represent in no small degree a characteristic aspect of the age. The fields of modern human activity become so extensive that even specialists are in danger of losing sight of the details. The inevitable limitations on time no longer allow weeks and months for the collection of material, in fields where a huge amount of primary and secondary literature is to be expected. Hence such collections of bibliographical details as Stith Thompson *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Bloomington, Ind., 1932 ff., *Bibliotheca Germanorum Erotica & Curiosa*, ed. Hugo Hayn and Alfred Gotendorf, München, 1912-29, or G. Lanson, *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne* (5 parts), Paris, 1925, are gratefully accepted by scholars and research students.

Bibliographies and indexes (I think of those which are not mere enumerations) may appear at first sight to be inconsistent with scholarly life, a mere technicality which any man endowed with a certain amount

of reason, pedantry, and bureaucratic feeling, and a large dose of patience can accomplish. Let us not involve ourselves in arguments on this point. The bibliography of which I am going to speak will bring many to a different opinion.

The *Bibliographie des œuvres littéraires russes traduites en français* compiles the Russian literary works from 1737-1934 which were published in book-form as French translations and adaptations in France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Russia. The numbers before each title (which are often repeated under different headings) facilitate cross reference. The book contains six parts. The first lists anthologies and selections in alphabetical order. This is followed by a bibliography of popular literature: songs, tales and *byliny* (epic songs). French translations of Russian works from the beginning to Peter the Great fill only two pages. The fourth part (numbered from 103-1581), comprising the 18th century up to the World War, is the longest chapter. Writers who published works before the war, and are still living, appear in this chapter. The works of the great Russian authors are presented in subdivisions; for instance, Turgenev: *Pages choisies, Recueils, Récits faisant partie des "Récits d'un chasseur," Romans, Nouvelles, Œuvres diverses, Œuvres dramatiques, Lettres*. The contemporary literature (fifth part), beginning with 1918, lists those who write in Russian both inside and outside the USSR. A special section (6) entitled *Eloquence Sacrée* (numbers 1677-1696) forms the conclusion. There follow some indexes consisting of a list of the titles of plays, arranged in alphabetical order according to authors, with a number for cross reference, an index to translators (with numbers), and an index to the names of illustrators of the French texts (again with numbers). A supplement with six items of 1934 (not numbered) is given on p. 195. The following pages list the Russian titles of Chekhov's complete works, which could not be given so conveniently under No. 991.

To the names of an author are added: dates of his life, his first name, patronymics, and pseudonyms. In addition to the first date of publication of the Russian work, the Russian title is given when that of the translation varies from it. This is the case in most of the works of Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Chekhov, and Gogol. It would have been ideal to give the Russian titles for every work. The enumeration of the titles of stories, essays, and the like which did not appear in separate form in Russian is exhaustive. It is given in small print under the works (collections) which bear only one book title containing, however, more than the title implies. To verify his statements, V. Boutchik had to look through all the translations (for book catalogues do not give these details). Those who use this bibliography will thank him for his painstaking efforts. To test the value of this book, I chose the section on Tolstoy. The translations of his works (whether in English, French or German) cause so many worries and so much waste of time because of their numerous titles, which often deviate much one from another, that it is difficult to arrive at the meaning of the proper original words. It is one of the quali-

ties of Boutchik's work that he gives the date of the Russian publication, wherever it is possible. In the case of Tolstoy, for instance, there seems to be a widespread uncertainty, as far as time of writing and publication is concerned. L. A. Boehm's *Bibliograficheskyy ukazatel tvorenii L. N. Tolstovo*, Leningrad, 1926, which is said to be the authentic place of reference, was not accessible to me.

The fourth part of the list is an excellent example of careful and practical arrangement. Boutchik's use of French and other bibliographies, as well as private libraries and collections of Russian documents, manuscripts, and the like, guarantees that all possible sources have been exhausted to make this bibliography a reliable book of reference.

WILLIAM HAMMER.

Soumrak Přemyslovců a jejich dědictví (The fall of the Přemyslides and their heritage). By Josef Šusta. Prague, Jan Laichter, 1935. 807 pp.

THIS new volume by the Professor of European History at the Caroline University of Prague, is part of a huge collective work which is designed to cover the whole of Bohemian history. Hitherto four big volumes by Václav Novotný, have been published covering Bohemian history from its beginnings to the height of Přemysl Otakar II's power in 1272. Three further large volumes by Professor Rudolf Urbánek, have come out dealing with the time of George of Poděbrad (1438-71). In 1932 Professor Novotný died and the editorship was transferred to Kamil Krofta. Dr. Krofta saw that the original plan is far too extensive and that, if pursued on the same scale, the History would probably remain a fragment. The new plan is more modest as to the number of volumes but still is ambitious enough. The first task is obviously the filling of the gap between 1272 and 1438. The missing years are just the most important in Bohemian medieval history. The editor divided these two centuries into three periods, each to be covered in one large volume. The first is to take the story from Přemysl Otakar II to the extinction of the dynasty and the ensuing confusion (1308). The second has to tell the history of the first two Luxemburges on the Bohemian throne, i.e. of John, killed in the battle of Crécy (1347) and his son, Charles IV (1346-78). The third and last volume had to tell the whole history of the Hussite movement. The editor was lucky in securing Professor Šusta for the task of writing the first two volumes. Professor Šusta is probably best known by his lively and judicious *History of Europe* (1815-71) (Prague, 1924 *et seq.*), which was followed by a series of six volumes called *World Politics*, dealing with European history and the relevant overseas developments up to the outbreak of the Great War. But Professor Šusta's main field of original research is the Middle Ages, though he has done much other work, e.g. on ecclesiastical history of the 16th century.¹ In 1917 and

¹ *Die römische Curie und das Concil von Trient unter Pius IV.* 4 vols. Vienna, 1904-14.

1919 two important volumes on Bohemian medieval history appeared. The first, called *The Last Přemyslides and their heritage*, gave a full picture of the Bohemian medieval state under Venceslas II and of the two short reigns of Venceslas III and Rudolf I. The second, called the *Beginnings of the Luxemburgs*, dealt with the fall of Heinrich of Carinthia, and the reign of John of Luxemburg up to the final stabilisation in 1320. In the work before us the whole of the first volume of 1917 is incorporated, though the text has been frequently condensed, rewritten, supplemented and corrected in the light of new research. It is, of course, no mere refashioning of the first volume of the older work, as it starts at a much earlier date (1272, as compared with 1300). The 480 pages do not overlap at all. They describe in detail the position of Bohemia in 1272, the election of Rudolf of Habsburg to the Roman crown, the struggle between the first Habsburg and Přemysl Otakar II, ending with his defeat and death in the battle of Dürnkrut in 1278. The years of Otto of Brandenburg's rule during the minority of Venceslas II follow. Further chapters describe the fall of Závěš of Falkenstein, the relations of Bohemia to the new and luckless Roman king, Adolf of Nassau, and then, with the year 1300, the story of the older book is repeated.

Professor Šusta not only tells his story supremely well and most critically. Without going into unnecessary details and never losing sight of the main issues and broad vistas, he manages to discuss all problems raised by modern scholarship and to set right many "accepted facts" and false perspectives. Without trace of violent partisanship or romantic idealisation of the past, he quietly exposes many fallacies and injustices perpetuated by historians, either Czech (like Palacký) or Austrian (like O. Redlich) or Polish (like Balzer). He constantly combats misinterpretations of medieval conditions and mentality, especially those caused by the unjustified transfer of modern linguistic nationalism to the 13th century. But it would be erroneous to describe the book as polemical. His main task is narrative, and Professor Šusta manages to enliven his story by many touches of human or picturesque evidence without leaving the secure path of documentary evidence. The portrait of Venceslas II is drawn with special sympathy. Professor Šusta most reasonably and most delicately touches even on psychological questions, not avoiding the erotic nature of the unhappy king which contrasts and harmonises oddly with his fierce asceticism. But the king's hard core of intellect and courage which drove him to great political conceptions comes out as well. Even individual scenes impress themselves on one's memory indelibly, as the gruesome scene in the tent before the castle of Horažďovice, where the corpse of King Rudolf was used to force the holder of the castle to surrender, or the scene in the Cathedral of Gniezdno when the Archbishop, during the coronation sermon, whispered anti-German insults into the ears of the shocked King Venceslas II. There is nowhere, however, an attempt to go beyond the documentary evidence, but simply the art of skilful selection, a sense of characteristic detail and anecdote.

Professor Šusta does not merely tell the usual history of political events. He also describes the organisation of the old Bohemian State, its economic foundations and the cultural atmosphere. The introductory chapter is a synthetic survey of the whole European situation in 1272, as far as it affected Bohemia. Chapter VI of Book II is a survey of the internal state of Bohemia at the beginning of the 14th century. The accounts of the coinage reform which was a step towards early capitalism, the description of the mining developments, the analysis of the legal and administrative institutions are masterly sketches based on the most recent research. Using some of the work of his great friend, Max Dvořák, the Czech historian of art who died prematurely as a Professor of the University of Vienna in 1921, he also analyses the whole spiritual atmosphere of the time: its spiritualism strongly modified by a new sensualism, its whole view of the world as a graded pyramid rising from the lowest and most animal forms of life to the most spiritual concept of God without any radical break in the progress. The soul of Venceslas II appears then in curious concord with the poetry, architecture and philosophy of the time as its type and epitome, exemplifying its shortcomings and its yearnings towards the great and eternal.

An essentially sceptical intellect has imaginatively understood a remote past and recreated its atmosphere and mentality. We can only wish that Professor Šusta will give us soon the second volume on the reigns of John of Luxemburg and Charles IV. But the volume before us is of itself a real addition to medieval history and to Bohemian history in particular, a new monument of Czech historical scholarship which is not merely a piece of intensive research but an example proving that the writing of history has not ceased to be an art.

RENÉ WELLEK.

Occident and Orient: Gaster Anniversary Volume. Edited by Bruno Schindler in collaboration with A. Marmorstein. London, Taylor's Foreign Press, 1936. Pp. xviii + 570.

THIS memorial volume, celebrating the 80th birthday of a Grand Old Man, universally revered for his character and learning, is a breath-taking achievement. Writers from all over the world have made offerings in honour of a scholar whom a large number of the contributors clearly own as their peer, if not their master, in their own highly specialised fields.

It would, I suppose, be idle to think that any one person could give a competent review of this vast storehouse of knowledge which covers the art, folklore, history, religion, law, textual criticism, archæology, literature, philology, &c.—the &c. to be emphasised—of a score of peoples ranging from China to "Gypsy land."

The majority of the articles are naturally concerned with various aspects of Semitica; these I must pass by, for I am an ignoramus in things Semitic and Oriental generally. Yet even an ignoramus can read some of these articles with pleasure as well as profit, and I would therefore beg

all who can afford the three guineas the book costs to dip into the contribution on Jewish art by E. N. Adler or that on Boats and Ships by M. A. Canney. "The Birth of Eve," by A. H. Krappe also will prove fascinating even to the ordinary reader, and A. Marmorstein's "Comparisons between Greek and Jewish religious customs and popular usages" will whet the appetite for further information; nor is "Persian angelology and demonology" by W. O. E. Oesterley too specialised to be unintelligible to the layman, certainly not to our Students of Slavonic, with whom there seems to be a tendency, after taking their degrees, to devote themselves to folklore.

There are, of course, few contributions of special interest for the School of Slavonic and East European studies. However, the article by Mrs. Hasluck, entitled "An Albanian ballad on the assassination in 1389 of Sultan Murad I on Kosovo plain" will undoubtedly make a special appeal. Whereas there are numerous Serbian versions of the event (she refers with praise to Dr. Subotić's work on the subject) there are thought to be only four which deal with the tragedy from the Albanian angle. In recording that variant which she herself took down in 1931, Mrs. Hasluck gives a line for line translation of her text, discusses the language of it at length, provides very good and clear notes on the subject-matter in general and on Milosh Kopilich (Miloš Obilić) in particular. Professor Halliday gives us another charming Greek folk tale from Samos which he modestly describes as a "wayside flower to add to the garland" offered to a man of profound learning.

Dr. Gaster's net has ever been flung so wide that it is probably unreasonable to cavil at what seems to me the hard treatment meted out to Gypsy, Judæo-Spanish and Yiddish. Much of the world's scholarship in all three of these languages, but especially Gypsy, is indebted to Dr. Gaster, and I personally had hoped that more space than one article apiece might have been allotted to them. The learned editor of the volume, Dr. Schindler (whose preface, by the way, is a moving tribute), tells me, however, that it is proposed to issue a second volume in honour of Dr. Gaster. May a hope be expressed that the new one will contain more contributions on languages so dear to the Haham's heart!

N. B. JOPSON.

Bulgaria Past and Present. By George Clenton Logio. Manchester (Sherratt & Hughes), 1936. 480 pp.

SOME years ago Mr. Logio wrote an outspoken volume on post-war conditions in Roumania, and in his latest book he does not hesitate to attack no less fearlessly the pseudo-democracy, bureaucratic incompetence and ministerial corruption from which Bulgaria has suffered in the post-war period. The first 50 pages are a fierce indictment, on a text chosen from his special favourite, Mihailovski:—"We are a predatory people.

Bulgaria is divided into two halves which have adopted this *modus vivendi*—one day the first half plunders the second, the next day the second half despoils the first.” If this is not to be taken quite literally—and indeed the Bulgar is probably even more unmeasured in his language than any of his Slav kinsmen, when political issues are at stake—it can hardly be denied that parliamentarism in its Bulgarian form was at once brutal and farcical, that the Russian liberators in the most formative years of the young Principality started the machine on wrong lines, that men like Stambulov, for all his rugged greatness and political endurance, were utterly unscrupulous in their methods, that even the first Prince, the chivalrous Alexander, did not escape the infection, and that Prince Ferdinand made it the main object of his régime to train up subservient tools, often compromised financially and therefore useful in promoting his personal policy. No one was more responsible than Ferdinand for the fissiparous tendencies of party politics, which long before the Great War had become a national habit. Mr. Logio is undoubtedly right in affirming that the Agrarian régime of Stambuliski—despite its far-sighted foreign policy—departed from the idealist lines of its spartan founder Draghiev and “completed the work of demoralisation introduced by Ferdinand.” He reaches the somewhat alarming conclusion:—“One should not feel surprised at the astounding spread of communism in Bulgaria, because all idealistically minded young people have nothing else to turn to: the corruption, venality and debasement of the political parties repelled all but the most prosaic” (p. 362). He himself seems to see a solution in some form of enlightened dictatorship, though it may be doubted whether this will permanently appeal to the Bulgarian masses.

Mr. Logio's sketch of the diplomacy of the Balkan Wars must be taken with considerable reserve: he does not appear to have used the two latest volumes of the *British Documents*, or he would be less severe upon Sir Edward Grey and would have words of commendation for the Minister in Sofia, Sir Henry Bax-Ironside. I should be the last to defend Grey's Balkan policy in 1915, but cannot accept Mr. Logio's sweeping condemnation: and similar reserves must be entered with regard to the diplomatic history of the War and of the post-War Stamboliski régime. It may be doubted whether the whole truth will ever be known: for generations to come in Bulgaria it is likely to retain the quality of high explosive, which many will be interested to conceal.

Less explosive, though also full of much contentious matter, are the chapters on the economics, and especially the agriculture, of Bulgaria. It should be added that the printing of such a book, in English, by Bulgarian printers is no small achievement, though there are not a few eloquent and revealing misprints.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

Magyar-Francia Szótár. By Eckhardt Sándor, Professor of French Language and Literature at Budapest University. Budapest (Eggenberger kiadása). Pp. 952.

PROFESSOR ECKHARDT'S new Hungarian-French dictionary introduces the student to a language which has been studied by Englishmen since the 11th century, but has for the most part been strangely neglected here. Probably the first Englishmen to learn it were the two sons of Edmund Ironside who took refuge with St. Stephen of Hungary nearly a thousand years ago. When one of them returned to England a generation later, he brought some Hungarians with him, but the Magyar tongue remained too exotic a study to attract scholars. Even in our own day, the ear of our universities has been hard to gain for this subject, and only isolated Englishmen have known anything about the immense researches undertaken into problems of history and culture whose existence is seldom suspected here. It would be no exaggeration to say that the vast field of Ural-Altaic philology remains hardly explored, although the history, folk-lore, literature and culture of the races it includes form a not inconsiderable segment of the total experience of man. This state of affairs seems likely to change, for negotiations are now in progress as a result of which it is hoped that the first Lectureship in Hungarian Culture will shortly be established at an English University.

Meanwhile, Professor Eckhardt's dictionary offers the most up-to-date guide available to West European students. Though written primarily for Hungarians interested in French, it will prove of the greatest assistance to any scholar who seeks a key to the unfamiliar Hungarian world. Difficult points, such as the *-ik* ending in the subjective conjugation of certain verbs, are cleared up, and a special effort has been made to offer the student, in addition to literary expressions, a rich selection of colloquialisms, proverbs and the commoner *clichés*. Loan words as recent as *hitlerizmus*, with the less redoubtable *Miki-egér*, find a place beside words already obsolescent, while in other cases, such as *film-csullag* and the more popular *film-sztár*, one may take account of an interesting struggle, frequently observed in other languages, between the native word and the intruder.

With the assistance of this volume, the student will find Hungary's most outstanding contemporary writers more accessible to him than they have ever been before. Its range of scholarship and attractive presentation may tempt the learner to pursue his studies backward in time as far as the dim beginnings of this strangely gifted people. If, however, it does no more than introduce to him the magnificent lyrical power of an Ady Endre, the intuitive perfection of a Móricz Zsigmond, the imposing humanistic culture of a Babits Mihály, the stylistic beauties of a Kosztolányi Dezső and the profound fantasies of a Karinthy Frigyes, he will have cause to be grateful to its compiler for an experience at once rich and unforgettable.

VERNON DUCKWORTH BARKER.

¹*Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika* (Dictionary of the Serbo-Croat literary language). By Dr. Lujo Bakotić. Belgrade, 1936. 1,399 pp.

LESKIEN, the greatest of all foreign scholars of Serbo-Croatian, states in the introduction to his grammar that probably few foreigners have ever read so widely in the language as he has done. Yet he confessed himself often beaten by the frequency of words not to be found in any dictionary—even that of the Yugoslav Academy being “far from complete.”

In these circumstances it would be wholly unreasonable for students of the present-day language to expect that Dr. Bakotić should have attempted to give his countrymen a complete lexicon. The only originality indeed that he claims in the modest introduction to his dictionary is that he has furnished brief but satisfactory explanations of the meanings of the words he quotes.

Dictionaries of Serbo-Croatian hitherto compiled have been of two kinds: they have been intended either for natives and foreigners or for foreigners only. The earliest and finest of the former type is that of the great Vuk, whose method was to translate the Serbo-Croatian words into German and Latin and, where explanations of typically native customs, &c., seemed required, to write accounts so full as to be almost of an encyclopædic character (cf. for example, *nāmastīr*). An example of a dictionary for foreigners is that of Ristić and Kangrga, a really splendid piece of work which has incorporated Vuk's words, but has rejected the encyclopædic element—e.g. *nāmastīr* is referred to *mānastīr*, and this is rendered by the one word *Kloster*. As their dictionary is meant for foreigners they have naturally contented themselves with translating the words into German without further comment.

A cursory examination of Dr. Bakotić's dictionary suggests that he has carried out the task he set himself, namely, the elucidation of meanings, diligently and successfully. A few random specimens of his system may be quoted: *suh*, *dry*, is explained as *not wet*, and its verb *sušiti* as to *make dry*, while *wet* is, sensibly, given an explanation of its own, i.e. it is not defined as *not dry*; the word *salamander* is followed by a short zoological description and we are also told its popular names (*daždevljak* and *burnjak*) and informed that the reptile was once believed to be able to pass unharmed through fire; *gusle* is defined as a one-stringed instrument with a bow on which the national songs are accompanied. There is, then, something of the encyclopædic order of information in Dr. Bakotić's work, but it is practical and modern, not a treasury of Serbo-Croatian beliefs and folklore as Vuk's is.

The dictionary itself is quite large. If derivatives are counted as separate words, the total would seem to be about 60,000. The literary language (ekavic dialect) only is envisaged, and much space has therefore

¹The original is throughout in the Cyrillic alphabet. I transliterate for convenience of printing.

been saved by the omission of dialectical and also of obsolete words. The question of loan words is not discussed in the preface, and it is difficult to determine on what principles the compiler has worked. The commoner Latin and Greek neologisms of the 19th and 20th are listed, as is also a large number of international words like football, sport, flirt, fjord, gentleman, &c., but many others are omitted. For Central and East European dictionary makers the question of loans always presents a great difficulty, and adverse criticism on the part of a reviewer is consequently ungenerous. Serbo-Croatian offers special problems of its own because, in addition to the recent flood of "international" words, there is a very big quota, particularly in the Southern and Mohammedan areas, of Turkish loans. For a work of the present character the most satisfactory solution might have been to omit foreign words altogether and to compile a special dictionary like the German Fremdwörterbücher, but that suggestion is obviously also fraught with grave disadvantages.

Another debatable point not likely to be settled is when and when not to give cross-references. Dr. Bakotić is not very consistent in his practice: take, for example, words of Slavonic or foreign origin which contained *h*: *muha* alone is quoted in spite of the co-existing, and in many areas commoner, *muva* (*mua* is omitted). A parallel word, originally *buha*, is given under *buva*, *buha* being referred to *buva* and *bua* omitted; *snaja* is referred to *snaha* and *snaa* is omitted. *Vuk* is more consistent and refers *mùa* and *múva* to *mùha*, *snàa* to *snàha* and *bùa* (no *buva* quoted) to *bùha*. *Ristić* and *Kangrga* refer *mùha* and *mua* . . . to *müva*, *bùha* to *bùva* and *snàa*, *snàja* to *snàha*, and so is more complete but is inconsistent. (*En passant*, note the varying accentuations given!). *Mičátek*, in his Serbo-Russian differential dictionary—containing, I may say, many words to be found nowhere else—also follows no definable practice. Words of Turkish origin with initial *h* may be found in Dr. Bakotić's book under *h* or under their following letter, and in this matter also no guiding principle is apparent: thus *haber* and *aber* are both provided with definitions and examples, and are given without cross-references. As a rule, however, one form, presumably the one to be recommended, is referred to.

Another matter worth reconsidering in a future edition is the advisability of avoiding such entries as "palidrvce see žižica," and, on looking up *žižica*, to find against it "see palidrvce." (N.B.—*mašina* in the sense of matches is omitted.)

For Serbo-Croats a practical work of this kind can do without many things that a foreigner sorely misses. It is therefore unfair to grumble at the general absence of accents, at excessive standardization (e.g. *vrtuna*, *firtuna* are omitted in favour of *fortuna*), at the general omissions of case-forms (and what of their accent in combination with prepositions?), and at all the other phonological and morphological cruxes which still make the language, in spite of *Vuk* and *Leskien*, exceedingly difficult, at any rate from the accentual point of view.

Dr. Bakotić often gives the derivation of foreign words. If he proposes to adhere to that decision he should be much more exact in his spellings and transcriptions, and should make it clear that he gives only the ultimate, not the direct, etymon: aber, for instance, is referred to Arabic and haber to Turkish (chaber is not modern Turkish spelling nor is it a recognized transcription of Arabic); fotografija is stated to be from Greek fotos light and grafe letter, and flirt from the English flirt which, we are told, is pronounced by us as a Serb would pronounce flert.

Misprints in this attractively got-up book seem rare. I noticed, however, fonomen for fenomen.

In conclusion, it is to be hoped that shortcomings in his dictionary will not dishearten the author. The start he has made in providing the Serbo-Croats with a Larousse deserves welcome recognition.

N. B. JOPSON.

Soviet Geography. By N. Mikhailov. With a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sir Halford Mackinder. 38 maps. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1935. Pp. 232 + xviii.

Statut International de l'URSS. By A. Stoupnitzky. With a preface by Professor M. J. Vasdevant (Faculty of Laws, University of Paris). Librairie Générale de Droit et de Juri-prudence. Paris, 1936. Pp. 477.

L'économie planifiée en URSS et l'économie dirigée aux États Unis. By Lola Zahu-Golodetz. Librairie Nizet et Bestard. Paris, 1937. Pp. 159.

MR. MIKHAILOV'S book is not an ordinary text-book on Russian geography. It is a vivid description of the achievements of the Soviet Government in the sphere of economics. It gives all the necessary information on the natural resources of the USSR, its industry, agriculture and transport. To those who have not got the time to study the official publications of the Soviet Government in English, the book may be of some assistance and help. It is written, as Sir Halford Mackinder says in his foreword to the book, in clear and virile English, oratorical rather than literary. It may be described as a political pamphlet of an indirect order; the author does not discriminate between fact and prophecy; to a revolutionary, plans may appear more important than achievement.

The *Statut International de l'URSS*, by A. Stoupnitzky, is a voluminous investigation of the Russian monopoly of foreign trade from the legal point of view, and we agree with Professor M. J. Basdevant, who has written a preface to the book, that the impartiality of the author is "*particulièrement méritoire.*" Mr. Stoupnitzky deals in his work with the history of the Russian monopoly of foreign trade, its organisation abroad, gives an analysis of the commercial treaties and agreements of the USSR with other countries and discusses the results of the foreign trade of Soviet Russia with other countries, particularly with France.

The bibliography, attached to each chapter, is a very valuable source of information for researchers in the sphere of international relations of the USSR.

The author does not deny that there is in the sphere of international economic relations, a great conflict of two different economic systems: capitalist and soviet and that "*la collaboration des deux systèmes ne peut être établie sur une base juridiquement solide et stable*" unless the Russian monopoly of foreign trade is adapted to the conditions of foreign trade in other countries and the traditional international laws are revised in the light of the new international relations and the collaboration of nations.

The two different systems: capitalist and soviet are discussed also by Dr. Lola Zahu-Golodetz in her *L'Economie planifiée en USSR et l'Economie dirigée aux Etats Unis*. Dr. Golodetz concentrates her attention mainly on the planned economy of Soviet Russia and does not give, in our opinion, enough space to the interesting experiments made in America in the sphere of economic planning. The author makes some interesting theoretical remarks on economic planning and Soviet planning. "*L'économie capitaliste,*" says Dr. Golodetz, "*est régie par des lois économiques,*" whereas "*l'économie socialiste planifiée est une économie en transition constante vers une formation économique nouvelle et vers des formes supérieures de la vie sociale.*" The author holds the opinion, that soviet planning, after twenty years of experiments, has proved the possibility of socialist planning and its efficiency.

S. P. TURIN.

Mieszko and the Rise of the Polish State. By Zygmunt Wojciechowski. 1936. 232 pp.

Events and Personalities in Polish History. By Paul Super. 1936. 116 pp.

The Pocket Library. Published by the Baltic Institute in Torun and Gdynia.

THESE additions to the already sizeable collection of booklets published in the series, some of them of permanent value, are of distinctly larger dimensions than their predecessors. Dr. Wojciechowski has re-examined the evidence on the whole sequence of events leading up to the work of Mieszko I—predecessor of the more famous Boleslaw Chrobry, and concluded that much more credit must be given to this prince than has been the fashion. Two special features of the story stand out: the relations with the Germans to the west, and the introduction of the Christian faith into Poland.

Mr. Super's booklet is as free from argument as the previous one is full of it. He wishes to set forth in simple form the things in Poland's past that have impressed him as a foreign observer and student, and his little book can be commended to all who want just this kind of a guide.

W. J. R.

Geneza Szkół Realnych a Wielkiem Księstwie Poznańskiem (The Rise of the Science High Schools in the Province of Poznań). By Stefan Truchim. Warsaw, 1936.

THIS Monograph is a serious study of the victory won in the early 19th century, firstly by those who saw that training in the sciences and modern languages was a growing need, over those who held to the Latin *Gymnasium* and all it had stood for; and, secondly, by the Polish citizens of the province of Poznań over their reactionary and rootedly-German Prussian masters. After a survey of the stages by which the *Realschule* came to be an accepted force in German lands as a whole, the author tells us the story of the founding of the Modern High School in Miedzyrzecz (with German as the language of instruction) and then the longer story of the harder struggle, led by Count Edward Raczyński and the philosopher Libelt, for a similar school, with Polish placed on an equal footing with German, in the city of Poznań. The work is well done.

W. J. R.

The Le Play Society has published a most attractive little volume of *Eastern Carpathian Studies: Roumania*. Edited by Prof. H. J. Fleure and Dr. R. A. Pelham. It consists of three chapters on the physical geography, climate and vegetation, two on *Peoples and Settlements* in early times and in the post-Roman period, a general survey of the main economic features of the new kingdom, by Dr. Hilda Ormsby (agriculture, forestry, industries and foreign trade), and finally an investigation into the life and social structure of a typical mountain village. The book is fully illustrated with photographs of scenery and peasant life and with a number of plans and maps in the text. It is published at a very low price (2s. 6d. net) by the Society itself (58, Gordon Square, W.C.1).

R. W. S.-W.

THE enterprise of the Linguaphone Institute (24 High Holborn, London, W.C.1) is too well known to need commendation, for good wine needs no bush. It will suffice to say that courses in a great many European and Oriental languages have already been put on the market, and the sales, no less than the enthusiastic reports of users, have amply proved that the scheme satisfies a long-felt want.

The courses that are known to students of our School are the Russian conversational (original and revised), the Polish, the Czech and the Finnish. A course, e.g. that of Russian, consists of (a) 15 double-sided records, (b) 237 pages of "annotated vocabulary and explanatory notes," (c) a word for word Russian-English-French-German vocabulary of the records, and (d) a "companion" containing the recommended plan of

work, an introduction to Russian grammar, &c. It is obvious, therefore, that the whole course is most thoroughly carried out, and, although it does not supersede the living inspiration of the native teacher, it goes a long way towards it.

The present reviewer has heard many of the records of both Russian courses, and also of the Polish and Finnish courses. He has been struck by the good quality and naturalness of the recording and by the choice of speakers, many of whom are leading scholars and phoneticians in their own country. In some of the records the voices sound unpleasantly shrill and harsh, but this may well be ascribable to the use of a rather old gramophone and to the wrong type of needle, it should in fairness be pointed out that the Linguaphone Institute urges that its own particular machine should be used.

The subject-matter is well selected and the graduation in the speed of the speakers' voices—the earlier lessons being recorded at a slow rate and the later ones considerably faster—is also satisfactory.

N. B. J.

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UNIVERSITY COURSES GIVEN IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON
SLAVIC AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY, LANGUAGES AND
LITERATURES

(Edited by ARTHUR I. ANDREWS, Ph.D. Arlington, Mass.)

Unless otherwise noted all these courses given in American institutions are full-year subjects commencing in September and ending in June, with three meetings of the class (or that equivalent) each week.

Each course would constitute, roughly speaking, about a fifth of the work of a student. If counting for more or less than three hours, the number will be indicated as (2). Note (F) or (S) implies that the courses are given in only one semester (first or second). The marks (1st), (2nd), (3rd), (4th) imply that they are given only for one "quarter" of the year indicated, the fourth being the summer "quarter" equivalent to a third of the normal academic year. (S.S.) = Summer School only. (H) indicates half-courses (counting approximately one-eighth of a semester's work).

† Indicates that knowledge of a Slavic Language is not obligatory.

Ext. indicates that the course is given to the public as a University Extension course, with or without university credit.

INTRODUCTION

At various intervals in the past *The Slavonic Review* has published reports of the programme of Slavonic studies in the United States. The last extended review of this kind appeared in *The Slavonic Review* for June 1930, and this summary was then reprinted separately for distribution to those who desired it. Since then brief reports have been made, generally in the June numbers of this journal. There has been a persistent demand for a full statement, and one as up to date as possible. Such a statement had been planned for the issue of June, 1935, but after the preliminaries had begun to show certain results, the necessity for more time became apparent and the publication of these results has been delayed in consequence.

No criticism as to the make-up of the article published in the June number of *The Slavonic Review* has been allowed to go without serious consideration. The present report therefore has followed along the same lines and only a few modifications have been made, designed to make it more convenient for consultation by those interested.

A limited edition of this survey will be printed separately from *The Review* for the convenience of those who would like to have it for immediate reference, and copies may be obtained through the office of *The Slavonic Review*.

This report on Slavonic studies in the United States can by no stretch of the imagination be considered complete. It is, however, the result of a searching inquiry, as circumstances would permit.

In previous reports to this periodical certain classifications of courses have been used as most convenient for a study of the development of work in these fields. Once established, it has been deemed advisable not to change this classification unnecessarily, since one of the most interesting products of these reports comes from the various comparisons. The

following classification, therefore, has been adhered to as in previous years, with the addition of sections for Albanian, Arabic, Finnish, Persian, Turkish and Ukrainian.

Courses that are merely promised or expected in future years (alternates) have been generally put in brackets.

The sections in Arabic and Persian mark the beginning of a necessary evolution that future "canvassers" will need to observe and follow. This evolution is shown by the growth of courses in Western Asian history, sometimes religious in complexion (as in the case of those dealing with Mohammed and the Koran) others allied with linguistics, as the studies of Arabic Historians.

A great increase of the summer courses in these fields has been remarkable in the last few years.

In *The Central European Observer* of 31 May, 1935, Professor Manning has an article on the Slavonic studies in the United States (first printed in the *Modern Language Journal* for March, 1935). The following paragraph deserves reprinting, since it is significant of certain developments in the past few years:

"On the whole the greatest increase in the number of Slavonic courses given in this country has been in connection with the Extension Departments of various institutions. In this way the instructors have been able to serve the larger population around them, and much has been gained by this method. It has, however, the disadvantage that few of the instructors are definitely classed as full-time members of the various faculties. We can only hope that the return of even a small degree of prosperity will lead those institutions to reorganise their work on a definite departmental basis and give the subject and the instructors a more definite status."

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*Kolesnikov, Dr. Vladimir S., George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Langer, Professor William L., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Lanz, Associate-Professor Henry, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.

Lee, Professor Dwight E., Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

Liptzin, Assistant-Professor Solomon, College of the City of New York, N.Y.

Lybyer, Professor Albert H., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

*MacDonald, Assistant-Professor L., New York University, New York, N.Y.

Manning, Assistant-Professor Clarence Augustus, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

*Marcus, Dr. Ralph, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

*Matustik, Mr. Frank, St. Mary's University, La Porte, Texas.

McGovern, Professor William M., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

McLean, Professor Ross H., Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.

*Maxwell, Professor Bertram W., Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas.

*Mazour, Mr. Anatole G., Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.

Meader, Professor Clarence L., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich

Micek, Professor Eduard, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Miller, Associate-Professor Barnette, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

Mogilat, Mrs. Elena T., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

Morkovin, Professor Boris V., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.

*Moss, Mr. W. W., New York University, New York, N.Y.

*Neomesia, Sister M., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

*Nicholson, Associate-Professor D. H., University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.

Noble, Associate-Professor Harold J., University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

*Novotny, Professor Joseph, International Baptist Seminary, E. Orange, N.J.

Nowak, Assistant-Professor Frank, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

- *Nowakowska, Miss Janina, Mundelein College, Chicago, Ill.
 Noyes, Professor George R., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
 *Obermann, Professor Julian J., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 *Olli, Dr. John P., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 *Pargment, Mrs. Lila, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 *Patrick, Associate-Professor George Z., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
 Perkins, Professor Clarence, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.
 Plum, Professor H. Y., State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
 *Podkrivacky, Mr. Adam, St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill.
 Porohovshikov, Professor P., University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.
 Prince, Professor John Dyneley, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Prokosch, Dr. Eduard, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 *Radosavljevich, Professor Paul R., New York University, New York, N.Y.
 *Ragatz, Professor Lowell J., George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
 *Ramseyer, Mr. Frank W., Jr., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 *Riefstahl, Dr. Rudolf M., New York University, New York, N.Y.
 *Riker, Professor Thad W., University of Texas, Austin, Texas.
 Robinson, Associate-Professor Geroid T., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Rodkey, Professor Frederick S., University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
 *Ruzick, Mr. Raiko H., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
 *St. Deptula, Mr. Szymon, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Schmitt, Professor Bernadotte E., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 *Schoenfeldt, Dr. Boris M., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 *Senn, Professor Alfred, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 *Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Professor Olgerd P., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
 Shupp, Associate-Professor Paul F., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 *Simmons, Mr. Ernest J., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 *Slabey, Mr. Andrew Paul, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Smith, Associate-Professor Sherman M., Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y.
 *Sobieniowski, Rev. Stanislas, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 *Spector, Dr. Ivar, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
 Sprengling, Prof. Martin, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 *Stein, Dr. Ernst, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.
 Stepanek, Professor Orin, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
 Stetkewicz, Mr. Joseph, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Strakovsky, Associate-Professor Leonid I., Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Strelsky, Mr. Nikander I., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York N.Y.

Takaro, Dr. Genza, Columbia University New York, N.Y.

Textor, Professor Lucy E., Vassar College Poughkeepsie, New York, N.Y.

*Thomson, Associate-Professor William, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Toth, Professor Alexander, Franklin and Marshall, Lancaster, Pa.

Vasiliev, Professor Alexander A., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Vernadsky, Professor George, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

*Vydra, Mr. Ladislav, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

Walsh, Professor Edmund A., Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

*Waskovich, Dr. George, St. John's University, Brooklyn, N.Y.

*Williston, Professor Frank G., College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash.

*Wright, Assistant-Professor Walter L., Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

Ziska, Dr. Ernest J., St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill.

* New Instructors.

Particulars have not been received from some forty-two instructors, including Professor George H. Blakeslee, Professor William W. Eddy, Professor R. W. Jones, Dr. Joshua Kunitz, Professor C. E. Malamuth, Dr. T. Mitana, Professor Julia S. Orvis, Dr. Mathew Spinka and Professor Waldemar Westergaard.

COURSES OF STUDY

SLAVONIC HISTORY AND LITERATURE

Boston University :

Slavic Seminar (S) (2), Assistant Professor Frank Nowak.

California, University of :

Directed Research on Topics in Slavic and Eastern European History (F), Professor Robert J. Kerner.

Catholic University of America :

Introduction to History of Slavic Literature, Dr. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

History of Slavic Nations until the end of the Middle Ages (F), Dr. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

History of Slavic Nations Since End of Middle Ages (S), Dr. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

Modern Slavic History (F), Dr. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

Medieval Slavic History (F), Dr. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

Columbia University :

†Cultural History of the Slavs, Professor John Dyneley Prince.

†Introduction to the Slavonic Literatures, Professor Arthur P. Coleman.
Comparative Slavonic, Professor John Dyneley Prince.

(Eastern Sects (S), Assistant Professor Clarence A. Manning.)

(The Orthodox Church, (F), Assistant Professor Clarence A. Manning)

Creighton University :

Slavonic Literature in Translation, (2), Mr. C. Charvat.

Dartmouth College :

Slavic Backgrounds, Study of Slavic Literature, Professor Eric P. Kelley.

Harvard University :

Old Slavic (with Slavic Philology) (F) (2), Professor Samuel H. Cross.

Slavic Seminar (S) (2), Associate Professor Samuel H. Cross.

Special Reading Programs and Research Problems with Conferences,
Associate Professor Samuel H. Cross and Dr. E. J. Simmons.

New York University (School of Education) :

Seminar in Experimental Education of the Slavic Peoples, Professor
P. R. Radosavljevich.

Practical Course in Experimental Education of the Slavic Peoples
(S.S.), Professor P. R. Radosavljevich.

Practical Course in Slavic Civilisation in American Culture (Ext.),
Professor P. R. Radosavljevich.

Yale University :

Church Slavonic (F) (2), Dr. Eduard Prokosch.

THE BALKAN STATES AND THE NEAR EAST

The American University :

The Near East (S), Professor Wesley M. Gewehr.

Arkansas, University of :

History of the Near East (F), Assistant Professor Dorsey D. Jones.

Boston University :

The Near East (F), Assistant Professor Frank Nowak.

Brown University :

Near East in Modern Times (S), Professor Theodore Collier.

California, University of :

The Near Eastern Question in Modern Times, Professor Robert J. Kerner.

The Near Eastern Question in Modern Times (S.S.) (2), Professor
Robert J. Kerner.

Catholic University of America :

Early Byzantine Historiography (S), Professor Ernst Stein.

History of the Meso-Byzantine and Late Byzantine Empire,
Professor Ernst Stein.

History of Islam to the End of the Crusades, Professor Ernst Stein.

Carleton College .

The Near East (S), Professor Keith Clark.

Comparative Government (includes Russia and Balkan States) (S),
Professor Keith Clark.

Chicago, University of .

Byzantine History and Civilisation, Associate. Professor Einar
Joranson.

Near Eastern Question, 1774-1923 (4th), Professor Bernadotte E.
Schmitt.

Mohammedan World, Professor Martin Sprengling.

History of Mohammedan World, Professor Martin Sprengling.

Mohammedan Religion : Survey (1st), Professor Martin Sprengling.

Colgate University .

Near East and Russia (F), Professor Sherman M. Smith.

Colorado, University of :

The Near East, Professor Carl C. Eckhart.

Fordham University, Teachers' College :

Moslem Culture in the Middle Ages (S),

Harvard University :

History of Near East in Modern Times (S.), Associate Professor
William L. Langer.

(Byzantine History, H. (F.), Professor Robert P. Blake.)

Economic Development of the Mediterranean World from Ancient
Times to the Crusades (H.), Professor Robert P. Blake.

Development of Moslem Orthodoxy, H. (F.), Associate Professor
William Thomson.

Development of Moslem Sects, H. (S.), Associate Professor William
Thomson.

Political and Social History of the Moslems to the Decline of the
Abassid Caliphate (c. 950 A.D.) (H.), Associate Professor William
Thomson.

Arabic Sources for Medieval History, Associate Professor William
Thomson.

Hunter College :

Near East (F) (Ext.), Professor Dora Askowith.

Illinois, University of :

History of Mohammedan Peoples, Professor Albert H. Lybyer.

Near East in Modern Times (F) (2), Professor Albert H. Lybyer.

Seminar in Near or Far East (F.), Professor Albert H. Lybyer.

Iowa, State University of :

Near East (S.), Professor H. Y. Plum.

Eastern Europe in the Modern Period (2), Professor H. Y. Plum.

Miami University :

Near East in Modern Times, Assistant Professor Harry N. Howard.

New York University .

Byzantine Art (F.), Dr. Rudolf M. Riefstahl.

Government and Policies of the Near East (F), Mr W. W. Moss.

Introduction to Art of the Near East (F), Dr. Rudolf M. Riefstahl.

North Dakota, University of .

History of Near East (F.) (2), Associate Professor D. H. Nicholson.

North-western University .

History of Near East (S.), Professor William M. McGovern.

Princeton University .

History of Near East (primarily Ottoman Empire) (F), Assistant Professor Walter L. Wright, Jr.

Islamic Art (S S.), Professor M. Aga-Oglu.

Islamic Culture and Arabic Literature (S.S.), Professor Philip K. Hitti.

Ottoman Empire (S S.), Professor Walter L. Wright, Jr.

St. John's University :

Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (F), Dr. George Waskovich.

Development of the Near Eastern Question (S), Dr George J Waskovich.

Smith College :

Modern Oriental Civilisations (including Turkey), Professor William D. Gray.

Stanford University :

Elements of Byzantinism (2), Associate Professor Henry Lanz.

Texas, University of :

The Near East (S.), Professor Thad. W. Riker.

Tufts College :

The Near East (F.), Professor Halford L. Hoskins.

Wisconsin, University of :

Byzantine Civilisation, Professor Alexander A. Vasiliev.

Washington, University of :

West Asia (1st), Dr. Ivar Spector.

Wellesley College :

Near East Question (F), Associate Professor Barnette Miller.

Yale University :

History of Eastern Europe, Professor George Vernadsky.

CENTRAL AND NORTH-EASTERN EUROPE

California, University of .

History of Central Europe in Modern Times (F.), Professor Robert J. Kerner.

Chicago, University of :

New Nations of Europe (1st), Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

Pre-War Diplomacy, Seminar (2nd), Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

Columbia University :

State-Controlled Economic Systems, Dr. Boris M. Schoenfeldt.

- New York University :
 Central and Eastern Europe (2nd), Mr. W. W. Moss.
- North Dakota, University of :
 Current European Problems (S.), Professor Clarence Perkins.
- St. John's University :
 Central European Problems, Dr. George J. Waskovich.
- Southern California, University of :
 New Nations in Europe (F) (2), Professor Boris V. Morkovin.
- Vassar College :
 Contemporary History : Central and South-eastern Europe, Professor
 Lucy E. Textor.

ALBANIAN

- Columbia University :
 Elementary Albanian (Ext.), Mr. Nelo Drizari.
 Advanced Albanian and Lectures on Albanian History and Culture
 (Ext.), Mr. Nelo Drizari.

ARABIC

- Chicago, University of :
 Elementary Arabic, Professor Martin Sprengling.
- Harvard University :
 Arabic, Professor William Thomson.
- Princeton University :
 Elementary Arabic (S.S.), Professor Philip K. Hitti.
 Advance Arabic (S.S.), Professor Philip K. Hitti.
- Washington, University of :
 Second Year Arabic, Professor Ivar Spector.
- Yale University :
 Elementary Arabic (F.), Professor Julian J. Obermann.
 The Koran (S.), Professor Julian J. Obermann.
 Arabic Historians, Professor Julian J. Obermann.
 Classical Arabic Prose, Professor Julian J. Obermann.
 Arabic Poetry, Professor Julian J. Obermann.
 Arabic Philosophers and Mystics (F.), Professor Julian J. Obermann.
- Columbia University :
 Survey of Arabic Literature, Mr. Abraham S. Halkin.
 Elementary Arabic, Mr. Abraham S. Halkin and Dr. Ralph Marcus.
 Advanced Course, Dr. Ralph Marcus and Mr. Abraham S. Halkin.
 Advanced Course, Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil.

CZECHOSLOVAK LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

- California, University of :
 Elementary Bohemian, Professor George R. Noyes.

Columbia University :

Elementary Czechoslovak (Ext.), Mr. Ladislav H. Vydra.
 Advanced Czechoslovak (Ext.), Mr. Ladislav H. Vydra.
 Czechoslovak Literature (Ext.), Mr. Ladislav H. Vydra.
 Elementary Slovak (Ext.), Mr. Andrew P. Slabey.
 Advanced Slovak (Ext.), Mr. Andrew P. Slabey.
 History of Slovak Literature (Ext.), Mr. Andrew P. Slabey.

Creighton University :

Elementary Czech (4), Professor Victor E. Herman.
 Intermediate Czech, Professor Victor E. Herman.
 Advanced Czech, Professor Victor E. Herman.

Harvard University :

Bohemian, Professor Samuel H. Cross.

International Baptist Seminary :

Czechoslovak History, First Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.
 Czechoslovak History, Second Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.
 Czechoslovak History, Third Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.
 Czechoslovak Language, First Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.
 Czechoslovak Language, Second Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.
 Czechoslovak Language, Third Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.
 Czechoslovak Stylistic, Fourth Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.
 Czechoslovak Public Speaking, Fifth Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.
 Czechoslovak Literature, First Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.
 Czechoslovak Literature, Second Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.
 Czechoslovak Literature, Third Year, Professor Joseph Novotny.

Nebraska, University of :

Beginning Czech (5), Professor Orin Stepanek.
 Second Year Czech, Professor Orin Stepanek.
 Third Year Czech (alternate), Professor Orin Stepanek.

St. Mary's University :

Elementary Czech (0), Mr. Ben Holub.
 Czech Grammar (1), Mr. Frank Matustik and Mr. Ben Holub.
 Second Year Czech (1), Mr. Frank Matustik.

St. Procopius College :

Advanced Czech (F.) (2), Professor Ernest J. Ziska.
 Czech Composition (S.) (2), Professor Ernest J. Ziska.
 Czech Prose and Poetry (4), Professor Ernest J. Ziska.
 Czech Literature (4), Professor Ernest J. Ziska.
 History of Czech Literature (4), Professor Ernest J. Ziska.
 Modern Czech Literature (4), Professor Ernest J. Ziska.
 History of Slovak Literature, Mr. Adam Podkrivacky.
 Advanced Slovak, Mr. Adam Podkrivacky.
 Elementary Slovak and Composition, Mr. Adam Podkrivacky.

Texas, University of :

Czech Courses : Introductory, Intermediate, third year, Associate Professor Eduard Micek.

Czech Literature of the 15th to 19th centuries, Associate Professor Eduard Micek.

Karel Capek, A Modern Czech Dramatist, Associate Professor Eduard Micek.

FINNISH

Columbia University :

Survey of Finnish Literature (Ext.), Dr. John P. Olli.

GREEK (MODERN)

Columbia University :

Intermediate Modern Greek (Ext.), Mr. Emanuel Athanasiades.

Advanced Modern Greek, 1935 (Ext.), Mr. Emanuel Athanasiades.

Modern Greek Literature, 1750 (Ext.), Mr. Emanuel Athanasiades.

HUNGARIAN

Columbia University :

Hungarian Language (Ext.), Dr. Geza Takaro.

Elementary Hungarian (Ext.), Dr. Geza Takaro.

Development of Hungarian Culture and Literature (Ext.), Dr. Geza Takaro.

Franklin and Marshall College :

Elementary Hungarian (4), Professor Alexander Toth.

Intermediate Hungarian, Professor Alexander Toth.

History of the Hungarian Nation, Professor Alexander Toth.

History of Hungarian Literature, Professor Alexander Toth.

Survey of Hungary, geographical, ethnological, cultural, economical and political (2) (F.), Professor Alexander Toth.

Hungarians in America. A study in Americanisation (1) (S.), Professor Alexander Toth.

LITHUANIAN

Chicago, University of :

Lithuanian and Church Slavic (2), Professor Carl Darling Buck.

Harvard University :

Balto-Slavic Philology (2), Associate Professor Samuel H. Cross.

Pennsylvania, University of :

Lithuanian, Professor Roland G. Kent.

Princeton University :

Lithuanian (S.), Professor Harold H. Bender.

Yale University :

Lithuanian (2) (S.), Dr. Eduard Prokosch.

PERSIAN

Chicago, University of:

Modern Persian, Professor Martin Sprengling.

Columbia University:

Persian or Armenian, Professor Louis H. Gray.

Indo-Iranian seminar, Professor Louis H. Gray.

Washington, University of:

Literature of Modern Persia (S), Mr. Elmer H. Cutts.

POLISH

Catholic University of America:

Elementary Polish, Dr. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

Elements of Polish Grammar Reviewed, Sister M. Neomesia.

Survey Of Polish Literature, Sister M. Neomesia.

Polish History (S.S.), Dr. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

Modern Polish Literature (S.S.), Dr. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

California, University of:

Elementary Polish, Professor George R. Noyes.

Second Year Polish, Professor George R. Noyes.

Advanced Polish (F.), Professor George R. Noyes.

Columbia University:

Elementary Polish (Ext.), Professor Arthur P. Coleman.

Advanced Polish, Professor Arthur P. Coleman.

Polish Literature (in Polish), Professor Arthur P. Coleman.

Polish Literature of the Romantic Period, Professor Arthur P. Coleman.

Proseminar, Research in Contemporary Polish Literature, Professor Arthur P. Coleman.

Harvard University:

Polish, Professor Samuel H. Cross.

Stanford University:

Polish Romanticism (2) (2nd), Assistant Professor Henry Lanz.

Wisconsin, University of:

Elementary Polish (4) (Ext.), Mr. Szymon St. Deptula.

Intermediate Polish (4) (Ext.), Mr. Szymon St. Deptula.

Advanced Polish, Mr. Szymon St. Deptula.

Polish Literature in English Translation (1) (Ext.), Mr. Szymon St. Deptula.

Technical Polish and Advanced Translation (5) (2) (Ext.), Mr. Szymon St. Deptula.

Masterpieces of Polish Literature (to be offered during 1936-37) (2) (Ext.), Mr. Szymon St. Deptula.

ROUMANIAN

Columbia University:

Introduction to the Roumanian Language, Dr. Leon Feraru.

Survey of Roumanian Literature, Dr. Leon Feraru.

Johns Hopkins University :

Roumanian, Readings and Historical Grammar, Associate Professor
Gustav Gruenbaum.

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Beloit College :

Elementary Russian (with survey of literature), Dr. Henry M
Herrick.

California, University of :

Elementary Russian, Associate Professor Alexander S. Kaun.

Second Year Russian, Associate Professor Alexander S. Kaun.

Elementary Russian Conversation (F) (2), Associate Professor
Alexander S. Kaun.

Fourth Year and Advanced Russian, Associate Professor Alexander
S. Kaun.

Elementary Russian, Associate Professor George Z. Patrick.

Third Year Russian, Associate Professor George Z. Patrick.

Fourth Year Russian (S.), Associate Professor George Z. Patrick.

Advanced Russian, Associate Professor George Z. Patrick.

Early Russian (S.), Professor George R. Noyes.

Historical Russian Grammar (F.), Professor George R. Noyes.

Advanced Russian (S.), Professor George R. Noyes.

Elementary Russian (S.S.), Associate Professor Alexander S. Kaun.

Advanced Russian (S.S.), Associate Professor Alexander S. Kaun.

Advanced Russian (S.S.) (4), Professor George R. Noyes.

Russian Literature since 1880 (S.), Associate Professor Alexander S.
Kaun.

Russian Novelists (in English) (F.), Associate Professor George Z.
Patrick.

Russian Literature 1800-1930 (S.S.) (2), Associate Professor Alexander
S. Kaun.

Catholic University of America :

Elementary Russian, Dr. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

Chicago, University of :

Elementary Russian, Professor Samuel N. Harper.

Intermediate Russian (2nd), Professor Samuel N. Harper.

Advanced Russian (3rd), Professor Samuel N. Harper.

Columbia University :

Intermediate Russian, Mrs. Elena T. Mogilat.

Advanced Russian, Mrs. Elena T. Mogilat.

The Great Russian Novelists, Professor Clarence A. Manning.

Contemporary Russian Literature, Professor Clarence A. Manning.

Elementary Russian (Ext.), Mrs. Elena T. Mogilat.

Intermediate Russian (Ext.), Mrs. Elena T. Mogilat.

Advanced Russian (Ext.), Mr. Elena T. Mogilat.

Historical Reading (Ext.), Mrs. Elena T. Mogilat.

Georgetown University, School of Foreign Service :

Elementary Russian, Mr. Vladimir Gsovski.

Intermediate Russian, Mr. Vladimir Gsovski.

Commercial Russian, Mr. Vladimir Gsovski.

George Washington University :

Second Year Russian (arr.), Mr. Vladimir S. Kolesnikov.

First Year Russian (S.S.), Mr. Vladimir S. Kolesnikov.

Survey of Russian Literature (S.S.), Mr. Vladimir S. Kolesnikov.

Harvard University :

Elementary Russian, Associate Professor Samuel H. Cross.

Advanced Russian, Associate Professor Samuel H. Cross.

†Introduction to Russian Literature and Culture, Professor Samuel H. Cross.

Classic Russian Literature, Associate Professor Samuel H. Cross.

†(Influence of English Literature on Russian in 18th and 19th Centuries (S.), Mr. Ernest J. Simmons.)

Pushkin (in original), H. (F.), Dr. Ernest J. Simmons.

Russian Poetry, Drama and Criticism in the 19th Century, Associate Professor Samuel H. Cross.

(The Russian Nationalists from Glinka through Stravinsky, H. (S.), Professor Edward B. Hill and Mr. Frank W. Ramseyer, Jr.)

Hunter College :

Masterpieces of Russian Literature (F.) (O.), Professor Ernest P. Horowitz.

Idaho, University of : (Moscow, Idaho.)

Russian Grammar and Conversation, Professor P. Porohovshikov.

Michigan, University of :

First Year Russian, Professor Clarence L. Meader.

Second Year Russian, Professor Clarence L. Meader.

Russian Literature (in English), Professor Clarence L. Meader.

Tolstoi Seminar (S.) Professor Clarence L. Meader.

Russian (S.S) (2), Professor Clarence L. Meader.

Russian Literature (in English) (F.) (Ext.) (2), Professor Clarence L. Meader.

Nebraska, University of :

Beginning Russian, Professor Orin Stepanek.

Russian Novel (S.), Professor Orin Stepanek.

New York, College of the City of :

Comparative Literature (in Russia, Germany, Scandinavia), Assistant Professor Solomon Liptzin.

Puget Sound, College of :

Elementary Russian, Professor Frank G. Williston.

Southern California, University of :

Russian Literature (S.), Professor Boris V. Morkovin.

Stanford University :

Elementary Russian (4), Mr. Anatole G. Mazour and Associate Professor Henry Lanz.

Elementary Russian (3-4), Associate Professor Henry Lanz and Mr. Anatole G. Mazour.

Elementary Russian (4), Associate Professor Henry Lanz

Conversational Russian (S.S) (2), Associate Professor Henry Lanz.

Second-Year Russian (1), Associate Professor Henry Lanz.

Second-Year Russian (2), Associate Professor Henry Lanz.

Second-Year Russian (3), Associate Professor Henry Lanz.

Vassar College :

Russian, Mr. Nikander I. Strelsky.

Washington, University of :

First Year Russian (5) (3) (3), Dr. Ivar Spector.

Second Year Russian, Dr. Ivar Spector.

Russian Literature (3rd) (5), Dr. Ivar Spector.

Russian Literature (S.S.), Dr. Ivar Spector.

Russian Literature (Ext.), Dr. Ivar Spector.

RUSSIAN HISTORY

Arkansas, University of :

Recent Russia (S.), Assistant Professor Dorsey D. Jones.

Boston University :

Russian History to 1800 (F.), Professor Frank Nowak.

Russian History since 1800 (S.), Professor Frank Nowak.

Russian Revolution (4th) (2), Professor Frank Nowak.

Russian Revolution (Ext.) (2), Professor Frank Nowak.

Economic History of Russia (S.) (Ext.), Mr. William L. Raymond.

Brown University :

Modern Russia (F.), Professor Theodore Collier.

Russo-American Relations, Seminar, Professor Theodore Collier.

California, University of :

History of Russia and Poland (F.) (2), Professor Robert J. Kerner.

Seminar in Modern European History (Internal and Foreign Policy of Russia in 19th and 20th Centuries, for 1935-36), Professor Robert J. Kerner.

California, University of : (Los Angeles.)

Russian History, Assistant Professor Andrew Lobanov-Rostovsky.

Catholic University of America :

Intellectual Background of Russian History, Dr. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

Chicago, University of .

Russia in the 19th Century (2nd), Professor Samuel N. Harper.

Russia since 1900 (3rd), Professor Samuel N. Harper.

Clark University :

History of Russia (H.) (S), Professor Dwight E. Lee.

Colorado, University of :

History of Russia, Professor Carl C. Eckhardt.

Columbia University .

Economic Institutions of Communism (F), Associate Professor
Michael T. Florinsky.

The Old Russian of Kiev and Muscovy (F.), Associate Professor
Geroid T. Robinson.

Russia in the Imperial Age (F), Associate Professor Geroid T.
Robinson.

Russian in the 20th Century, Seminar, Associate Professor Geroid T.
Robinson.

The Russian Revolution and the New Régime (S.S.), Associate
Professor Geroid T. Robinson.

Emory University :

Modern Russian History (2nd and 4th), Professor Ross H. McLean.

Fordham University :

Nature and History of Bolshevism (4), Mr. Arthur Claydon

Georgetown University (School of Foreign Service) :

The Russian Revolution (5-year course), Professor Edmund A.
Walsh—

1. The Fall of the Russian Empire and the Coming of the
Bolsheviks.
2. The Soviet State.
3. The Evolution of Communism.
4. The Evolution of Capitalism.
5. The History of Revolutionary Thought.

George Washington University .

Modern Russia (S.), Professor Lowell J. Ragatz.

Harvard University :

History of Russia, H., Assistant Professor Michael Karpovich.

Illinois, University of :

Tsarist Russia (F.), Professor Frederick S. Rodkey.

Russia since 1881 (The Revolution and Soviet Union) (S.), Professor
Frederick S. Rodkey.

Iowa, State University of :

The Russian Revolution (F.) Professor H. Y. Plum.

New York University :

Russia and the Near East, Professor Alexander Baltzly.

Socialism and Capitalism (including Russian Revolution) (2),

Assistant Professor L. MacDonald.

History of Russia (S.S.) (2), Professor Alexander Baltzly.

North Dakota, University of :

History of Modern Russia (S S) (2), Professor Clarence Perkins.

North-western University :

Russian Political and Economic Institutions, Professor Paul W Haensel.

Oregon, University of :

Recent Russia (S) (3), Associate Professor Harold J. Noble.

Pittsburgh, University of :

History of Russia and the Near East, Professor Paul F. Shupp.

History of Russia and the Near East (S.S.), Professor Paul F. Shupp.

St. John's University :

Russia to the Bolshevik Revolution, Dr. George Waskovich.

Smith College :

Modern Russia, Associate Professor Walter C. Baines.

Southern California, University of :

Modern Russia (S.), Professor Boris V. Morkovin.

Stanford University :

History of Russia (2nd), Associated Professor Harold H. Fisher.

Russian Revolution (3rd), Associated Professor Harold H. Fisher.

Seminar in Russian History (2nd), Associated Professor Harold H. Fisher.

Social Movements in Russia in the 19th Century (2), Mr. Anatole G. Mazour.

Vanderbilt University :

Russian History, Professor Rogers P. Churchill.

Vassar College :

Russian History, Professor Lucy E. Textor.

Washburn College :

Russia : Origin, Development and Structure of Soviet State, Professor Bertram W. Maxwell.

Washington State College :

Modern Russia, Assistant Professor Francis J. Bowman.

Washington, University of :

History of Russia (2nd), Dr. Ivar Spector.

History of Russia (S.S.) (2½), Dr. Ivar Spector.

History of Russia (Ext.), Dr. Ivar Spector.

Western Reserve University :

History of Russia, Dr. Meribeth E. Cameron.

Yale University :

Modern Russia, Professor George Vernadsky.

Medieval Russia, Professor George Vernadsky.

Recent Russian History, Professor George Vernadsky.

Russian Foreign Policy, Professor George Vernadsky.

SOUTHERN SLAVS: SERBO-CROAT

California, University of :

Second-year Serbo-Croatian (F.) (2), Professor George R. Noyes.

Second-year Serbo-Croatian (S.) (2), Mr. Raiko H. Ruzick.

Advanced Serbo-Croatian (S.), Professor George R. Noyes.

Advanced Slovenian (F.), (2), Professor George R. Noyes.

Columbia University :

Advanced Slovene, Mr. Andrew Kobal.

History of Slovene Literature, Mr. Andrew Kobal.

Harvard University .

Serbo-Croatian, Professor Samuel H. Cross.

TURKISH

Chicago, University of :

Turkish, Professor Martin Sprengling.

Princeton University :

Elementary Ottoman Turkish (S.S.), Professor Walter L. Wright, Jr.

UKRAINIAN

Columbia University :

Advanced Ukrainian, Mr. Joseph Stetkewicz.

TABLES

TABLE I —COMPARISON (1930 AND 1936)

<i>Courses.</i>	<i>Language and Literature</i>		<i>History</i>	
	1930	1936	1930	1936
General Slavic .. .	12	10	2	11
Albanian .. .	0	2	0	0
Bulgarian .. .	0	0	0	0
Eastern Europe .. .	3	0	10	50
Central and Northern .. .	0	0	10	9
Czech and Slovak .. .	40	31	0	3
Finnish .. .	0	1	0	0
Greek .. .	2	3	0	0
Hungarian .. .	5	9	2	0
Lithuanian ...	2	5	0	0
Polish .. .	10	20	0	1
Roumanian .. .	2	3	0	0
Russian ...	64	70	43	60
Southern Slav .. .	4	7	0	0
Turkish ...	0	2	0	0
Ukrainian .. .	0	1	0	0
Arabic .. .	—	15		0
Persian ...	—	4		0
	144	186	97	134

TABLE II —DISTRIBUTION BY GROUPS

	<i>General Slavic</i>	<i>Balkans, Southern Slav Near East.</i>	<i>Central and North-eastern Europe (except Russia).</i>	<i>Russia.</i>	<i>Arabic-Persian.</i>
<i>Institutions—</i>					
History ...	4	28	8	32	0
Literatures ...	6	5	22	18	6
Total* ...	9	28	30	39	6
<i>Instructors—</i>					
History ...	7	34	8	36	0
Literatures ...	6	10	28	24	10
Total* ...	12	33	20	55	10
<i>Courses—</i>					
History ...	11	50	9	60	0
Literatures ...	10	17	69	70	19
Total ...	21	67	78	130	19

* Minus Duplications.

TABLE III—GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF UNIVERSITY COURSES ON SLAVIC OR EASTERN EUROPEAN SUBJECTS—(I)

	<i>States</i>			
	<i>Represented</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Instructors</i>	<i>Courses.</i>
New England States (6)	4	9	33	54
Middle Atlantic (4)	3	11	48	98
South (15)	4	5	8	11
Middle West (5)	4	8	21	47
Trans-Mississippi (7)	5	6	12	18
Rocky Mountains (8)	2	2	2	2
Pacific (3)	3	8	28	62
District of Columbia (1) . .	1	4	11	28
	26	53	163	320
		Duplications	39	
		Net Total	124	

TABLE IV—GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF COURSES—II.

<i>Courses.</i>	<i>New Eng-land</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Middle West</i>	<i>Trans-Mississippi</i>	<i>Rocky Mts</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>D C</i>	<i>Total</i>
General Slavic	6	8	—	—	1	—	1	—	16
Eastern Europe	13	12	2	10	5	—	4	—	46
Central and Northern Europe	—	4	—	2	1	—	2	—	9
Albanian	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Czechoslovak	1	14	6	9	6	—	1	—	37
Finnish	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Greek (Modern)	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Hungarian	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
Lithuanian	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	5
Polish	1	5	—	6	—	—	4	5	21
Roumanian	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	3
Russian Language, etc . . .	8	11	—	10	2	1	31	7	70
Russian History	15	13	2	6	3	1	13	7	60
Southern Slav	1	2	—	—	—	—	4	—	7
Turkish	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Ukrainian	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Arabic	7	6	—	1	—	—	1	—	15
Persian	—	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	4
	54	98	12	56	18	2	62	19	321

CONCLUSIONS

Certain positive statements can be made concerning the linguistic courses: (1) The less popular languages, those that are not of apparent importance, have shown a new lease of life. Roumanian, Hungarian and Lithuanian show positive gains; Albanian, Finnish, Turkish and Ukrainian appear in this canvass for the first time. Even though in most cases they are listed as extension courses, this should be hailed with great interest. The Russian and Polish gains are, of course, highly

significant, nor should that of Serbo-Croatian be overlooked. Probably there are more Hungarian courses of college grade being given in this country. Columbia University will offer Bulgarian for those who need it.

Taken together, with the historical and linguistic courses combined, all classes have increased in number since 1930 with the few exceptions of Bulgarian, Czechoslovak and Central and Northern Europe. The total number of courses is much greater even when Arabic and Persian are not counted.

It is also worth noting that as a linguistic field, General Slavic lost, but gained appreciably on the historical side. Likewise, the three courses credited to the Eastern European languages in general in 1930 have disappeared, and there has been an appreciable gain in the historical courses.

Thanks largely to the breadth of the extension work at Columbia University, the Middle States are represented in every section division of this canvass by at least one course. No other section of the country has that distinction. The Pacific Coast, the Middle West, and New England have representation in half of these divisions (with Arabic and Persian omitted); 8 out of 16. The Middle West and the Pacific area have each one course listed in Arabic and in Persian, while New England seems to have confined its attention to Arabic only; 7 courses in all. The four Middle Atlantic States, therefore, lead in the total number of courses—98, followed in order by the three on the Pacific Coast with 62, New England with 54. The Rocky Mountains section has only two courses, both in the Russian field. Every section has at least one course in Russian history; all but one in the Russian language, and in Eastern European history. Czechoslovak is being taught in all but two sections. Yet the General Slavic type of course remains unpopular outside of the East; the Middle Atlantic States retain a monopoly of Albanian, Hungarian, Modern Greek, Turkish and Roumanian, and nearly so of Lithuanian.

One cannot refrain from emphasising that this appreciable gain all along the line has been made in the depth of a very dire depression, one that has shaken the resources of universities and colleges to a considerable degree. The very fact that these institutions found it possible in general to continue and in so many cases to increase the work in these fields is, of course, a great satisfaction to all who feel that such development is imperatively needed throughout the United States. The fact that these increases are so generally shared by nearly every language and by the historical as well as the linguistic courses is a point to be thoroughly emphasised.

The fact is that at last the depression has definitely lifted in the United States. The steady gains of dividends during several months have their influence upon the budgets of colleges and universities alike. Those institutions that stuck grimly to their courses in the Slavic and

Eastern European field are now in a strong position to profit by the return of prosperity. That Slavic Studies have on the whole held up so well during the past six years is reason enough for optimism.

NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS NOW BEING EXECUTED.

By courtesy of the Association of Russian Translators we have received the following list of works which have been placed with English publishers and are to be issued shortly. This list is intended as a help to other publishers by giving notice of books which are already in hand.

<i>Author.</i>	<i>Title.</i>	<i>Publisher.</i>
Grekova ...	On Happiness ...	Chatto and Windus.
Ivanov ...	Adventures of a Fakir ...	Lovat Dickson & Thompson.
Makaronko ...	The Road to Life ...	Stanley Nott.
Nielson ...	The Cinema as a Graphic Art	Geo. Newnes.
Novikov-Priboy	Tsushima ...	Allen and Unwin.
Ostrovsky ...	How the Steel was Tempered	Secker and Warburg.
Romm. ...	Climbing in the Pamirs ...	Lawrence and Wishart.
Shiryaev ...	Taghoni's Grandson ...	Putnam & Co.
Zoshchenko ...	Youth Restored ...	Lawrence and Wishart.

TRANSLATORS FROM RUSSIAN

The following letter has been addressed to translators by a Conference meeting under the auspices of the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR:

The increasing interest in Soviet literature and technical works of recent years has led to a considerable growth in the number of translations of such works into English. Meantime the special conditions governing Soviet life and literature present unusual difficulties to translators who are frequently faced with problems which do not arise in the case of other languages. At present there is no co-ordination between translators and no clearing house to which problems of translation may be referred.

Conferences of translators have recently been convened under the auspices of the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR to consider means of co-operation. As a result of these conferences it has now been decided to form an Association of Russian Translators whose purpose shall be to render mutual assistance to members:—

(1) In such problems as the correct translation of technical terms, dialect, phrases and words from the languages current in the USSR and allied languages.

(2) By obtaining all possible information from members and other sources as to translations already in hand to avoid overlapping of activities.

(3) By giving relevant advice in negotiations with publishers where requested.

Membership of the Association is open to all who have had published translations from the Soviet or allied languages, or who satisfy the Committee of their ability to translate from these languages.

The membership subscription is 5s. per annum.

All translators from Soviet and allied languages are invited to apply for membership of the Association. Applications may be forwarded to and further particulars obtained from The Secretary, Association of Russian Translators, 3, Bedford Place, Bloomsbury, W.C.1.

STEPHEN GARRY (*Chairman*).

ALEC BROWN.

ALFRED FREEMANTLE.

BERNARD PARES.

JOHN RODKER.

MARGARET PHEYSEY (*Secretary*).